

ZEITSCHRIFT

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ÄGYPTISCHE SPRACHE

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60. BAND

MIT ZWEI TAFELN UND ZWEI ABBILDUNGEN IM TEXT



LEIPZIG

J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG

1925

The Autobiography of Rekhmerē.

By ALAN H. GARDINER.




The subject of this paper is the sadly battered inscription published by NEWBERRY in Pls. VII and VIII of his admirable volume "The Life of Rekhmara". It occupies the southern end-wall of the tomb of Tuthmosis III's famous vizier, and comprises forty-five lines of hieroglyphs painted in green upon a plaster surface. To quote NEWBERRY's description, "unfortunately several flaws in the rock have caused pieces of the wall to fall, and much of the surface plaster has flaked away from the lower half of the inscription. No early copy of the text exists, and as far back as 1828 it seems to have been in the same ruinous condition; CHAMPOLLION, writing in that year, states that it was 'presque invisible'. Virey made no attempt to copy it, and contented himself by remarking it 'est trop effacée pour être étudiée utilement'".

Praiseworthy as was NEWBERRY's effort to save the inscription from complete oblivion, his standard of accuracy here falls far short of that shown in his copies of the other long texts of the tomb; I can testify to the wonderful care that has been bestowed upon the inscriptions recording the duties and the installation of the vizier. It was doubtless for this reason that SETHE entirely neglected the tomb of Rekhmerē during his brief but extraordinarily fruitful copying campaign at Thebes in 1905. SETHE's edition of the inscription here treated (Urkunden IV, 1071—85) derives its value wholly from the acute restorations which it embodies; for the rest, it depends entirely upon NEWBERRY.

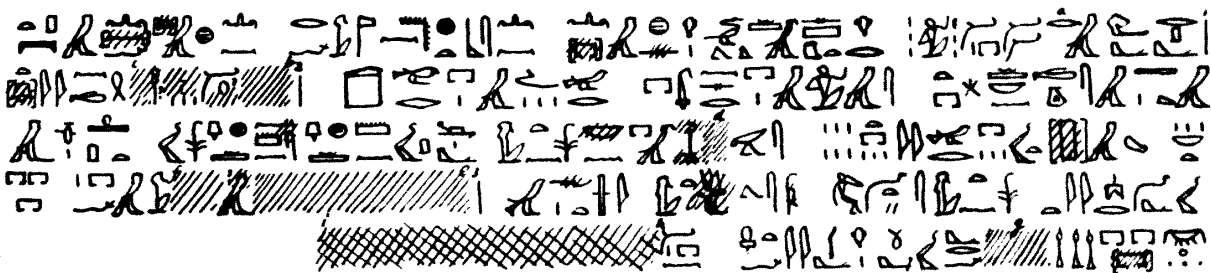
During the winter of 1909—10 I devoted many hours to collating the text with the publication, and in the following season I made a fresh revision. A careful examination of the wall showed that in a large number of cases where the actual signs have perished, nevertheless the surrounding plaster has preserved their contours either entire or in part. Whether these silhouettes, as they may perhaps be called, are due to some chemical in the paint having disintegrated the underlying plaster, or whether it was the weight of the paint which has caused the plaster to flake and fall, I do not know. In my manuscript I carefully noted what signs are still wholly or partly preserved, and what signs have merely left silhouettes. In the present article, however, I shall make no serious attempt to indicate these differences. As a rule I shall employ cross-hatching to mark signs which are recognizable only from fragments; a few critical notes will deal with particular difficulties of reading.

It is not without hesitation that I describe this inscription as an autobiography, for of specific events in his career Rekhmerē has recorded but one, namely his promotion to the highest magistracy in the land. But there are many kinds of autobiography, and the sample before us seems a good specimen of what the Egyptians considered that an autobiography should be. The writer, whether it was Rekhmerē himself or another, has evidently lavished unstinting pains upon this composition, for the text has been corrected at several points in red ink. It abounds in unusual words and phrases, and the imagery chosen is more coloured than the Egyptians were wont to use. In selecting this inscription as my tribute to the eminent scholar,

teacher and friend whom we are seeking here to honour, I had in mind the delight, not untinged with irony, with which he is apt to welcome such flowery oases amid the desert tracts of formula and titulary that form the great bulk of the hieroglyphic texts. That I can bring no better preserved offering I greatly regret; but Egyptian literature is a mere collection of rags and tatters, and its adepts have long since grown accustomed to be thankful for small mercies.

A few preliminary remarks are necessary before we turn to the text itself. In my collation I unfortunately failed to indicate at all points the difference between the god-determinative and the king-determinative; these I have, notwithstanding, distinguished below. In the copy given below the original position of the signs is, as a rule, retained; but there are a few deviations due to an oversight on my part. It should be noted that in the original an  occupies 5 cm, while  and  occupy each about 4,5 cm. In my comments on the individual passages I shall occasionally quote suggestions by SETHE, sent to me in 1910, immediately after my first copying of the texts.

a) The titles of Rekhmerē (ll. 1—3).

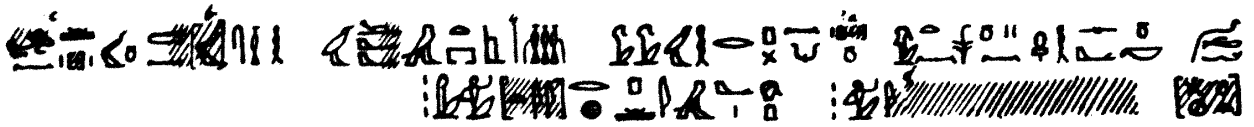


^a without 1 ^b (1) lacuna 7cm.; (2) under τ probably not ϕ ; (3) ... probable; (4) † faint and uncertain. ^c 35-4cm. † uncertain
^d (1) lacuna 24cm.; (2) back of bird, m. 3 on 5; (3) lacuna 5cm. before τ , det. of god, not king. ϕ 9cm. ^e ... 37cm., erased

(1) *The hereditary and local prince, steward of stewards, master of the mysteries who enters into the sanctuary, from whom god has fenced away nothing, nor is there aught of which he is ignorant in heaven or earth or in any recess of the netherworld; sm-priest in the House of Flame (the national temple of Lower Egypt); wr-m β w priest in the Great House (the national temple of Upper Egypt); (2) [controller] of all ceremonial robes; judge of the Six High Courts; director of every diwān of the king; he was uniquely useful to him who made him useful; conciliatory in giving judgement; foster-child of the King of Upper Egypt; follower of the King of Lower Egypt; attendant of Horus; (3) [Horus] in his house; under whose signet-ring are [united(?) and] bound together the houses of gold and the houses of silver(?); the steward of [Amūn, Rekhmerē].*

There is nothing very distinctive in this first section, beyond the rare words *sbh* and *sdg* (cf. Urk. IV, 501, 5). For *w^s mnh n smnh sw* compare *mnh ib n smnh sw* in one of the two large stelae in the tomb of Djehūti (no. 110). The titles “steward of stewards” and “steward of [Amūn]” here given to Rekhmerē do not appear to occur elsewhere among his titles. In juxtaposition to “houses of gold” *prw-hdw* (cf. Urk. IV, 1143, 9) was possibly understood as “houses of silver”; in the lacuna restore some such word as *dmd*, SETHE’s proposal. The principal titles and name of Rekhmerē have been intentionally erased.

b) Beginning of the autobiography (ll. 3—4).

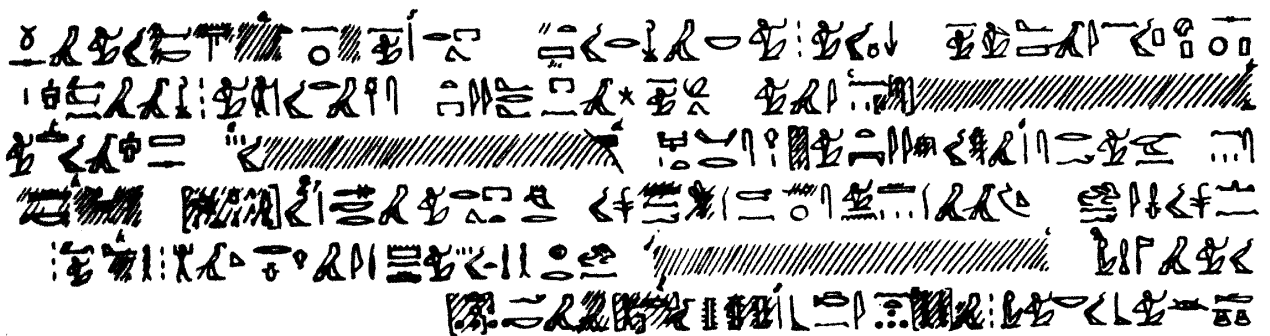


* 4 seems more probable than 3. † a trace at bottom which may well belong to w. ‡ lacuna 35cm.

He said: I am a noble second (only) to the king, fourth (only) to the judge of the Two Comrades; one advanced (4) of place in private (audience); one who is praised at every hour;; foremost in the estimation of the common folk.

Rekhmerē dwells with satisfaction upon his exalted rank and reputation. That he describes himself as second to the king is comprehensible, but the epithet "fourth of the judge of the Two Comrades" is extravagant, even for an Egyptian. The allusion is, of course, to Thoth, who settled the dispute between Horus and Seth; Rekhmerē claims to come next after these three gods, if, as is probable, "fourth" and not "third" is to be read; logically the expression should read: "fourth of the Two Comrades and of their judge". Rather similar uses of the word "fourth" occur in Pyr. 316, 1458. For the lacuna SETHE suggests some such restoration as ikr m rh n 'nhyw "excellent in the opinion of the living".

c) Rekhmerē's promotion to the rank of vizier (ll. 4—8).



* (5) seems impossible, since trace of legs would be visible beyond lacuna. † lacuna 42cm.; at ‡ trace of c had 45cm. † prob. nothing below = § h 24cm.; the rub after hkr [for (H4)] (Sethe) cannot be [dhn]-hu? ¶ 40cm. † ‡ Behind the head which may be either h; or 35 not more than 6cm.

It was the first time that I was summoned; all my brothers were amid the outer thousand(9). I issued forth(5) clad in festive attire(9); [the entourage rejoiced?] over me; I reached the door of the Gate; the courtiers bent their backs. I found the elders(6) of the entrance clearing the way (for me). My wisdom was not as it had been, my appearance of yesterday had altered itself, since my issuing forth in the adornments(7) [of the vizier], being [promoted?] as the priest of Truth. Thus was my praise established in the midst of great and small; I looked upon everyone as(9) the glaze(9) of walls(8) wrought with turquoise.

Rekhmerē here refers to the great event of his life, his appointment to the office of vizier; with characteristic Oriental ostentation he dwells principally upon the effect which he produced when issuing triumphantly from the audience-chamber.

H3 rwtj: this I formerly rendered "the outer hall", thinking to have seen some example of h3 "office" without a determinative. Now I have serious doubts. Rekhmerē appears to be describing events in and around the royal palace; but h3 means

specifically an office, a *diwān*, where administrative work was performed; what exactly could be meant by "the outer office" here? For this reason I prefer to take $\dot{h}3$ as "thousand" "multitude"; Rekhmerē goes to the royal audience-chamber, while his brothers, less honoured, remain without among the masses.

The restoration of the next sentence is difficult. The lacuna is too small for 𓂏 or 𓂐 , which would have yielded *wnh.kwi* "I am clad". SETHE proposed $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$, but that seems out of place. The trace after the signs $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$ suggests nothing to me. Later on, we should probably read $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ or the like, see for the word Pyr. 1612.

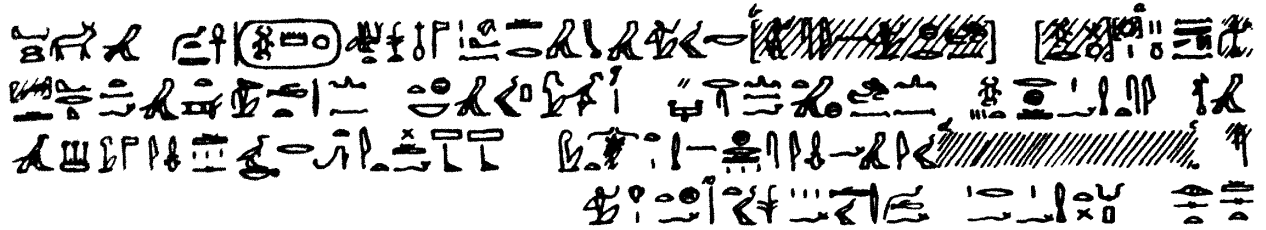
The nature of the $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ (varr. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$) does not seem to have been clearly defined. Etymologically the word means "gate", and in its special significance appears to mean the "gate" just outside the palace (𓂏), where a public court was held. MAX MÜLLER has collected some of the principal passages ÄZ. 26, 90. His example from a Munich stela is instructive, since on the one hand "the treasurers of the palace" are named in parallelism with "the *habitués* (*nḥw*) of the '*rryt*', and both are said to witness the introduction of the owner of the stela into the palace. The mention of the "courtiers" here likewise shows the close connection between "palace" and "Gate". The Haremḥab decree juxtaposes "the words of the palace" and "the laws of the Gate", and Antef, "the chief herald of the '*rryt*'" (Urk. IV, 965) doubtless had to announce the decrees of Pharaoh to the people just outside the royal residence — he is called "the speaking tongue of him who is in the castle" (ib. 968, 7). In the reign of Ramesses II a priestly court is called "the *knbt* of the '*ryt* of Pharaoh" (ÄZ. 17, 72). Moreover, the "duties of the vizier" inscription emphasizes the distinction between Rekhmerē's own administrative "bureau" ($\dot{h}3$) and the '*rryt*', whither he is to take special charges against officials (Urk. IV, 1107, 5; 1108, 4); and it is the vizier "who appoints every appointment to (*r*) the Gate" (ib. 1114, 5); other references in the same inscription speak of the "food-offerings" (*drpt*) of the '*rryt*' (ib. 1115, 1), its "affairs" (*mdt*, 1115, 11) and its "door-keeper" (*iry*, 1117, 1). In the Eloquent Peasant (B 1, 35) the high steward Rensi embarks on "a boat of the '*rryt*'" doubtless to go to the palace. From all these passages the close connection of gate, place of judgement and palace is apparent.

Whether there is an ellipse of *sn* in $\dot{h}3m \cdot n \cdot (sn)$ $s3 \cdot sn$ or whether $\dot{h}3m \cdot n$ is here intransitive is doubtful; the former alternative seems to me the more probable. SETHE's restoration *smsw hyt* was brilliantly confirmed by my re-examination of the original; he would complete the sentence with $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑} \text{𓂒}$ "made clear the way which was difficult in my sight", but this seems very improbable. Whether I have done right to take $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ as subjects of the following clauses in anticipatory emphasis is perhaps not quite certain. For the restoration $\dot{h}krw$ [*nw t3ty*] SETHE quotes $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑} \text{𓂒}$ MAR., Cat. gen. d'Abyd. 408. A verb meaning "promote" must have stood in the following lacuna, but the traces do not point to *dhn*. For $\dot{h}(w)w$ "short" see Rec. 39, 103; "tall ($\dot{h}3w$) and short ($\dot{h}w$)" here is evidently, as GUNN points out, a variation of *wrw ndsw* "great and small"; but I am not clear as to whether it can legitimately refer to rank ("high and low"), rather than to age and physical stature. The last sentence is utterly obscure; it would yield some sense if for $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ we were to read $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ "all people

1) Urk. IV, 1113, 6 mentions, however, a $\dot{h}3$ of the palace.

looked at me as the glaze of walls wrought with turquoise", i. e. looked upon me as a brilliant spectacle. A "gate of *thn*" is spoken of LEPS., Totb. 146, 26; the restoration *b3k* is uncertain.

d) The audience with Pharaoh (ll. 8—10).



a...+ 40cm.

^c At bottom a tiny trace, perhaps of a; then read sk 𓏏

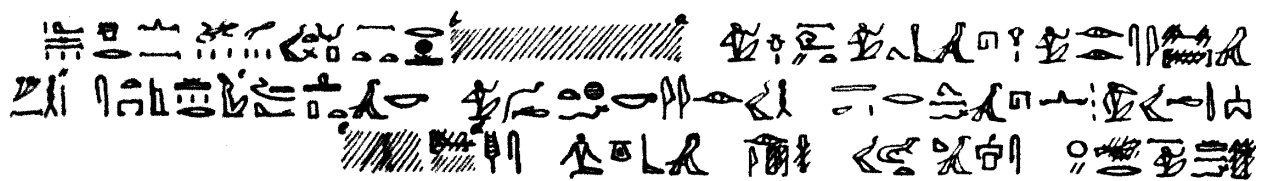
d...+ 20cm.

When a second [day] had dawned [and the morrow had come, then I was summoned] again to the presence of the good god, the king Menkheperrē (may he live for ever), even Horus, the strong bull appearing in Thebes. Lo, His Majesty knows what happens; there is indeed nothing of which he is ignorant. (9) He is Thoth in every regard. There is no matter which he has failed to discern. [he is acquainted] with it after the fashion of the Majesty of Seshat (the goddess of writing). He changes the design into its execution like a god who ordains and performs. His Majesty opened his mouth, and spoke his words (10) in my presence.

On the morrow of Rekhmerē's appointment, he was summoned to the royal presence, and some further words of advice were given to him. Before quoting these, Rekhmerē expatiates, in the time-honoured way (cf. Sinuhe B, 214f.; Urk. IV, 19), on the wisdom of the king; probably the words *ist hm-f rh hpwt* (identically Urk. IV, 502, 16) are a generalization, and do not refer to Pharaoh's knowledge of the way in which Rekhmerē's appointment had been acclaimed by the people.

R tp- n seems to be known only from this passage; but cf. *r tp n* in the Gurob contract ÄZ. 43, 28. For '*rk* "perceive" see my Admonitions p. 107. At the end of the lacuna one is tempted to restore [*ššw šw im-f*; but this assumes a preceding emphasized masculine noun to which the suffix of *im-f* would refer. Whether I have rightly caught the meaning of *ššb-f* (see Adm. p. 77) etc. is uncertain, but *tit* and *b3k-s* are associated below in l. 35; for the last words cf. *ntr ššw hpr* "a god who ordains and it is done", Urk. IV, 351, 5. For the construction of *wpt* see my grammar § 406; it is quite uncertain whether it is infinitive or *šdmt-f* form.

e) Pharaoh's words (ll. 10—11).



a...+ Lacuna 24cm.

^c without a

d...+ Lacuna (partly belonging to next section), 27cm.

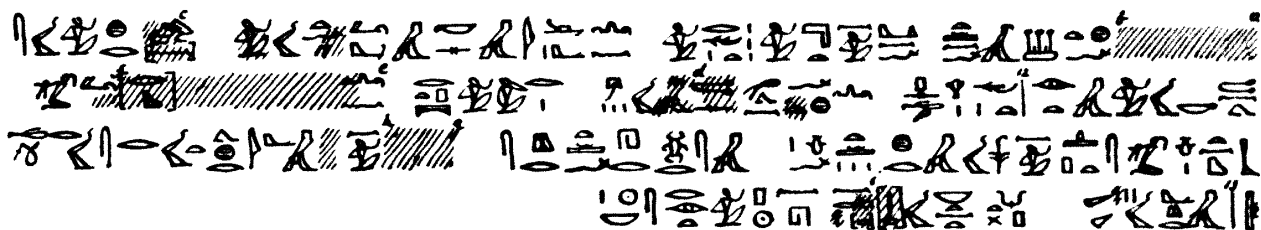
"Behold, my eyes send me to my heart, [forasmuch as My Majesty(?) knows that decisions are many and there is no end to them, and that the judgement of pleas never ceases. O that thou mayst act as I say; then will Justice rest in her place".

(11) *He admonished me very much: "Gird thyself, be energetic(?) Do not slacken. Rebuke [evil?]"*.

The opening sentence is ambiguous; at first sight it appears to mean that Pharaoh's observations with his eyes led him to deliberate with his heart how the needs which he perceived could be remedied; and the next sentence, the restoration of which is quite problematical, would contain the gist of those observations. But the transition to the second person singular would then be very abrupt. Is it not conceivable that "my heart" is here an epithet which Pharaoh applies to Rekhmerē himself? In l. 16 Rekhmerē actually calls himself "the heart of the Lord". Only this way of interpreting the sentence does full justice to the emphatic introductory words *mk is*.

The phrase *h3 r t3* must mean "flag", "fail", "cease" or the like. For the negation *n sdm.n.f* in generalizations see my grammar § 105, 3. *Shm-iry*, the reading of which seems certain, must be somehow connected with the compound noun *shm-ir.f* "man in authority", for which see ERM., Gramm.³ § 186, 3. In the Hittite treaty of Ramesses II., ll. 33. 36 we find *s'h' bt3* "charge a crime" against someone, *s'h'* having a meaning akin to that of Coptic *cooge*; perhaps so here.

f) Rekhmerē's fulfilment of the royal command (ll. 11—13).



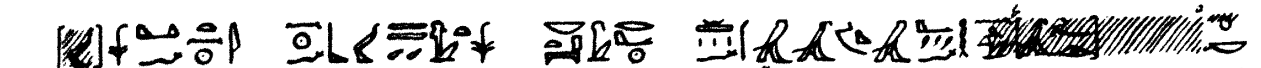
^a.....^b lacuna (belonging partly to last section) 27cm. ^c an ear only ^d practically certain. ^e.....^f 28cm
^g.....^h 9cm.; the following lacuna is quite small. ⁱ..... must surely be →, ^j[d3] is Sethe's conjecture

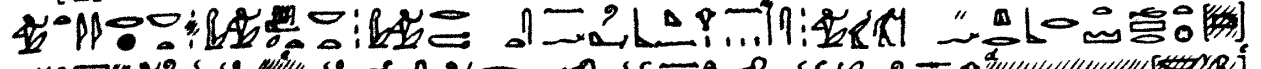
..... according as he had ordained. He gave me a staff of officials under my authority; there was none who could browbeat me. Then I strode forth, putting (12) stick on back; the dogs were not let loose; my voice (went up) to heaven. There was none [who] rebel. The malcontent, I propitiated him with his desires, by bringing to pass that wherewith he should be pleased. [People said] to me: "Come", said they, "to make flourish (13) the condition of the two lands". Every business of weal to the body(?), I rose early to perform it every day.

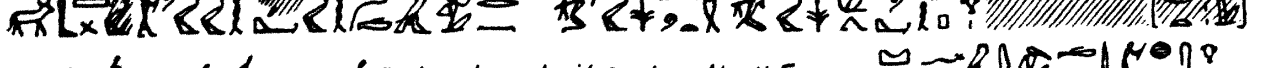
For *ksm* see BLACKMAN, Meir I, p. 27, n. 3; another good example, CHASSINAT, Fouilles de Qattah, p. 45. The sense is certainly stronger than "turn away", BLACKMAN's rendering; "tyrannize over" or "browbeat" seems nearer the mark.

The image contained in the next sentence is far from clear. The words *ht hr psd* recur in l. 30, where the picture seems to be that of a cowherd. Perhaps the notion to be conveyed is that Rekhmerē exerted a compelling influence over people without hounding them down. This agrees with the account given later of his attitude towards the malcontent (*btm-ib*). *Hrt.f* is rightly quoted by GUNN (Studies, p. 9.) as an example of the "prospective" relative form. Whether *w[d3] n ht* is really the right restoration is uncertain.

g) Rekhmerē as loyal defender of the king (ll. 13—14).

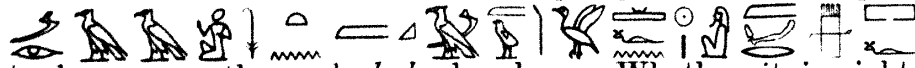






 * 23cm. * 27cm. * The trace does not suit 9; it would suit F

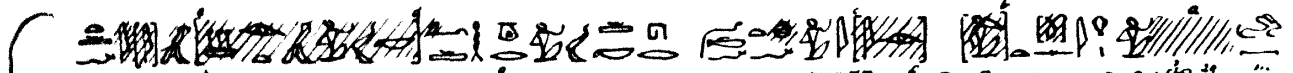
I was, I [saw] his person in his (real) form, Rē the lord of heaven, the king of the two lands when he rises, the solar disk when he shows himself, at whose place are [Black] Land and Red Land, their chieftains (14) inclining themselves to him, all Egyptians, all men of family, all the common folk lassoing him who attacks him or disputes with him. My name was(?) smiter of the smiter, striking him who spoke evilly against him.

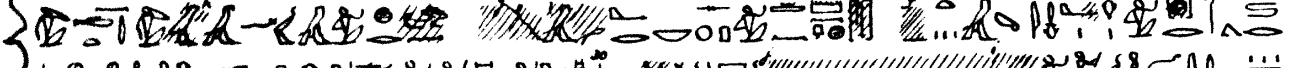
The restoration of the word [m³]n*i* is based upon Leyden V 1 (Dyn. XIX) . I do not remember to have seen the verb *knb* elsewhere. Whether it is right to divide *m dd h_w h_ww*, or whether we have here the verb *ddh*, seems doubtful; in l. 29 similar words occur, unfortunately without throwing light on the sense here. The phrase *mdwy im f dw* is usually translated "he who speaks evil against him"; I believe, however, that here and elsewhere (Pyr. 16) *dw* is an adverb "evilly"; otherwise how to account for the word-order and for the lack of the feminine ending?


h) Rekhmerē as a beneficent ruler (ll. 15—16).

w w)

 s. 72








 * 9cm. * 16cm. * 23cm. * 26cm. * almost like & * 24cm.

(15) He appointed me as the proverbial(?) stick to chastise him who was the balance of the entire land keeping aright their hearts in accordance with the plumb-line. Those who were vacillating of heart, lacking in (16) straightness, them the of Horus(?) curbed. Whosoever was laden with his sorrows was contented My mouth was natron. Leniency was pure in my lips.

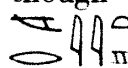




It is difficult to render this obscure passage in a way that is at once literal and intelligible. The lacuna after *mdw* is smaller than marked by NEWBERRY; one thinks of *mdw i₃w* "staff of old age", but it is improbable that any sign is lost. If, as I suspect, *n mdt* here means either "proverbial" or "famous", it may perhaps have the same meaning in Peas. B 1, 98. The verb *bdndn* seems unknown from any other source, like the preceding *rmrm*. For the next sentence see my note JEA 9, 10, n. 4. The broken sign before *nty* can hardly be 3, for to read *n₃ nty nb 3tpw m m₃(r)w f* would involve far too flagrant a combination of singular and plural. The only possible alternative seems to be to read  *n Hr*; but what *šsp n Hr* means is unknown to me. *Hsmn* "natron" was used for purificatory purposes; perhaps the statement was intended that Rekhmerē was candid or honest of mouth; "leniency

was pure in my lips" might mean that it was sincerely meant, or untainted with less desirable traits.


i) Rekhmerē's relation to the king (ll. 16—19).

^a hieratic ~~was~~ added in red. ^b...c 25cm. ^d...e 25cm

I am the heart of the Lord, the ears and eyes of the Sovereign. (17) Behold, I am his very own skipper, I know not sleep by night or day. I spend my life, my heart being occupied with the prow-rope and the stern-rope, and the tiller(?) is not absent from my hands. I am watchful for any chance of stranding. What(?) is the king (18) of Upper Egypt? What(?) is the king of Lower Egypt? He is a god by whose dealings one lives. [He is] the father and the mother [of all men]; alone by himself, without an equal. I did(?) not cause evil to overcome me. There was(?) no neglect of mine in (19) evil case.

This interesting passage is full of rare or unknown words, the more valuable since their meaning can be approximately guessed. For the idiom 'h' hms see Rec. 24, 182 and below l. 30. In my translation of the Eloquent Peasant (JEA 9, 17, n. 10) I have rendered 'h3-mw as "boat-hook"; it now seems to me that the word is more probably a poetic synonym of hmw "tiller", though the other alternative is a possible one. Mri is clearly connected with  mryt "shore", whence the meaning "strand" is fairly obvious.  appears to be the later , which sometimes at least is an interrogative word "what?" Another alternative, suggested by SETHE, is that sp sn should be read, nsu nsu, bity bity then meaning "every king of Upper and Lower Egypt". In the last sentences nu sdm f should be future, as GUNN has shown (Studies, ch. 13), but from the middle of Dyn. XVIII onwards  was apt to interchange with ; other not quite certain examples below ll. 24. 34 (nn dd).

j) Rekhmerē proclaims his virtues to posterity (ll. 19—21).

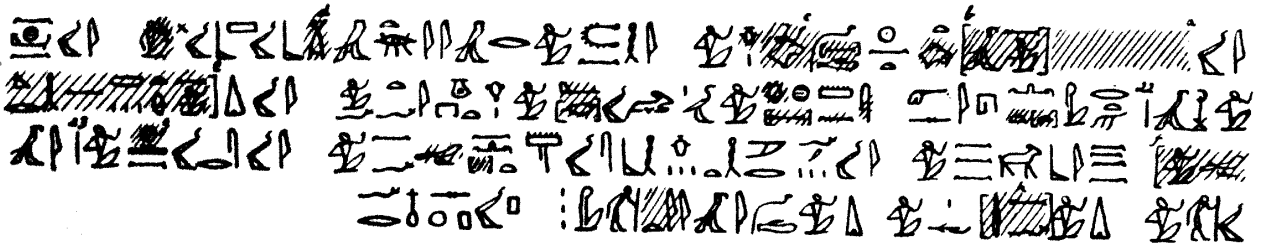
^a...b 25cm. ^c...d is a correction, in red ink, above the original  ^e...f 25cm ^g...h my joint lines of red ink here.

I speak with my mouth, I cause it to be known. Then others who are wise [of their mouths] shall hear. I exalted Justice to the height of heaven, I caused her

beauty to circulate over the breadth of earth, so that she might rest in (men's) nostrils (20) like the northwind when it has banished what was malignant in heart and body. I judged poor and rich (alike). I rescued the weak from the strong. I repelled the fury (21) of the ill-disposed, and quelled him who was covetous in his hour (of covetousness).



The phrase "rest in (men's) noses" is a metaphor from the breath, which the Egyptians imagined to be "placed in the nose" by the gods or the king. The section ends with some familiar clichés.

k) Continuation of the last (ll. 21—23).

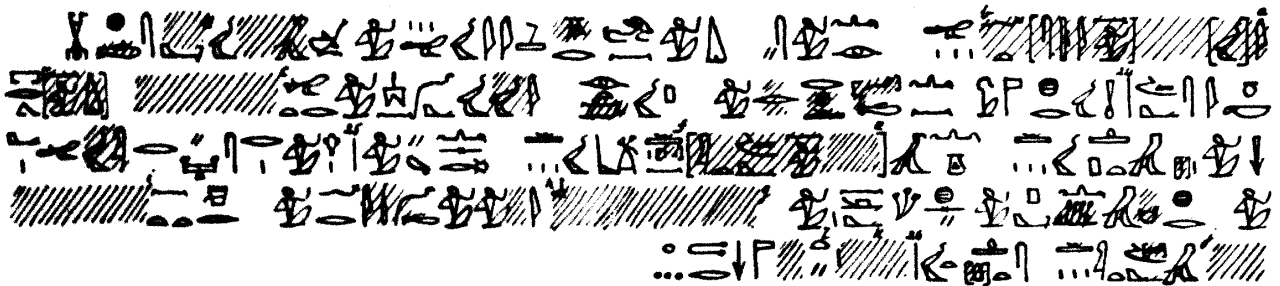


1. 21 cm. 2. not recognized by Dames 3. traces agree 4. f 25 cm. 5. f practically certain. 6. 7. 8 cm.

I [checked] the impulse of him who was infuriated. I restrained weeping by substituting a comforter(?) I defended the widow (22) who had no husband. I established the son and heir on the seat of his father. I gave [bread to the hungry] and water to the thirsty, meat, oil and clothing to him who had none. I revived(?) (23) the old man, giving [to him] my stick. I caused the old women to say: "what(?) a happy occasion!"

The phrase *m db3 wšbw* is difficult, and only small fragments of the sign  are left; it seems impossible, however, to suggest any other reading. *Srwh*, cf. Urk. V, 165, 12, and often in the medical texts, where *sdwh* used to be read. The rendering of the last words seems plausible, but I cannot defend it grammatically; *pw* as an interrogative word occurs, not only in *pw-tr* (*pty*), but also independently ÄZ. 57, 6*, and so too probably below ll. 24. 34; in Sinuhe B 160 I rendered  as "that which has occurred is a happy event", but *pw* there too might be exclamatory.

l) Rekhmerē as an incorruptible judge (ll. 23—26).



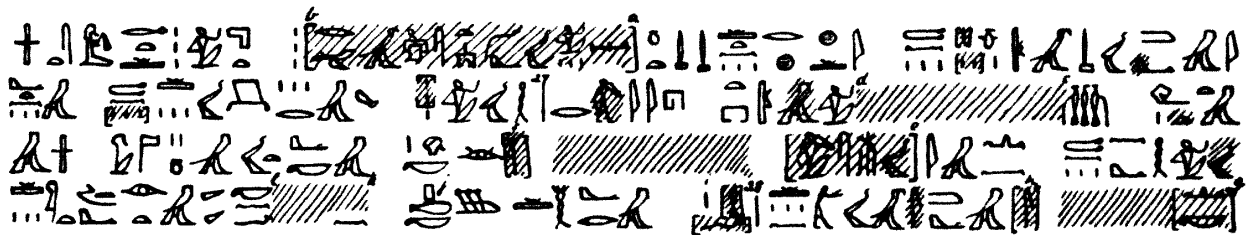
1. 23 cm. 2. 23 cm. 3. 22 cm. 4. 28 cm. 5. 24 cm. 6. 11 cm. 7. perhaps [□] [□]

I [hated?] wrong, and did not do it. I caused the liar(?) to be upside down. I was innocent (24) before God. No one who knew [said] concerning

me: "what has he done?" I judged a great matter(?), [I caused] both suitors to go forth in peace. I did not [suppress(?)] justice for reward. I was not indeed (25) deaf to the empty-handed; and moreover I did not take anyone's bribe. what he had to say about me, because in truth, that [he?] might be propitiated with the smell of incense.


Here lacunae have made much of the text incomprehensible. The first letter seems certainly *i*, and if *iw* be read, the restoration *bwt i isft* (cf. Urk. IV, 944, 12) is impossible, since sentences with nominal predicate cannot be introduced by *iw*. The writing of *grgyw* suggests neither "liar" nor "liars"; "my lies" gives no sense, and "those who lied against me" would be *grgyw wi*, if indeed *grg* could be used transitively in this meaning. In the lacuna *ts[r]w* suggests itself, but I do not know what this could signify. Farther on, the restoration of the sentence seems assured by l. 34 below; *rh* and *irt-n-f* are fairly certain. SETHE's restoration *wr [k]t[t]* after *iw wd^c n-i* is impossible, since the *t* is well under the tail of *wr*. For the sense of the next sentences, see Urk. IV, 118, 16—17 (Paheri), where several of the same words occur. The restoration of *n g³* . . . is difficult; one thinks of *gs³*, which is used of the perversion of justice; but it is not established that this verb can be transitive, or written *g³s³*.

m) Rekhmerē addresses the other dead (ll. 26—28).



a b 35cm. c d 23cm. e f 38cm. g h 26cm. ⁱposition of l suggests hm.f. ^kimproved in red. ^l11cm.

May your hearts prosper, so that ye know, ye counsellors who [judge weaknesses], ye great, noble magistrates of former times, me in the tomb(?). Hail, comrades. (27) Hearken all of you. Behold, I am with you, it is not false. [My heart(?) said to me:] "Be vigilant, behold thou art the equal of God. Be not Give praise to [His Majesty(?)], that thy palm may be successful. Mayest thou(?) for him the two regions by doing Justice".

The entire passage is rightly compared by SETHE with one on the stela of Amunezeh (Urk. IV, 944, 9f.), which opens with the same words; these are a familiar way of introducing a communication of any kind, cf. *wd³ ib-k*, *Shipwr. sailor* 1—2. The restoration *wd^t s³rw* is from Turin 156 (stela of Beki, Mél. Champ., p. 547); P. Petr. 1116 A, 53. After the opening address the 2nd. pers. plural gives place to 2nd. pers. singular; counsel is given to Rekhmerē by someone. It can hardly be the king, who seems to be referred to in the last two sentences of the passage; the restoration  is suggested by the position of the stroke. Since the passage clearly contains, like the parallel passage from the tomb of Amunezeh, a statement of Rekhmerē's virtuous life and qualities, it seems not impossible that it is his own heart which here speaks to him.

n) Rekhmerē's delight in his work (ll. 28—30).

* possibly room for l. 6? a correction in red ... 26cm. 'of f a horn only. ... 23cm. ... not ...

Wherefore was I(?), that I should do as he(?) said? I was contented and satisfied [at doing] his(?) bidding. I went (29) about(?) at once according to what [I(?)] heard. I improved every occasion I was the gossip of all conversations, like (30) I spent my life with my stick on the back, lassoing cattle(?)

Owing to the lacunae and the rare words this passage bristles with difficulties. Whether the suffix in *dd.f* and [*šš*]*yt.f* refers to the king is doubtful; it might equally well refer to "my heart", if I have rightly restored the last section. *Hr.kwi* and *grh.kwi* are the technical terms whereby parties to a contract express their agreement to the bargain made; for *hr.kwi* see Pap. Kah. 13, 26 and for *grh.kwi* see ÄZ. 43, 30, 26. For *wfš* see my Notes on the story of Sinuhe, p. 31. Several phrases already encountered occur in what follows: *dd haw* *wšbw* in l. 14, *h' i hms-i* in l. 17, *ht hr psd* in l. 12 and *sph* in l. 14.

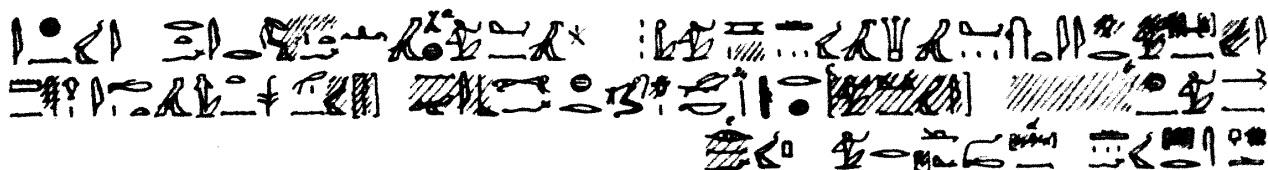
o) Characteristics of Rekhmerē's administration (ll. 30—33).

a 26cm b 19cm R and T uncertain. c 13cm d 27cm. 'perhaps nothing above e 19cm. f 30cm.

I made myself a skilful hunter, discerning of foot I [did not trip up(?)] on a fragment (31) of stone. I dispelled sloth. I rebuffed the confederates of night-[conspiracies(?)]. I checked the wrong-doer I ed (32) the guilty on water and on land. I turned back(?) the steps of him who defied(?) his lord by his foot(?) and his nose. I [bound(?)] his [legs(?)]. I was one who went away from(?) his sight(?) on the day of opposition. I did not (33) to the doer of wrong.

Here again there are difficulties in plenty, but at least the general drift is clear. After the sentence containing the obscure word *khh* we might possibly emend ; the position of the *f* demands a preceding dual.

p) His attitude to the lower elements of the population (ll. 33—34).

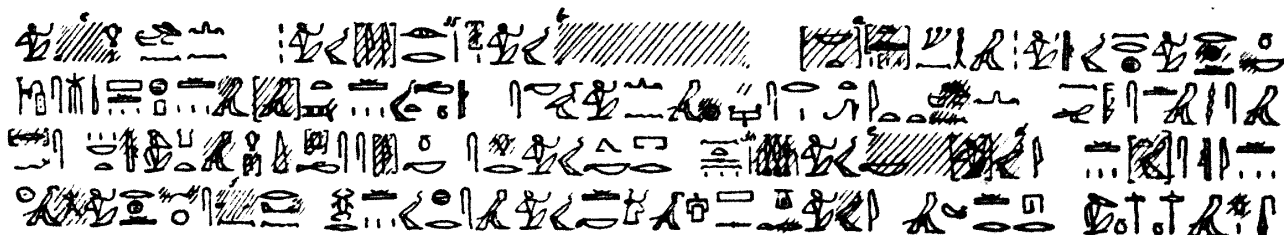


* *casive m* added in red. *b*... 30cm. *c* see above l. 24. *e* not *ist.n.f* as l. 24

I put dread into the multitude. I taught the stranger(?) lad his duty. I curbed the prisoner(?). I caused the (34) rebel to perceive his evil fall. The command of the king was in my hand in effecting his counsels. No single man said of me: "what has he done!"

The word *h3w-mr* occurs (e.g.) Urk. IV, 120, 3 and appears to mean something like "multitude", "common folk". The restoration of the phrase *hmm . . . t.f* is not clear; the later correction of *hm* to *hmm* shows the word to be a passive, not an active participle; I thought of "one whose city is unknown", but this does not suit the determinative of the child. The partly destroyed word after *hni n i* may have been "prisoner" or the like. The final sentence resembles closely one which we found in l. 24. That *ir.n.f* should be written instead of *irt.n.f* is a little embarrassing, but similar negligences of concord occur elsewhere. More troublesome is the negation *nn* in both cases; in my comments on *i* I have pointed out that in Dyn. XVIII and begin to interchange, whence it is not quite excluded that *nn dd* may be for *n dd* "did not say"; on the other hand, it is just possible that *dd* may be a participle and *w'* (in l. 24 *rh*) an epithet of *dd*, lit. "there was no one say(er) (or "knowing say(er)") concerning me".


q) Rekhmeré's ability and learning (ll. 34—36).



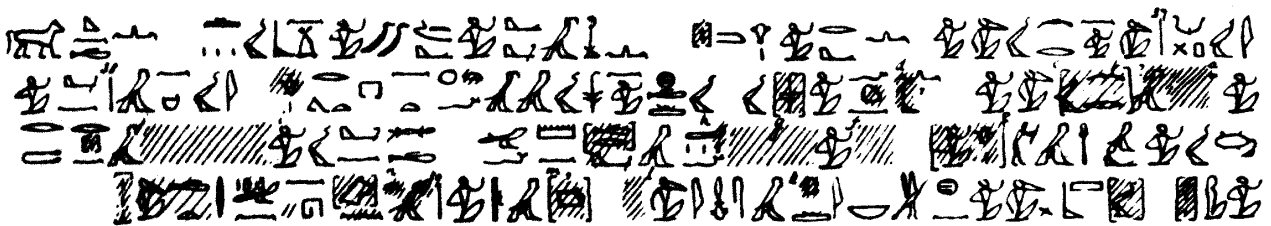
a... 25cm. *b* 7.5cm. *c*... 18cm *f*



I was knower of knowers in [all] crafts. (35) who perform. There was none [like(?)] me in (power to) make happy or miserable. There was no design of whose execution I was ignorant. Drawings which were perfect and effective(?) or buried(?) and old, I was [versed(?)] (36) in them, and excelled because of it. I was clever in all undertakings, deliberate in counsel, ready to listen. I was skilled in by-gone affairs, and the [condition(?)] of yesterday caused me to know tomorrow.

The restoration of the word after *nn wn hr* is difficult. At the lower left end of the lacuna is a trace of a sign that might be or ; I thought of "one like him", but it is very doubtful whether could serve as determinative to



hr-hw-f, for which we should expect *hr-hw-i*. *Sndm sksn*, cf. the epithet  "making happy what was miserable", Cairo 20 538, I c 10—11. *Tit* *b3k*, see above l. 9. *Hps* as an adjective is unknown to me; is it connected with *hps* "fore-arm" in its metaphorical signification "power"? Whether *t(i)ms* here means "buried" or "besmeared" I do not know; that the word has the former sense both in Coptic and earlier I have shown in my Hieratic Texts I, p. 27*, n. 22. *Hnt* at the end of l. 35 recalls the phrase *rdt ib hnt* "give thought to", but how to restore is obscure. The drift of the last sentence is evident, but the restoration of the phrase . . . *n sf* is uncertain.

r) Rekhmerē's treatment of the suppliant (ll. 36—39).

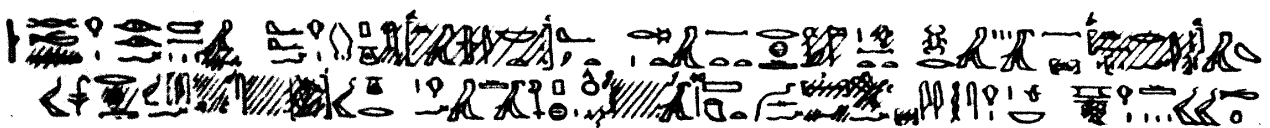


* Tiny trace, possibly of — ¹ 8cm; possible trace of ² ; the trace hardly suits ³  10cm only 21cm * probable; not ⁴ 16cm * not ⁵ 0 probable. ⁶ 6.5cm * a fragment suit

I judged (37) the suppliant. I did not incline to one side. I paid no attention to rewards. I was not angry [with him who came(?)] as a suppliant. I did not rebuff(?) him. I tolerated him in his moment of passion. I rescued (38) the timid man from the violent. I his [needs(?)] by banishing his grievance. I(?) rescued myself [from] in the mouth of the people, answering every word by reporting(?) [completing(?)] (39) the moment(?) of a few words.

The writer harks back to the theme of l. *Hs m'swy n*, cf. *rdi ms'* in Westc. 12, 4 and Peas. B 1, 32. One is tempted to restore the next lacuna *n knd-i*  *sprw* or  *sprw*. No word *bf* seems to be known, and in any case the position of the supposed *b* would be strange; a verb *k(3)f* determined with the nose occurs in Anast. I, 11, 5 with an intransitive meaning, for which I have conjectured "I am agape"; it is tempting, however, to read *n kfn-i* and to regard this as a variant of the verb *gnf* or *gn* which occurs in precisely similar contexts, see my note ÄZ. 45, 132 and DÉV., Ptahh. 273. The last sentences of this section are full of obscurities, apart from the lacunae. *Šd-n wi* with a lost subject, and *šd-n (i) wi* with the first person are both possible alternatives. The restoration *km-i 3t* is very uncertain.

s) Rekhmerē invokes God as witness to his veracity (ll. 39—40).



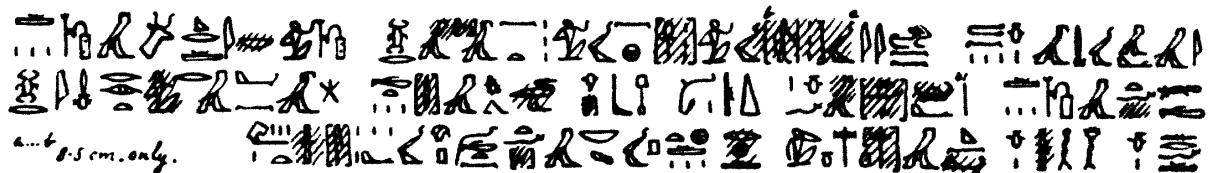
* 11cm. ¹ 13.5cm. ² head alone visible ³ 7.1cm; 6 left hand; ⁴ a correction in red area ⁵ 10cm

Hearken, [ye] who are in existence, for God knoweth what is in the body; [all] members [which are in(?)] it are open before him. Behold ye, his eyes perceive (men's)

natures in the(ir) liver(s); every heart gathers(?) itself [to(?)] him of itself; the secrets [of] are opened up in his sight; the silent (man), he knoweth him.

For the restoration *sdmw* [*irf tn*] before *ntyw m hpr* see Urk. IV, 120, 13, a closely similar passage which continues "I speak to you, and there is no falsehood therein". That is the sense here also, but instead of directly protesting his truthfulness Rekhmeré bases his claim to a hearing on the fact that God can discern men's true nature; the same thought Urk. IV, 751, 10—16. For the verb *sd* see my Admonitions, p. 81. That the liver is a source whence a man's character can be perceived is at first sight an almost comically modern thought; but it has a long history behind it, though the liver does not appear to be spoken of in this way elsewhere in Egyptian. *Shyt* is possibly infinitive of the well-known word for "assemble". *Ph3* is used medically for "opening" the bowels; perhaps there is some such metaphor here.

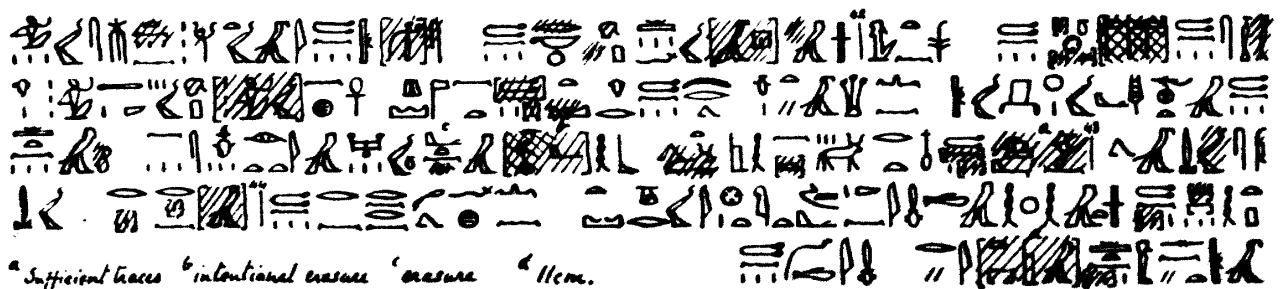
t) Rekhmeré calls upon the living (ll. 40—41).



May your hearts prosper, ye who exist, [princes] who live and are in existence, every able scribe skilled in the writings, who shall read in the writings, and (41) interpret with his heart, keen of tongue, open of mind, who penetrates words, and whom an overseer has taught to do as should be done, deliberate and patient, brave in questioning — he is a wise man whosoever shall hear what the ancestors of former times have said.


Wd3 ib. tn see above l. 26. For the restoration *wrw* (or *srw*?) cf. Urk. IV, 120, 16; 151, 11. The expression *irt m hpr* is well-known from the mathematical papyri, see PEET, Papyrus Rhind, pp. 23—24; its meaning there is rather hard to grasp, but I am convinced that its general sense is "to be worked out in the usual way"; *hpr* is virtually the passive of *irt*, compare *irt m s3* with *hpr m s3* ("put into writing" and "be put into writing"); note further that *irt m hpr* in Urk. IV, 121, 14 is elaborated further into *irt m hpr m ntt r hpw* "the doing as is done according to what is customary", the reference being to the time-honoured rite of *hpt di nsu*. In the last sentence the position of *nb* before, instead of after, *sdmtj fy* is peculiar, but one can hardly render otherwise than I have done.

u) Adjuration of the living (ll. 41—44).

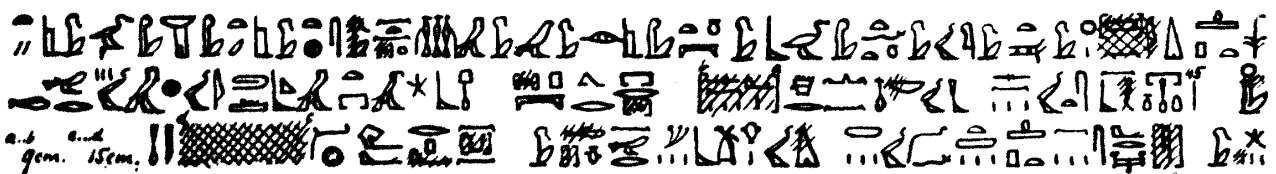


The gods of your cities shall praise you, and the king (42) of his time at your period; you shall hand down your offices to your children after a long life, without regret; ye shall attain your tombs in the necropolis, those who live upon earth (joining)


in the funeral procession; (43) kine of the *hst*-cow shall convoy you, the roads inundated with their milk; ye shall be united with your sepulchral chambers which are in eternity in the town of Truth, the silent land; your names shall not fail (44) from mouth to mouth; and your likenesses shall prosper [in the place(?)] thereof; according as ye shall say: —

For *šms wd* see my Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, p. 69. At the end , which SETHE quotes from Urk. IV, 114, 5; 1218, 13 seems too little to fill the lacuna.

v) The prayer for offerings to be recited by the passer-by (ll. 44—45).



“A boon which the king gives, and Amen-ré, Atum, Shu and Tefenis, Geb and Nut, Osiris, Horus, Mekhantenyerty, Sêtekh, Isis, Nephthys, and Thoth the deputy of Ré: (45) invocation-offerings, all good things without end: to go up to heaven; to penetrate the netherworld in the midst of the unresting stars; may(?) they offer offerings of food, placed upon the leaves of The-weary-of-heart; for the soul of the prince and overseer of the city, [Rekheré], justified”.

In this unusually long *hṯp dī nsw* formula one or two unusual expressions occur: *n ḥbswt-sn* is utterly obscure; for the last sentence SETHE quotes  in VIREY, Rekhmara, p. 106; the meaning of *db* “leaf” is well established, but what its application here is remains obscure; can it refer to the leaf-covered table of offerings? *Wrd-ib* is the well-known epithet of Osiris.

Tiernamen als Personennamen bei den Ägyptern¹.

VON HERMANN RANKE.

Die Menge der ägyptischen Personennamen besteht — wie die Personennamen anderer Völker — teils aus Vollnamen, teils aus Kurz- und Kosenamen, die von diesen Vollnamen abgeleitet sind. Die große Mehrzahl der Vollnamen hat religiösen Inhalt. Sie zeigen meist entweder die Form eines Satzes (*imn-hṯp.w* „Amon ist zufrieden“, *r'-nfr* „Ré ist schön“) oder einer auf den Träger des Namens sich beziehenden

1) Für diesen Aufsatz konnte ich das gesamte mir zur Bearbeitung übergebene Personennamen-Material des Berliner „Wörterbuches“ benutzen. Für mehrfache Auskunft bin ich H. ANTHES zu Dank verpflichtet.