THE JOURNAL OF Egyptian Archaeology

VOLUME 46
DECEMBER 1960

PUBLISHED BY

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

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

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

THE JOURNAL OF Egyptian Archaeology

VOLUME 46

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

CONTENTS

.			1	PAGE
EDITORIAL FOREWORD				1
THE PHILADELPHIA-CAIRO STATUE OF OSORKON II .	Bernard V. Bothme	er .	•	3
THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PHILADELPHIA—CAIRO STATUE				
of Osorkon II	Helen K. Jacquet-C	Gordon		12
Meneptah's Aid to the Hittites	G. A. Wainwright			24
A SELECTION OF TUTHMOSIDE OSTRACA FROM DER EL-				
Вант	W. C. Hayes		•	29
THE STATUETTE OF AN EGYPTIAN HARPER AND STRING-				
Instruments in Egyptian Statuary	J. Leibovitch .	•		53
The Title $\&$ $\overline{\square}$ in the Old Kingdom	H. Goedicke .		•	60
Papyrus Lythgoe: A Fragment of a Literary Text of				
THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FROM EL-LISHT	W. K. Simpson			65
A Canonical Master-Drawing in the British Museum	E. Iversen .			71
A BLOCK OF AMENOPHIS IV FROM ATHRIBIS	H. W. Fairman			80
Some Pre-'Amārnah Sun Hymns	H. M. Stewart			83
Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology	T. C. Skeat .			91
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT: GREEK INSCRIP-				
TIONS (1959)	P. M. Fraser			95
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: Was Osiris an ancient king su	bsequently deified?,	by Sir A	lan	
origin of black-topped red pottery, by A. J. Arkell, p. 10 calculations in Kah. Pap. XXIII, 24-40, by W. K. Simpse of Akhenaten, by H. W. Fairman, p. 108; Ptolemy son of A new Coptic month, by J. Drescher, p. 111.	on, p. 106; The supp	osed Year	21	
Reviews:				
SIEGFRIED SCHOTT, Wall scenes from the Mortuary				
Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu W. STEVENSON SMITH, The Art and Architecture of An-	Reviewed by C. H.	S. Spaull		113
	C. H. S. Spaull			112
BERTHA PORTER AND R. L. B. Moss, Topographical	C. II. D. Spaun	•	•	113
Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis. Part				
I, Private Tombs	J. Černý .			114
I. E. S. Edwards, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum.	•			•
Fourth Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late				
New Kingdom	J. Černý .			115
<u> </u>	A. J. Arkell .			116
W. C. HAYES, The Scepter of Egypt. Part II				118
R. Anthes, Mit Rahineh 1955				119
K. C. Seel & The Tomb of Tignefor at Thehes				120

iv CONTENTS

				PAGE
	est Intellectual Man's Idea of the			
		J. Gwyn Griffith		122
R. O. FAULKNER, An A	J. Gwyn Griffith	ns .	123	
•	olemaic Paintings and Mosaics and			
the Alexandrian Styl		R. A. Higgins	•	124
	nina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of	T. C. M.		
the First Five Centur	ies A.D	E. G. Turner	•	125
	LIST OF PLA	TFS		
	LIST OF TEA	LLS		
Plate I.	Head of King Osorkon II .		•	Frontispiece
Plate II.	Head of Osorkon II. Right profi	le		facing p. 4
Plate III.	Head of Osorkon II. Three-qua-	rter view .	•	facing p. 5
Plate IV.	Head of Osorkon II. Seen from	above	•	facing p. 6
Plate V	Head of Osorkon II. Plaster cast	t	•	facing p. 7
Plate VI.	Statue of Osorkon II. 1. Withou	ut head; 2. With		
	cast of head in position .			facing p. 10
Plates VII–VIII.	Statue of Osorkon II. The stela		between	pp. 16 and 17
Plates IX and IX A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Der el	-Baḥri	between	pp. 30 and 31
Plates X and X A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el	l-Baḥri	between	pp. 32 and 33
Plates XI and XI A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el	l-Baḥri	between	pp. 38 and 39
Plates XII and XII A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el	l-Baḥri	between	pp. 42 and 43
Plates XIII and XIII A.	Tuthmoside ostraca from Dēr el	l-Baḥri	between	pp. 46 and 47
Plate XIV.	Statuettes of Harpers			facing p. 53
Plates XV and XV A.	Papyrus Lythgoe		between	pp. 66 and 67
Plate XVI.	British Museum drawing-board	5601	•	facing p. 71

THE TITLE IN THE OLD KINGDOM

By HANS GOEDICKE

The Berlin Dictionary (Wb. 1, 159, 8–10) gives for the word in 'ein Titel. AR, MR. im Verkehr mit fremden Ländern: Dolmetscher; oft in den Titeln mr (, hrp ('. This meaning, 'interpreter, dragoman', was proposed by Gardiner¹ after a number of earlier, not very successful attempts by other scholars. In his study, he has demonstrated the connexion of the old word in with the Late-Egyptian in thus preparing the way for understanding. It was he also who proved in the course of his study that Spiegelberg's suggestion that corresponded to $\beta a \rho \beta a \rho i \zeta \epsilon w$ 'to speak and act like a barbarian', 'to speak gibberish', was valid for the other uses of this word. It is impossible to add anything to Gardiner's profound article, so that we can refer to his study for these conclusions.

The meaning at present generally accepted³ for interpreter' or 'dragoman' was also introduced by Gardiner in the above-mentioned article. On this point he writes:⁴ 'It will be noted that I render the Old Kingdom word by "interpreter" or "dragoman", whereas the New Kingdom predicate by is translated "foreigner". The reason is that the former is clearly a *title* while the latter equally clearly is not. It would be more literal to substitute "speaker of a foreign language" in each case, this being . . . the true etymological meaning.' This conclusion of Gardiner's seems to me rather strange and I wish to discuss the matter again as far as the Old Kingdom inscriptions are concerned.

Only one instance in the Old Kingdom is known to me where c is used by itself in a literary context and not as part of a compound title: $\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2$

¹ PSBA 37, 117-25.

² Spiegelberg, Varia, Rec. trav. 14, 41–42, where he emphasized the onomatopoetic character of the Egyptian word, which is similarly possessed by the Greek equivalent. The Old Kingdom term is here, as usual, transcribed c, but more correctly it is c; cf. Goyon, Nouvelles Inscriptions du Wadi Hammamat 55 f., no. 21.

³ Černý, The Inscriptions of Sinai, 11, 14; Vandier, Mo'alla, 19; Gardiner, JEA 43, 7; Faulkner, JEA 39, 34; Helck, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, 115.

⁴ Gardiner, *PSBA* 37, 125.

⁵ Urk. I, 137, 4. Gardiner's rendering of the passage was based on the first edition of the text which was subsequently improved by Sethe in his second edition.

⁶ For the significance of the passage cf. Clère, Sur un cliché des biographies de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI^e dynastie, Festschrift Grapow, 38 ff.

⁷ For this practice see Gunn, JEA 19, 106.

improbable that c means 'interpreter'. Moreover, the mention of the c (c c) between c (c c) and c c indicates that those people, called c , occupied a position which set them in some relation both to the Egyptians and to the Nubians.

When we turn to the titles incorporating the word $\overline{\square}$ we note the surprising fact that no instance is attested for the Old Kingdom where $\overline{\square}$ occurs as a title by itself; we have, on the other hand, a considerable number of instances of officials with compound titles, like $\underline{hrp} \in \mathbb{R}$ and, especially, $\underline{imy-r} \in \mathbb{R}$. If we accept that c means 'interpreter' it is strange that there should have been only higher ranks in an 'organization of interpreters', but no ordinary interpreter. It is further unlikely that there was at this time an organized institution of interpreters with different ranks. In the New Kingdom, where Akkadian is used for diplomatic correspondence, no institution of this kind is found.

In addition to these general objections a further argument against Gardiner's view is provided by a passage in the Dahshur decree³ which in my opinion proves that $imy-r \in does$ not signify 'overseer of interpreters'. To translate $imy-r \in does$ not signify 'overseer' of interpreters of imp as '"friend"-overseer' of interpreters of imp as '"friend"-overseer' of interpreters of imp as '"friend"-overseer of the "foreigners" of imp and imp are imp are imp and imp are imp and imp are imp are imp and imp are imp are imp and imp are imp and imp are imp are imp and imp are imp and imp are imp are imp are imp are imp are imp and imp are imp are imp are imp and imp are imp are imp an

Among titles incorporating $\frac{1}{|C|}$ we find $\frac{hrp}{r}$, $\frac{imy-r}{r}$ and, rarely, $\frac{shd}{r}$ and $\frac{imy-ht}{r}$. The title $\frac{h}{|C|}$ is attested, as far as I know, four times in the Old Kingdom: $\frac{K}{r}\frac{hyf}{r}$, K: $\frac{hyf}{r}$ (G. 2150), his son K: $\frac{h}{r}\frac{swd}{r}$ (G. 5340), and $\frac{h}{r}\frac{h}{r}\frac{h}{r}$, who might also be in some way related to the family of K: $\frac{h}{r}$. The first lived probably at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, the others during the Fifth Dynasty; after this time the title does not occur. It is of interest that K: $\frac{h}{r}$ and $\frac{h}{r}\frac{h}{r}$ also bear the title $\frac{h}{r}$ which is of a military character. Other titles in the inscriptions of K: $\frac{h}{r}$ and $\frac{h}{r}$ and $\frac{h}{r}$ which had been to some extent under the control of the Egyptians for ages past.

While the title hrp c is rarely found, imy-r c is attested much more frequently. The

¹ The problem of foreign languages, particularly in relation to the South, was hardly of any great importance. Thus today at Aswan, the majority of the population is bilingual, speaking Arabic and Nubian.

² For the question of the use of a foreign language for diplomatic correspondence, cf. Czermak, Akten in Keilschrift und das Auswärtige Amt des Pharao, WZKM 51, 1-13.

³ Urk. 1, 209, 16.

⁴ Although the text clearly gives ||↑, it seems most likely that this is an error for ||↑ since ||↑ since ||↑ is the usual, well attested combination. Cf. Helck, op. cit. 115; *Urk*. 1, 102, 5; Weigall, *Documents of Lower Nubia*, pl. lviii.

⁵ The element representing the title is *imy-r* while f is a designation of people.

⁶ Bisson de la Roque, Fouilles d'Abou-Roach (1924) (FIFAO 2, 1), 58.

⁷ Reisner, A History of the Gîza Necropolis, I, 437 ff., figs. 258-64.

⁸ Junker, Gîza, VII, 161 = Lepsius, Denkm. II, 85a.

⁹ Lepsius, Denkm. II, 101a.

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

Pepi I:		Ggi	Cairo 71/72; 1455
<i>Ty</i>	Urk. 1, 209, $2 = \text{Weigall}$,		
•	Documents of Lower Nubia,	Pepi II and later:	
	pl. 30	Nyks(n h	
idy	<i>Urk.</i> I, 209, $4 = \text{ibid.}$, pls.	•	Urk. I, 113, $10 = Gar$
•	56; 58, 28		diner-Peet-Černý, op. cit.
			pl. IX, 17
Hwns	Urk. 1, 208, 17 = ibid., pl.	Mryrcenh	<i>Urk.</i> 1, 113, $9 = ibid.$
•	29	Ӊkзìb	<i>Urk.</i> 1, 131, 16–17
Nyk3¢ nḥ	Urk. 1, 92, 6 = Gardiner-	S } b n i	Ann. Serv. 15, 4
	Peet-Černý, Inscriptions of	Hwi	ibid. 7
	Sinai, pl. VIII, 16	Mhw	ibid. 3
Sndm	<i>Urk.</i> 1, 92, $7 = ibid.$	Wdw	de Morgan, Fouilles à Dah-
MnwmricnhMryrc	Goyon, Nouvelles Inscrip-		chour, 15, fig. 34
	tions du Wadi Hammamat,	3bbi	Cairo 1406
	p. 53, no. 19	Hwwi	Brit. Mus. 199
Tw3 w	ibid.	Iny	Brit. Mus. 1480
Nfrrnpt	ibid. p. 55, no. 21	(nht (?)	Urk. 1, 134, 14
Nd m i b	ibid.²	rnhtifi	Vandier, Mo'alla, 19
Tw3 w	ibid.	S } b i	Weigall, op. cit. pl. LVIII
Thy	ibid.	Iķib	ibid.
Hwnhr	ibid.	Tticnh	ibid.
Sndmib	ibid.	Iri	ibid.
3šfw	ibid. p. 60, no. 26	Ӊҏi	ibid.
Hwwi	ibid. p. 61, no. 27	$S_ib\dots$	ibid.
Rdyn(i?)	ibid.	7370	ibid.
Tw_sw	ibid.	$Hn \dots nt$	ibid.
Merenrēc:		<u>T</u> 3w	P.Berlin 9010 (ZÄS 61, 71)
Ḥrḥwf	<i>Urk.</i> I, 120, 14	Wsr	ibid.

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

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

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

² The only instance in the Old Kingdom with the full spelling $\longrightarrow \mathbb{N}$ \square .

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

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

- (2) In the second largest group imy-r occurs as a title of the nobles of Elephantine. This place occupied a specific role in the Egyptian administration inasmuch as by its geographical position it was the outpost of Egypt towards the South; activity, both military and economic, against Nubia lay in the hands of officials residing there.²
- (3) Three examples come from the Memphite region. One is from Sakkārah,³ the other two from Dahshur, one being in the decree of Pepi I for the pyramids of Snofru.

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

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

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

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

³ Cf. Fischer, *JAOS* 74, 29 ff.

⁴ Urk. 1, 209, 16.

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

⁶ Cf. Komorzinski, AÄA 1, 46.

⁷ Urk. I, 102, 5.

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

To complete the evidence of titles incorporating c, we must note one instance of $\sqrt[n]{n}$ and two of $\sqrt[n]{n}$.

A word has to be said here about the occurrence of $\frac{1}{\sqrt{100}}$ in the funerary temple of Sahurēr where it is found in the texts accompanying scenes representing foreign ships.³ Sethe in his commentary suggested the translation 'shipmate' (Maat) for which he offers no explanation. There can be no doubt that the word of here is identical with the one in the title *imy-r* c where it means—as is shown above—'foreigner'. A careful examination of the scenes shows the following results: The group $\overline{\square}$ is placed above persons who differ in their appearance from the rest of the crew which is clearly depicted as Asiatic. The persons labelled perform a particular kind of gesture different from that of the Asiatic people. They have one arm lifted up in adoration while the other is placed on the head of an Asiatic standing in front of them. The number of persons represented thus performing this particular kind of gesture exceeds many times the number of cases where $\frac{1}{100}$ is written. In one ship, for instance, there are no less than six persons of this kind; in others, less well preserved, even more. Their appearance in such great numbers makes it difficult to consider them as 'interpreters'. It seems to me more likely that was used here in an attempt to specify certain persons as 'foreigners' where it was not obvious from their appearance.

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

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

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

² Nyksenh, Gardiner-Peet-Černý, op. cit., pl. vii, no. 13 = Urk. 1, 56 (time of Asosis); Thuef, Gardiner-Peet-Černý, op. cit., pl. ix, no. 17 = Urk. 1, 113, 16 (time of Pepi II).

³ Borchardt-Sethe, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sashwrec, II, pl. 12.

⁴ Ibid., p. 87.