

Fram:

TEMPLES OF ARMANT

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

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WITH CHAPTERS BY
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THE TEXT

1 PLATES (2 vols)

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1198.

worked in laying out the scenes. Possibly this was filled in with plaster when the scene was completed though we have no evidence of this, but it is a rough object which would detract from the general appearance.

The cubit is divided into half and the right-hand side is again subdivided into three palms and the end palm into four digits thus making the six palm or duodecimal cubit. The cubit was much damaged and the subdivisions of the left half are uncertain. The duodecimally divided cubit has not previously been recorded from Egypt prior to the Greek period and this method of division is therefore interesting. The cubit was crudely carved and apparently not taken from a good standard. The parallelism of the horizontal and vertical lines is equally poor and the subdivisional accuracy very low as will be seen from the figures. The cubit is also too long for the standard Royal cubit but far too close to this to be intended for any other unit. The measurements were taken at 21° C.

Widths

	cm.
Left end . . .	1.91
Half mark . . .	1.92
Right end . . .	1.80

Lengths

	<i>Half.</i>	<i>Palm 1.</i>	<i>Palm 2.</i>	<i>Palm 3.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Digit 1 2 3 4</i>			
Top . . .	26.26	8.81	8.58	8.78	52.88	2.22	2.24	2.31	2.00
Bottom . . .	26.56	8.76	8.61	8.90	52.84	2.32	2.21	2.39	1.99

The simple mean length is $52.86 \pm .01$.

The weighted mean length is $53.20 \pm .18$ (according to the only correct method of assessment, that laid down by Petrie in *Inductive Metrology* in 1877 and kindly verified for me at the Galton Laboratory, U.C.L., in 1934).

The cubit was measured with a Negretti and Zambra brass scale with a subdivisional accuracy of ± 0.05 mm. and a co-efficient of expansion of $.0000184$ for 1° C. Length 750.22 mm at 17° C. Each figure given above is the mean of three determinations with this instrument.

It would be excessive to give all these details in the case of such a poor object but for the fact that, during my absence and without my knowledge, the foreman, knowing that a wax mould I had made of the object for the Science Museum had melted and the cement cast broken, attempted several times to make casts himself and damaged the original, a damage that it was not possible to remedy completely. It seems therefore best to give full details, lest someone else should require them at any time.

The procession on the north face of the east pylon wing is so far the best discovery artistically from Armant town.

The procession is worthy of attention in detail. At the head is a large beast, undoubtedly a rhinoceros although the legs are misdrawn. The folds in the neck, the heavy folds of the skin the shape of the head and above all the horns show this quite clearly. In the photograph on the beginning of the upper horn can be seen, but the start of the lower horn is just perceptible on the actual relief. That it was considered of paramount importance is shown by the inscription accompanying it, which does not appear with any of the other captures.

The inscription is unfortunately damaged but from it certain dimensions can be deduced. A literal translation will be found on p. 160. It seems that the length of the horn was 1 cubit 1 palm the height of the foreleg $5\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, and its circumference (presumably where it joined the body)

Pl. 9, 93⁶

3 cubits 5 palms. The circumference of the footprint 2 cubits 1 palm, and the circumference of the belly 13 cubits 2 palms. A dimension on the rear leg, presumably the circumference near the buttocks, 5 cubits 3 palms.

As no cubit is given it seems natural to assume that the Royal cubit was in question and the lengths have been calculated on this assumption. Calculations were also made for a duodecimally divided cubit as shown on the pylon face, but the difference is negligible. The dimensions were then submitted to Mr. J. Fisher, of the Zoological Society of London, whose report on them is given on p. 204. He finds four of the measurements possible (one of which, the horn, is rather small), and two impossible. If a smaller cubit, such as the Short or Lesser, was employed, the exaggerated dimensions might fall within reason but the horn would then become unusually small. It seems more probable that the fault lies in the method of taking the measurements; for example, the height of the leg would be in conformity with the other measurements if it be assumed that a tape was run right round from one forefoot over the back to the other. Perhaps the circumference of the belly was taken longitudinally over head and all.

It is a puzzle how the artist came to draw the legs so wrong. It might be argued that he only saw the skin and imagined the legs to be like those of cattle, yet if skinned their thickness would be exaggerated. Moreover from a skin he would hardly have got the folds of the neck and shoulders. One can be almost certain that he did not see the animal alive, on account of the improbability of anyone bringing it back in that state. On the stela (if it be the capture of Tuthmosis) the phrase used is ambiguous. It is probable that the Egyptians' æsthetic sense made them draw shot animals alive rather than dead, though a skin of some sort is shown earlier in the relief.

Little remains of the men holding back the rhinoceros, but it appears that the drawing of them was vigorous and spirited. Here a small fragment of the superior row of stones has preserved for us the head and shoulders of the last man and of the first woman in the group that follows. This shows four Sudanese women, each with her baby slung in a bundle over her shoulder, with pendulous breasts and rather prominent buttocks. Even the Negroid cast of the first woman's features is noticeable.

Next come a group of two tribute-bearers, the first carrying ostrich plumes and three long carrot-shaped objects and the second ostrich eggs and the same pendant group. With regard to the latter various suggestions have been made, such as giraffe tails, long leaves like bananas stitched up and containing gold dust or some similar valuable, but none seems quite satisfactory. Possible research at other sites might produce the same objects named. The ostrich eggs appear to be on a plate, but this is of course not feasible. It is, however, quite likely that they are carried on a wide, flat basket such as is used for carrying bread and other foods in Egypt and the Sudan to-day.

The tribute bearers are followed by a group of oxen containing three adult beasts and a bull-calf. Two of the former are bulls and it is probable that the third is also, especially as the next group is also of two bulls. There are several points of interest about these cattle. The first is that they are all bulls. This might mean that they were killed in the chase because the bull required more prowess than the cow but this would not explain the calf. They might, on the other hand, be domesticated cattle, in which case perhaps bulls were brought back for stud purposes to improve the local breeds. One of the second group of two bulls has a crumpled horn and Winkler suggests (H. A. Winkler, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, ii) that

as "Teneniyt-Iuniyt". But by the Ptolemaic period the fusion is certainly complete, and the goddess Teneniyt-Iuniyt appears in the reliefs from the Bab el Maganin (p. 177) as the consort of Mentu.

Teneniyt further becomes partly merged in the figure of Rērit-tai, the most usual of Mentu's spouses in the Ptolemaic period elsewhere, but on the Roman gateway (see p. 181) Mentu takes a prominent position with Teneniyt on one side and with Rērit-tai on the other. Teneniyt, always the dominant partner in the Dynastic triad, is the goddess who appears in the Ptolemaic triad, Mentu, Rērit-tai, Teneniyt.¹ Another triad on the fashionable Ptolemaic model of Father, Mother, and Child was Mentu, Teneniyt, and Harpocrates at Tōd (p. 21), and Mentu, Rērit-tai, and Horprēr in the Mammisi, now destroyed, at Armant. In the temple of Deir el Medineh the fusion of these goddesses is complete in the figure of Teneniyt-Rērit-tai.

The origins of both goddesses are obscure. Iuniyt is "She of Hermonthis", the lady of the city from which she derived her name. Her specifically local character was always maintained, for she is rarely met with outside Armant. Possibly it was she, as the *genius loci* of Hermonthis, who was first allotted as consort to Mentu, in his ancient totemic form as the falcon-god. It is not clear how she came to be replaced by Teneniyt as the prominent partner of Mentu. Teneniyt, or Tanent, is thought to have been the female counterpart of Tanen, the ancient cthonic deity who became merged in the figure of the god Ptah.² In the Middle Kingdom there is a further connection between Hermonthis and Memphis, not through Teneniyt as one would expect, but through Iuniyt, who is twice called "Lady of Ankh-tai".³ On the relief illustrated on Pl. XCIX, No. 8, she is accompanied by "Ptah, Lord of Ankh-tai". The connection between the Bull of Mentu and the god Tanen is pointed out by Otto (*Stierkulte*, p. 53), who quotes various instances mostly from the late texts at Medamūd. The alternative explanation that Teneniyt as well as Iuniyt derived her name from an ancient place-name is less convincing. *Tnn* is mentioned in the Buchis stelæ (Bucheum, II, pp. 7-8) as a place near Hermonthis where the initial rites of the inauguration of the new Buchis were performed. But *Tnn* is not known earlier than the Ptolemaic period, and may itself have been derived from the name of the goddess, rather than vice versa. There was at any rate an undoubted connection between Memphis and Hermonthis in the early period, which still awaits religious-historical explanation.

THE PYLON

North Face of Pylon, East Wing. Pls. IX and XCIII, Nos. 5 and 6.

The fine relief on this wing of the pylon, depicting a procession of negroes bringing tribute of all kinds, has already been described (p. 24 ff.). For most of its length this procession is without inscription, but at either end there were columns of text. One of these, the one presumably describing the capture of the rhinoceros that heads the procession, has unfortunately been almost entirely destroyed; it is an inscription we can ill afford to lose. Most of the dimensions of the beast, written around his body in the appropriate places, are preserved.

¹ See Wiedemann, "Egyptian Monuments at Dorpat," *P.S.B.A.*, 1894, pp. 150-2.

² For the god Tanen or Tatanen, see the discussion by Sethe in *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 33-4.

³ The epithet occurs again on the New York block (p. 167), but the goddess here, though she is presumed to be [Iun]iyt by analogy with the other two examples, may equally well have been [Tenen]iyt.

On the extreme left, under the animal's nose, the last line of the historical text can be seen, ". . . on his first victorious [expedition]." The dimensions given are as follows :

^a Above his horns, ". . . 1 cubit 1 palm."

^b In front of his foreleg, "the height of his foreleg to the ground is $5\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, its circumference is 3 cubits 5 palms."

^c Between his two forelegs, "the circumference of his footprint (lit. "hand" or "arm") upon the ground is 2 cubits and 1 palm."

^d Between forelegs and hindlegs, "the girth of his belly is 13 cubits, 2 palms and 2 digits."

^e Behind his hindleg, ". . . its circumference (i.e. of the hindleg) is 5 cubits 3 palms."

At the other end of the procession, close to the entrance gateway of the pylon, are four well-cut columns of hieroglyphic text which formed an introduction to the whole scene :

1. "The plunder by Pharaoh of the lands of the miserable Kush
2. "on (his) first victorious expedition, when he was alone,
3. "(relying) upon his strong arm, none other being with him. If each item were to be enumerated in turn (lit. by its name—cf. the stela of Tuthmosis III, p. 183)
4. "they would be more numerous than millions, than thousands, more (even) than the sands of the shore."

The question of the date of the relief itself has been discussed in a former chapter (p. 25). The inscription, which should help towards dating it, offers conflicting evidence. On the one hand, the phraseology is reminiscent of Ramesside boasts, and the term *Pr-rj* is not hitherto known before the reign of Akhenaten.¹ On the other hand, the inscription is very well cut and contrasts in this respect with the inscriptions of Ramesses II on the east wing and in the entrance of the pylon. The rhinoceros depicted in the procession is another reason for supposing an earlier date to be the right one; one is at once tempted to assume that it is the same animal as that mentioned by Tuthmosis III on his stela. The question of style is more subjective and is discussed on p. 25.

The Topographical List.

Above the level of the procession on the north face of either wing was a list of vanquished Nubian tribes or townships; only parts of three remain of what must have been a long list of names. They are framed in the usual manner by a crenellated enclosure and were surmounted each by the head of a negro. One name, [K]j^m, is left on the northern face of the east pylon wing, above the inscription at the gateway end of the procession of tribute bearers (Pl. XCIII, No. 5). On the western wing, also close to the gateway, are the lower parts of two more names (Pl. VIII, Fig. 3), [Gr]ss and rk. All three names are known from the lists of Tuthmosis III on the sixth pylon at Karnak (see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, Vol. II, p. 31, 34 and Sethe, *Urkunden des Neuen Reiches*, IV, 795 ff., Nos. 72, 12, and 13 respectively.) *Grss* and *rk* are found together in the temple of Amenophis III at Soleb,² and are found in the lists of Ramesses II—*Grss* in the Abydos list (Mariette, *Abydos*, Vol. II, Pl. 2 and 3) and *rk* from his statue in the Luxor temple (Daressy in *Rec. Trav.*, XVI, 1894, p. 50, No. 12); they occur

¹ F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1895, p. 38, 17, and A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, p. 75.

² Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 88.

mighty of strength, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of ceremonies, Menkheperre, bodily son of the Sun, Tuthmosis, Prince of Truth, beloved of Mentu, Lord of Thebes, who is in Hermonthis, living for ever.^(a) (2) Year 22, second month of winter, day 10.^(b) Summary of the deeds of might and victory which this good god performed, being every excellent occasion of valour from the beginning, since the first generation of men.^(c) What the Lord of the Gods, the Lord of Hermonthis, did for him was to magnify his victories, so that (3) his conquests might be related for millions of years to come, omitting to mention the deeds of valour which His Majesty performed daily (*lit.* in both seasons, by day and night), for if one were to mention each occasion by name,^(d) they would be too numerous to put into writing. He shot at a copper ingot, all woods having been split like reeds. His Majesty set up a sample one in the temple of Amūn—a target of wrought copper 3 digits in thickness, with an arrow of his in it, which he had caused to protrude three palm-breadths through (4) at the back of it, that he might fulfil the wish of his followers for success in might and victory.^(e) I speak in accordance with what he (actually) did,^(f) there is neither deceit nor falsehood^(g) therein, (it was done) in the presence of the whole army, and there is no word of exaggeration in it. If he spends (6) time^(h) taking recreation in hunting in any desert, the number of his trophies is greater than the spoils of the whole army. He killed seven lions when out shooting, in the twinkling of an eye. He secured (7) a herd of twelve wild cattle in an hour, when breakfast time came,⁽ⁱ⁾ their tails to be worn behind him (?).^(k) He despatched 120 elephants in the mountain country of Niy,^(l) when coming from Naharain. (8) He crossed the River Euphrates and crushed the towns on its borders, they being laid waste with fire for ever. He set up a stela of victory on [its eastern] bank. He bagged a rhinoceros^(m) when shooting in the southern desert region (9) of Nubia, when he went to Miu⁽ⁿ⁾ to seek out him who had rebelled against him in that land, and he set up his stela there as he had on the banks [of the river ?]. His Majesty made no delay in proceeding to (10) Djahi to slay the rebels who were there, and to make gifts to those who remained loyal to him, witness [their] names . . . each [country] according to its time (??).^(o) His Majesty returned on each (11) occasion (only) after his attack had succeeded in might and victory, and he made Egypt to be in the condition that (it was in) when Rē was king in it. [Date ? Year 22, fourth month of winter, day^(p) ?] Going forth from Memphis to smite the countries of the wretched Retenu, (12) on the first occasion of victory. It was His Majesty who threw open its roads and forced every passage for his army, after what . . . did [Megid]do. His Majesty entered upon that road (13) which grows very narrow,^(q) at the head of his whole army, while all countries were mustered, standing ready for battle at its mouth. (14) The enemies were discouraged, they fled headlong to their city, together with the chieftain who was in (15) they beseeching . . . , their belongings upon their backs. His Majesty returned rejoicing, the whole of this foreign land as [his] vassals (16) . . . Asiatics coming with one accord bearing tribute (17) Year 29,^(r) fourth month of winter, day

NOTES

^(a) This is the full titulary of the king, cf. the Gebel Barkal stele, G. Reisner, *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, lxi, 1933, p. 26, l. 1.

^(b) It is not clear from the text what this date refers to. It is more than two months earlier than the first recorded date of his reign—the departure from Tharu for the first Syrian campaign in year 22, fourth month of winter, day 25 (K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Neuen Reiches*, iv, 647, 12). Hence it may be the date of the beginning of his sole reign, after the death of Hatshepsut. It is unfortunate that the other date given on the stela (l. 17) is without context.

(c) *ht tpu*, see the note in A. H. Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 1909, p. 82.

(d) *m sp hr rn-f*. This phrase occurs again in the inscription on the north pylon face (p. 160); for a similar expression see Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, 684, 13.

(e) This interesting passage is closely paralleled by the inscription on the granite relief of Amenophis II by the third pylon at Karnak (H. Chevrier in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xxviii, p. 126, and H. Schäfer, "König Amenophis II als Meisterschütz," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, xxxii, 1929, col. 236), and is elaborated on the great stela of the same king at Gizeh (Selim Hassan, "The Great Limestone Stela of Amenhotep II," *Ann. Serv.*, vii, 1937, pp. 129 ff.). The latter inscription gives a detailed account of the setting up of four targets of Asiatic copper (ll. 16-18), and of the king's shooting through them. Tuthmosis III, mighty warrior himself, saw to it that his son was well instructed in the use of the bow (Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, 976, and Schäfer, *O.L.Z.*, xxxiv, 89-93), and the Gizeh stela reflects the pride of the son in outdoing his father, for his arrows not only pierced the targets but passed right through them and out at the other side, "a thing which has never been done before" (l. 18). The tradition continued, and Tuthmosis IV claims to have shot at a copper target (Sphinx Stela, l. 5; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, 68, and A. Erman, "Die Sphinxstele," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vi, pp. 428-437. See further Schäfer, "Die kupferne Zielscheibe in der Sphinxinschrift Thutmosis des IV," *Z.Ä.S.*, lxvii, 1931, pp. 9ff.). Further examples of this feat of skill and strength are quoted by B. van de Walle, "Les Rois sportifs dans l'Ancienne Égypte," *Chronique d'Égypte*, Brussels, xxvi, 1938, pp. 234-258. See also N. de G. Davies, "The King as Sportsman," *Bull. M.M.A.*, November, 1935, Sect. II, pp. 49-53.

(f) *n mw irt-f* "in accordance with what he did" (?). This phrase may possibly be connected with the more frequent expression *hr mw n* . . . which occurs in l. 10 of this text.

(g) *hrt r*. The inscription is badly rubbed at this point; the word *grg* might be expected, but is certainly not to be read here.

(h) *irt-f st*, etc., cf. Sphinx Stele, l. 5.

(i) *mw n stt-r*, see *Z.Ä.S.*, lxxi, 1935, pp. 86-7.

(k) This interpretation was suggested to me by Dr. Gardiner, and seems highly likely in view of the fact that the ceremonial tail worn by the king is always depicted as a bull's tail.

(l) This was the elephant hunt in which Amenemhab distinguished himself by saving the king's life (Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, 893-4).

(m) This is the first occurrence of this word or its determinative. The latter hieroglyph seems to show an animal with three horns, but one of these must be accidental and due to the detachment of a chip of felspar from the granite, as has happened frequently on the face of the stela; the African rhinoceros has two horns. It is interesting to compare this lively little picture with the two inlay pieces from Kerma (Reisner, *Kerma*, iv, pls. 55, 2 and 60, 2). See also Max Hilzheimer, "Die Nashorndarstellungen von Kerma," *Z.Ä.S.*, 67 (1931), pp. 39-42. The etymology of the word *škb* is obscure; possibly it was derived from a Nubian place-name, or the local name of the beast. A word *irb*, from a relief from Abu Gurab in the Berlin Museum, is determined by a similar horned animal and the sign for water, and is tentatively translated "rhinoceros" in *WB.*, i, 115, 4.

(n) *Mtw*. A place-name already well known from various sources (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, vol. iii, p. 11). It occurs in the Karnak list of the southern conquests of Tuthmosis III.

(o) Cf. the phrase which occurs in Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, 386, 9.

(p) They were at the frontier by the twenty-fifth of the month.

(q) Cf. similar phrases in the Annals, *Urkunden*, iv, 649.

(r) This was the year of the fifth campaign, in Djahi.

Pl. CI, No. 3. Part of the private stela of the vizier Usermentu, rounded at the top, in fine white limestone, found in the temple area on private ground, and ultimately acquired by the Cairo Museum, Cairo $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{2}{1}$. Owing to the circumstances of the discovery we had no chance of making an examination of this stela when we were in Egypt, and I am indebted to Dr. Černý for making a hand copy of it when he was in Cairo. He was also kind enough to take a squeeze, but this was unluckily lost in the post, and there was only time to obtain from the Cairo Museum authorities a squeeze of the main inscription (a). For the side and top pieces (b), (c), and (d) I am dependent on Dr. Černý's copy. It was also impossible at short notice to obtain a photograph of the stela. The sketch shows the relative position of the texts.

(a), the largest, consists of thirteen lines of inscription:

1. [Praise to thee, O Ment]u, Lord of Hermonthis, youthful bull [sharp of]

THE PYLON RELIEF

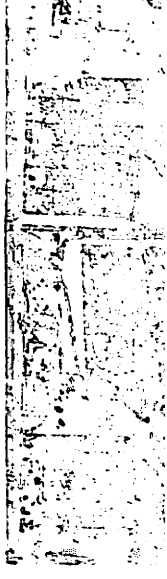
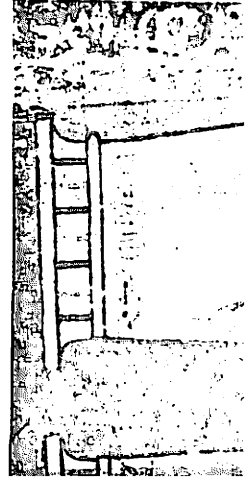
IX (1)



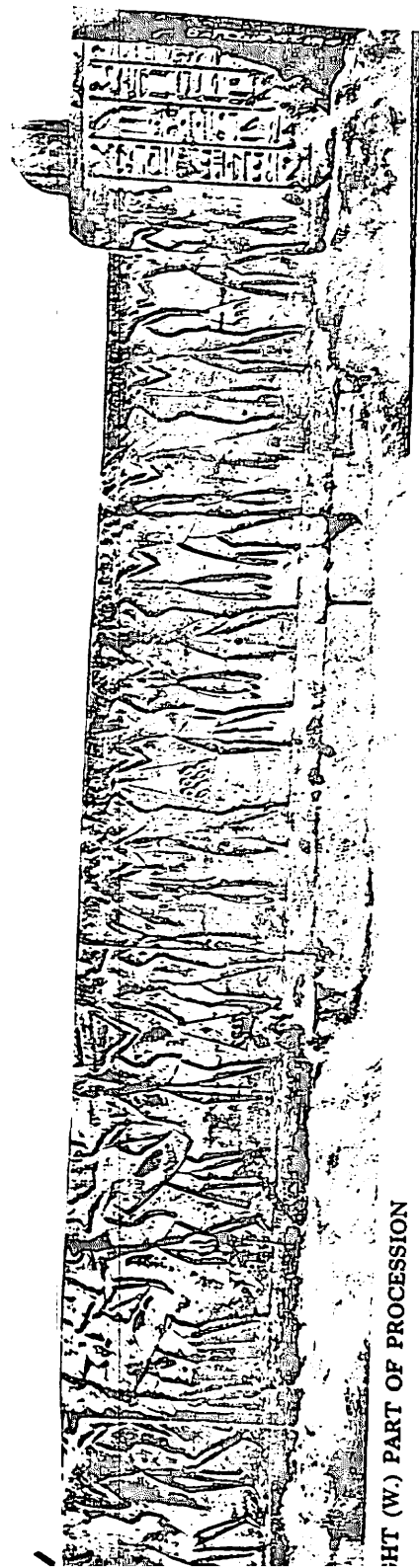
RIGHT (W.) PART OF PROCESSION



LEFT (E.) PART OF PROCESSION



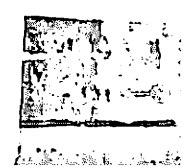
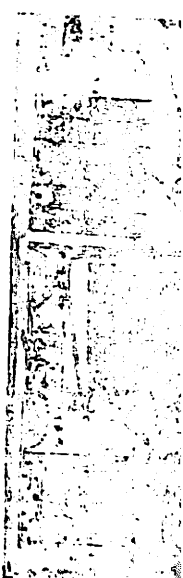
6

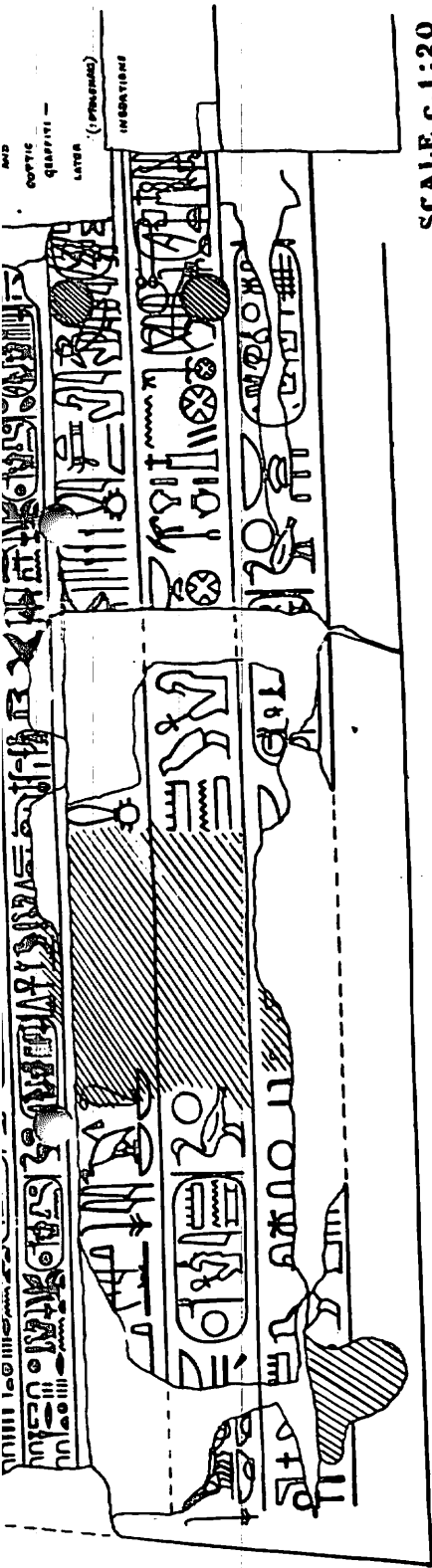


...HT (W.) PART OF PROCESSION

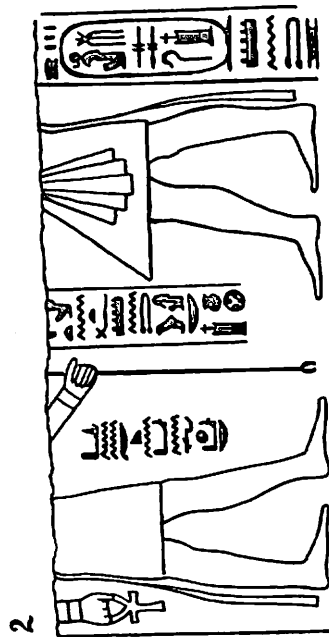


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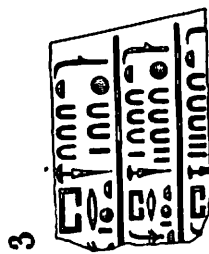




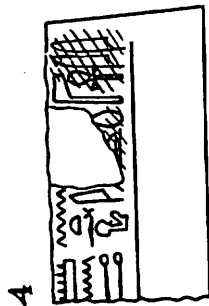
SCALE c.1:20



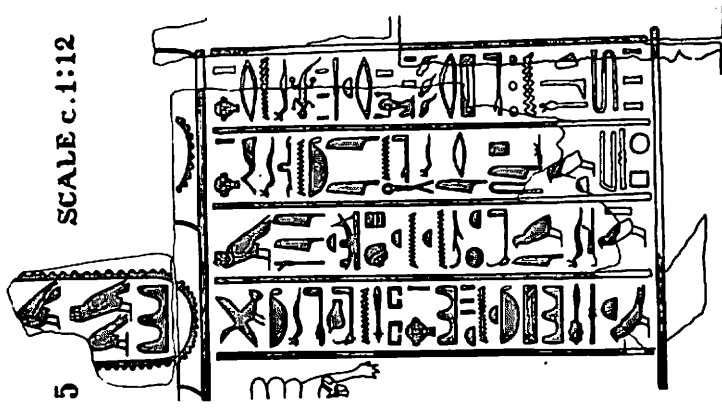
SCALE c.1:15



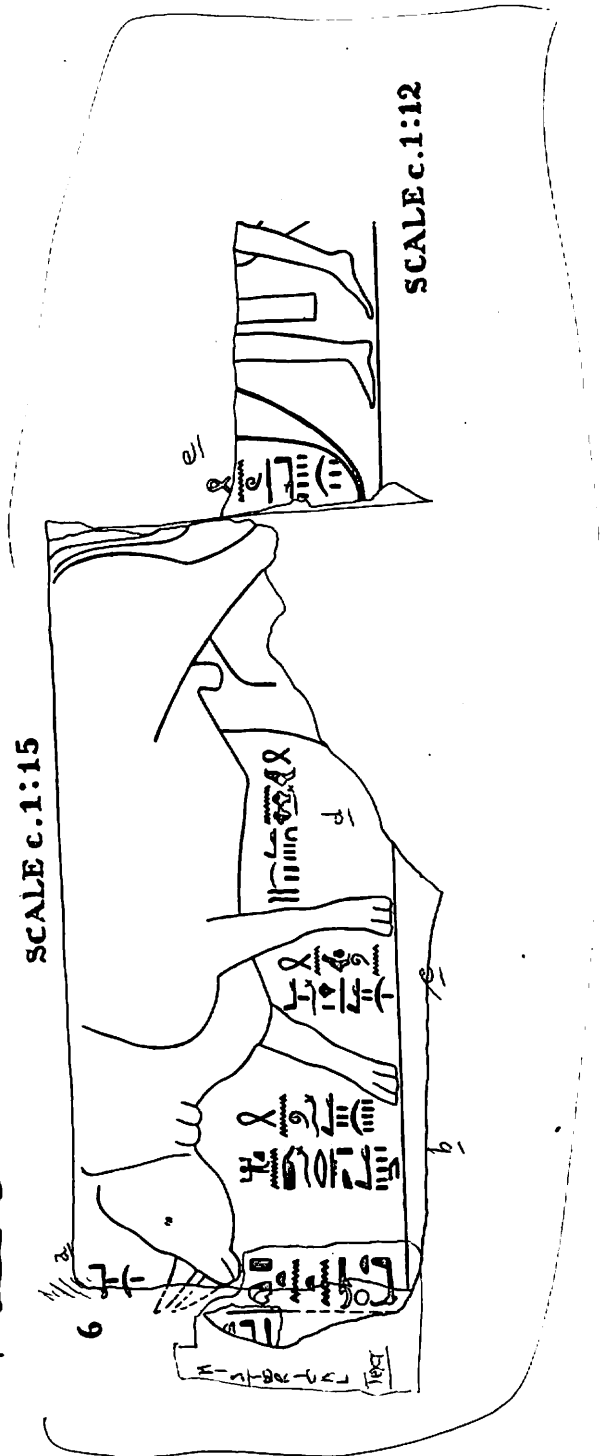
SCALE c.1:18



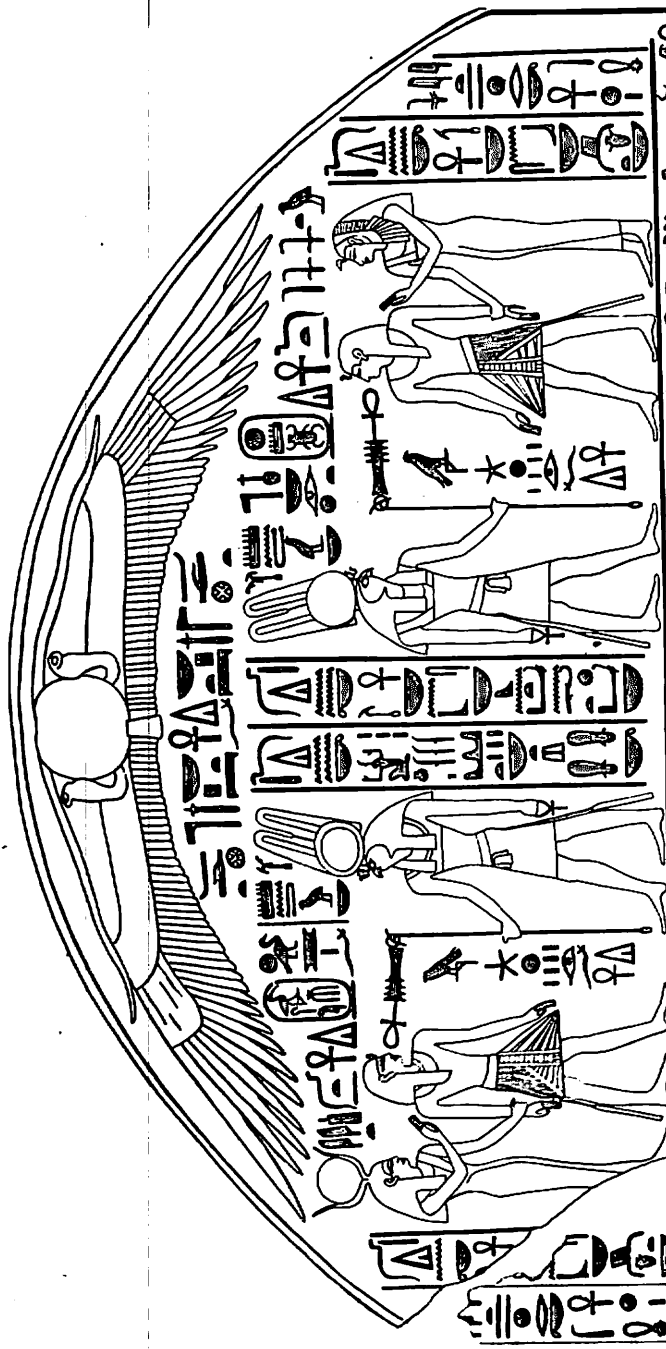
SCALE c.1:20



SCALE c.1:12



SCALE c.1:12



Hieroglyphic text arranged in vertical columns, reading from right to left. The text is densely packed and includes various symbols and signs.

⊗ = word
 ʃ = thinnas