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## MY WORKING YEARS

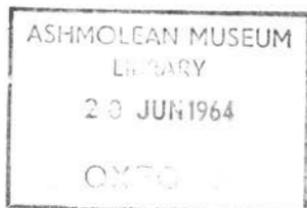


# MY WORKING YEARS

*by*

SIR ALAN GARDINER

*An account began on May 28th 1962; written hastily and with no pretensions of style. It is hoped, however, that the facts are correctly stated and may prove of use to future readers.*



## MY WORKING YEARS

FOUR little booklets which I keep in my safe and which are labelled 'For my grandchildren' might perhaps, but for a somewhat unseemly levity and a rather exaggerated emotional candour, have been regarded as a suitable preface for a still unwritten autobiography. Their pages, inscribed *au courant de la plume* without preliminary draft at irregular intervals between 1945 and 1955, confine themselves to such episodes and experiences of my childhood, my schooldays and my early manhood as stick out prominently in my memory or else seemed likely to interest my intended readers, but they cover only about a third of my life reckoned from the standpoint of the present day. In other words they go down only to the time when, together with wife and firstborn son, I found myself comfortably established in my Berlin home and could pride myself on having faithfully fulfilled the plan of Egyptological endeavour which had so long been my goal. I had, in fact, reached a very convenient stopping-place for my reminiscences and there, accordingly, I decided to stop.

Seven years, however, have elapsed since I laid down my pen, and my circumstances, as well as those of the world, have entirely changed, so that there seems some justification for my embarking on an attempt to summarize the aims and, perhaps I may add without undue conceit, the positive achievements which have been the fruit of a further half century of almost unremitting industry. I will confess, however, without further ado that my purpose in connexion with this new undertaking is almost entirely selfish. Having already entered upon my eighty-fourth year I cannot fail to recognize that within a few years, if not sooner, some colleague, friend or journalist will be clamouring for information to serve as basis for an obituary, and I know from experience how

difficult it is to obtain the requisite material at a moment's notice. Desire to assist any such obituarist is one motive which I have in my mind, but it is not the main one. I must premise that my personal researches will be the central topic, and that my external circumstances and those of my family will be merely secondary considerations. I have thought that it would be an interesting task to recall what chances or what deliberate planning has diverted me from a given plan of campaign and has pushed or lured me in some new direction, and I shall strive to determine how much I have owed to my own initiative and how much is my debt to others. It is a formidable task that I am setting myself, and perhaps one which will be found to make impossible claims upon a rapidly decaying memory. Diaries I have none and my scientific correspondence is stored away inaccessibly in the Griffith Institute. None the less I find it amusing to make the attempt, and if it fails no great harm will have been done.

My little booklets have told of the encouragement and the help which were the inestimable gift of my beloved Father. I must now add that through his never failing generosity and forethought I was liberated from the necessities which cramp the efforts of most other Egyptologists. My wife and I were constant travellers and had friends or relatives in many European lands. I was never compelled to seek an academic post and have remained a freelance throughout all my life. I take credit to myself, however, that fixed hours and the regular observance of a seven-day week have not been sacrificed to idleness nor to the lust for holidays; but I hasten to add that prolonged summer vacations have also played a large part in our existences, giving us the health and the enjoyment which, as I think, we fairly deserved.

In the first years of our life in Berlin I had no greater personal ambition than to contribute new material to the

great *Wörterbuch* to which I had been so flatteringly accepted as a *Mitarbeiter* (iv. 42–8). Week after week I added twenty or more slips (*Zettel*), these very leniently supervised by Erman himself. The texts to be incorporated were mostly left to my discretion, though of course there had to be the assurance that the copies used, whether from publications or from scholarly notebooks were faultlessly accurate. The not inconsiderable extent of my contributions will at once be apparent to any competent student of hieroglyphics who may consult the vast stores of *Zettel* accumulated in the rooms of the *Wörterbuch* at Berlin.

In such time as I could spare from my *Wörterbuch* duties I read Egyptian texts omnivorously, making careful note of any philological details that seemed to me new and worthy of publication. Hence the many articles which appeared either in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* or later (from 1903 onwards) in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*. The habit of devoting brief discussions to my discoveries, valid or mistaken, has remained with me all through my life though from 1914 onwards the two periodicals above mentioned had to share my allegiance with the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, inaugurated at that time as the organ of the Egypt Exploration Society\*.

My first substantial publication was a monograph on a lawsuit of the time of Ramesses II which Alexandre Moret had translated but had explained erroneously. I was not a little anxious how my outspoken criticism of the old friend of my Paris days might be received, and was greatly relieved when he acknowledged my book† with the words *Amicus Cicero, magis amica veritas*.

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\* For the titles of all these minor writings see the bibliography (now in need of much supplementing) compiled by R. O. Faulkner in honour of my seventieth birthday in 1949 (*JEA* XXXV. 1 foll.).

† *The Inscription of Mes*, in K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* IV. 3. 54 pp. 1905.

My next book (*The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909) was the outcome of an intensive study of a uniquely interesting papyrus in the Leyden Museum to which H. O. Lange, the Chief Librarian of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, had devoted an important article in 1903; but which he had failed to publish. My collations with the original in three successive visits (1905-7) had enabled me to make great improvements in both the reading and the interpretation of this highly important, but lamentably defective and obscure, literary composition, now so well known that any description here would be superfluous. It was at first arranged that the publication so long overdue should be a joint affair, but in course of time Lange, finding himself too busy to assist, withdrew his name but accepted the well-deserved dedication.

The plan of the *Wörterbuch* envisaged inclusion of all ancient Egyptian writings whatsoever with the exception of those in the demotic script. The numberless stelae, tables of offerings and even such small objects as scarabs which existed in public or private collections could not possibly be neglected, but much was still unpublished or was known only from inferior copies. Only a few of the German Egyptologists who had been enlisted to assist in the great enterprise had either the means or the opportunity to pay prolonged visits to the foreign places where such material was known to be preserved, so that it was a singularly fortunate circumstance that the services of J. H. Breasted could be obtained to copy all the hieroglyphic inscriptions exhibited in the various galleries. His ten months of peregrinations (1900-1) added to the *Wörterbuch* collections a vast quantity of valuable material all of which needed to be put on slips, but this excluded the no less important writings on papyrus, on scraps of stone or on potsherds to which Clement of Alexandria had given the name Hieratic, though in modern times G. Möller proposed the much more appropriate name of Buchschrift

Book-script). There was a clear-cut distinction between hieroglyphic and hieratic writing, the outstanding difference being that the former was usually the work of a chisel, while the latter was the product of a reed-pen, dipped in ink. Hieroglyphic consisted of miniature pictures the originals of which were as a rule easily identified. Hieratic was, or early became, a system of signs separate from hieroglyphic, but consisted of abbreviated forms of the originating hieroglyphs. In Ramesside times, hieratic had become the usual medium for writing books or literary pieces of divers kinds, an 'uncial' character being given to this variety. Besides this, however, much more cursive forms were employed, mainly for business documents and the like, and here the pictorial origin was often no longer recognizable.

In the early days of the *Wörterbuch* very little attention was paid to anything but hieroglyphic; indeed, Erman himself was the only scholar who had at all occupied himself with hieratic. He had, indeed, put on slips the Westcar papyrus, which he had edited in 1890 with valuable analyses of grammar, vocabulary and palaeography; but this collection of 'Tales of the Magicians' remained for the moment all the hieratic material which was admitted to the slip-boxes, though gradually Wreszinski added the literary or semi-literary pieces which Erman had collated in the British Museum during his visit to London together with Steindorff and Sethe.

It was, however, well known that in Turin and Leyden, to mention only the principal collections, there existed a great wealth of hieratic papyri and fragments which, though they had been made known to Egyptologists in rather unsatisfactory facsimiles, badly needed to be studied and transcribed by some competent scholar. Spiegelberg had indeed taken the first step in this direction, but his copies were not made accessible to the Berliners. I was obviously the most suitable young student to undertake

this responsible task, and when it was suggested to me I jumped at it. All the papyri which I should be called upon to deal with were of Ramesside date, having been discovered by such consular agents as Drovetti and Anastasi mainly at Thebes or at Memphis in the early part of the nineteenth century. But of the texts of this kind my ignorance was as yet abysmal. Only the intensive study of months could correct this unpreparedness. E. Schiaparelli, the Director of the Egyptian department at Turin accorded me all the facilities which I required, though stipulating that I should concentrate mainly upon those papyri which had been published in only moderately trustworthy facsimiles by Pleyte and Rossi. My first stay in Turin was a lonely one, since Heddie felt compelled to remain and look after our flat in Berlin and the children, of whom there were now two. However, my deep interest and absorption in a practically virgin field of research compensated largely for what was a natural penalty of my calling, and I am able to record with pride that I rapidly acquired the ability to read even the most cursive specimens of Ramesside hieratic. About a dozen notebooks filled with hitherto unread texts were the harvest with which I returned to Berlin. In after years I lent my transcripts first to Peet and afterwards to Cerny, both of whom inherited my enthusiasm for this branch of Egyptological studies, and I am not without some degree of self-congratulation that I am able to quote their assurance of the great accuracy of my early efforts.

Although my principal aim was lexicographic I could, naturally, not fail to become familiar with the content of the texts, often very fragmentary, which I studied. A large proportion of these were concerned with the daily life of the Theban workmen engaged on the excavation of the royal tombs. There were diaries of their attendances or absences, grumbles at the withholding of their rations, lists of their overseers and much else of the kind. These people

lived in a village of their own behind the great temple of Medinet Habu, where their tombs, rich in antiquities of all sorts, have been excavated or often merely plundered almost continually from the beginning of the nineteenth century. It has been a large part of the life's work of Cerny to investigate the affairs of these humble people and, as recently as 1957, he and I collaborated in a bulky work on the Hieratic ostraca illustrating their practical concerns and literary or religious interests. As already hinted, Cerny and Peet took up this work at the point where I left off, and acquired a competence in reading hieratic at least equal to my own. We still await Cerny's comprehensive treatise on a subject of which he has become the undisputed master.

On completing as much of the Turin work as I was permitted to undertake, I transferred my activities to Leyden, where apart from the papyrus already mentioned many others written in hieratic awaited my now firmly-established palaeographical ability. The subjects were mostly magical, elaborate spells for protecting the owners from snake-bite or scorpion-sting. At Turin there had been some important texts with the same content, but fewer in number. In Berlin it soon became recognized that Ramesside hieratic was my own special preserve and so it has continued to be, though my never completely extinguished participation in the *Wörterbuch* extended my contributions to various other fields. It gave me great pleasure to read the very handsome tribute paid to my co-operation in the now happily completed undertaking of the German Academies, a tribute all the less expected since only six years before the publication of the essay\* appearing under the authorship of Erman, by

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\* Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Das Wörterbuch des ägypt. Sprache*, 1953, especially pp. 9, 10, 28, 33, 34, in Heft 51 of the *Vorträge und Schriften* of the Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. For my own criticisms, not as I think unjustified, but perhaps rather harsh in view of the great difficulties with which Erman and his collaborators had to contend, see Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 1947, pp. IX foll.

that time already defunct, and of H. Grapow I had printed some very outspoken criticisms of the inevitable defects of that gigantic but highly experimental work.

Although we did not surrender the lease of our Berlin flat until the middle of 1911, we had long envisaged our ultimate return to England in order to educate our children. We had never stayed in Berlin to face the heat of the summer, our theory, never consistently carried out, being that we should spend one summer in England and the next in Ängholm. In 1906 the *Wörterbuch* entered upon a new stage which tended to loosen my ties with it, though my work on the slips was never entirely abandoned. Tentative efforts were now made to devise a suitable form for the final publication, and I was asked to serve as a sub-editor, a position which I accepted and retained until 1908. This meant, however, that I should work on exactly the same footing as Erman, without any formal acknowledgement of the fact. This did not suit me now that I had gained confidence in my power to do original work. More and more I felt pulled towards my own country, where I should find no lack of demands for philological help. In my Turin notebooks I discovered only little which incited me to immediate publication, but without explicitly realizing it I had initiated a reform in the method of transcription which nearly all my successors have accepted, but to which Erman never gave his assent. Hieratic is invariably written from right to left and it would obviously facilitate later collation and eliminate chances of error if transcription adhered to the direction of the original; the difficulty of checking a transcription in the reverse direction may be tested by comparing the handwritten and the photographic plates in Erman's edition of the Westcar papyrus. Nevertheless, his old-fashioned practice had the excuse that the *Wörterbuch*, when published, would necessarily show its hieroglyphs in the left to right direction, conforming its

habit to that of all printed books on hieroglyphs. In writing the slips of my Turin and Leyden papyri I had to reverse the direction as found in my notebooks, and this I found very irksome. Twenty years later I argued (*JEA* XV. 48 foll.) in favour of even more desirable departures from Erman's habit, pointing out that though the earliest hieratic had been a sign-for-sign abbreviation of the contemporary hieroglyphic, in the New Kingdom a distinct kind of orthography had been developed for hieratic, so that transcription into hieroglyphic would perforce be artificial and the true scientific practice would be to acknowledge this fact and not to disguise it by an unjustified conformation of the two styles of writing. My reforms have been pretty generally accepted, though some individual differences were bound to arise in practice.

Having relinquished my editorial work in connexion with the *Wörterbuch* I now had freedom to set on foot several undertakings which arose at least in part out of my ever-increasing philological competence. It served my purpose well still to have my headquarters in Berlin where the collections of the *Wörterbuch* could always be consulted for difficulties of vocabulary and where a number of young scholars of undoubted ability provided me with a congenial *milieu*. Junker, the most talented of these was more often than not absent in Egypt but Roeder, Vogelsang and Ranke are among those whose constant presence in the rooms where the slips were kept gave me the society and the encouragement which I needed. A later recruit of great energy and a lively intelligence was Max Burchardt, destined to perish so regrettably in the War. More important than these was Hermann Grapow who, in a certain sense, became my successor in the editorial work and who remained Erman's close partner until the latter's death in 1937 and who still, fortunately, survives as Sethe's successor in the Berlin Professorship or (if he has now surrendered that post to some younger man) as at least his successor in

the Berlin Academy. It is with complete justice that Grapow's name is coupled with that of Erman on the title-page of the dictionary which is likely to remain for years our chief instrument of study.

But to return now to the matters which are the essential subject of these notes: it was a remarkable chance which provided me with the opportunity to initiate two folio volumes of indisputable importance. The story goes back to beyond my first arrival in Berlin. In 1895, I. Quibell, excavating for the Egyptian Research Account, had come across a number of Middle Kingdom tombs at the back of the Theban Ramesseum, in one of which was a wooden box containing a number of extremely fragile papyri. Attempts to unroll these in London having failed, I prevailed upon Professor Petrie to allow me to take a few of them to Berlin and to entrust them to the skilled hands of H. Ibscher, the uniquely talented keeper and restorer of the manuscripts in the Berlin collection. The first results were not particularly promising, but at last Ibscher succeeded in presenting us with a not too badly preserved roll about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  metres long inscribed on both sides with good Middle Kingdom hieratic. What was our astonishment when we found upon the *recto* the lost or only defectively known beginning of the famous Story of Sinuhe, while on the *verso* was written the completely unknown beginning of the Story of the Eloquent Peasant. The main text of these two fascinating tales had long been familiar to Egyptologists from reasonably well-preserved manuscripts in the Berlin Museum, but more correct transcriptions were long overdue. Here then was the opportunity to supply a recognized lacuna in our very slenderly represented store of old Egyptian literature. I was lucky enough to be able to persuade Petrie to let our new treasure from the Ramesseum be presented to the Berlin Museum on the express condition that the money for adequate publications of both texts would be forthcoming. Erman's diplomatic skill,

enhanced by his position as director of the Egyptian collections, arranged this matter in a highly satisfactory manner. To myself, under Erman's aegis, was entrusted the editing of the Story of Sinuhe with photographic reproductions of the old and the new manuscripts, to which I added a new translation. For the Story of the Eloquent Peasant I had to take as my co-editor F. Vogelsang, he having quite recently taken this difficult text as the subject of his doctoral dissertation; I was happy to have the assistance of this very able scholar for a task which I should have found exceedingly exacting if I had been obliged to tackle it alone. It was with perfect justice that Vogelsang's name took precedence of mine on the title-page of our joint work (1908), since my part was confined to transcription of the Ramesseum version.

Thus a little ingenious management had added two stately volumes to our library of old Egyptian literature. A few years later I devoted a series of articles to the elucidation of the Sinuhe story, in connexion with which a high honour fell to my lot. Just at the time when the Ramesseum version was discovered Maspero was preparing an edition of the earlier known Berlin manuscript to form the first volume of a *Bibliothèque d'Etude* to be published by the French Institute in Cairo (1908). Knowing this and recognizing that for Maspero's book to appear without the newly-discovered beginning would render it obsolete from the start, I naturally sent him a copy of my transcript, an action which enabled him to destroy the proofs of his first eight pages already in print. This pleased him so much that he paid me the great compliment of dedicating his volume to me. It must surely be a unique occurrence that a scholar of Maspero's celebrity should dedicate one of his works to a young colleague who had not yet attained his thirtieth year.

An enterprise belonging to about the same period was announced in a grandiloquent prospectus of which I for-

tunately no longer have a copy. This proclaimed the division of all Ramesside hieratic texts into a number of series, each to be dealt with in turn. The first instalment, which actually appeared only in 1911, contained P. Anastasi I's satirical letter of one scribe to another, as well as P. Koller, a not too interesting Miscellany later edited again by Caminos. My ambitious enterprise terminated with Series I, Volume I, Part I!

Thus far, all my personal researches had been associated with the needs of the *Wörterbuch*, but now circumstances led me to look further afield. In 1906, I had been elected as Laycock Student of Egyptology at Worcester College, Oxford, as successor to my friend David Randall-MacIver, and this obliged me to spend some weeks in Oxford every summer term. In the following year I was invited by David to be his guest in Lower Nubia, where he was about to start on excavations together with Leonard Woolley and G. F. Mileham on behalf of Eckley B. Coxe of Philadelphia. The Nubian sites investigated on this expedition offered little that could interest me, the finds being almost exclusively Meroitic, but there was at least one important Ramesside tomb which I studied with care. On my way to and from Nubia I spent some days at Aswân to copy the valuable inscriptions in the XII Dynasty tomb of Si-renpowe, which I published without delay in the *Zeitschrift* (*ZÄS* 45, 123 foll.). More momentous, however, for my subsequent career was my visit to Thebes where A. E. P. Weigall had initiated work of the greatest importance on the tombs of the nobles. As Inspector-General of the Department of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, a post to which he had been appointed in 1906, Weigall immediately set to work to survey and protect the much neglected private tombs of the Theban necropolis. A new numbering was started, and before long as many as one hundred painted or sculptured tombs had been definitely located

and many of them cleared and provided with iron doors. With funds collected from various sources, Weigall managed to expropriate some especially important tombs which has been occupied by the local inhabitants, and it was not long before the whole area began to present a really orderly and well organized appearance. An immense amount of work, however, remained to be done, and in spite of the presence of a young assistant sent out by Robert (later Sir Robert) Mond to continue his excavations, further help was urgently needed. For such help Weigall, after showing me all that he had achieved, appealed to me in very blunt language. 'What is the use,' he said, 'of your smuggling away over books in Berlin when the material indispensable for your studies is perishing in Egypt itself in double quick time.'

This common-sense criticism of my activities struck home and I at once determined to give Weigall whatever assistance I could.

It was not, however, until the summer of 1909 that I was able to join him. It was still too hot to start work in the hill of Sheikh 'Abd el-Kurna so that I gladly welcomed the opportunity of accompanying Weigall on his tour of inspection. It was a great privilege to visit the most important sites under his experienced guidance. Starting from Elephantine and proceeding northwards, a brief stay at Kôm Ombo made me acquainted with the finely preserved temple. Thence to Gebel Silsila, where we swam into the rock shrines on the western river bank. It was exciting to sleep the next night in the great temple of Edfu, though this belonged to too late a period to arouse in me much enthusiasm. Much more to my taste was El-Kâb, the tombs of which in the eastern hill-side offered a number of little known inscriptions which I eagerly copied; possibly some of these may have remained unpublished down to the present day.

All this trip was for me just a holiday; my main task lay

ahead, but for this somewhat cooler weather had to be awaited. When the right moment arrived we established our camp half way up the hillside of Sheikh 'Abd el-Kurna on the natural platform where the brick tower of Wilkinson's house still stands. Here we had a magnificent view overlooking the Nile Valley right across to Luxor and the hills on the eastern horizon. From the point of view of our work the position of our camp was ideal; we were in the very midst of the best-preserved and most important tombs, so that we could spend an hour or so making notes upon one or other of them before breaking off to cleanse ourselves and take our breakfast. A *suffrâgi* and a cook supplied our material needs and a necropolis guard (*ghaffîr*) was always at hand to supply the necessary keys of those tombs which already had iron doors. Our days began with sunrise and ended with sunset, after which we reposed ourselves until the time arrived for the evening meal and early to bed in the open under a cloudless sky. Our task had been to locate and identify those tombs which deserved to receive numbers of their own, to discover the names, titles and dates of their original owners and to decide in advance which of them would best merit complete publication if the means could be found to make this possible. It is impossible to overstate the charm of this life of fruitful and often exciting investigation which has been the basis of so much subsequent work. I look back on the months spent on exploring and numbering the tombs of the Theban nobles of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards as one of the happiest and most useful periods of my life. Weigall was a witty and charming companion, and as is witnessed by the dedication to me of his fascinating *Treasury of Ancient Egypt* (1910) his enjoyment of this co-operation was equal to my own. Unhappily, ill health deprived me of his society in the second season of this work, and I was forced to continue it alone; but the excitement of my discoveries was so great that I never felt

lonely. Before my participation in the task initiated by Weigall came to an end after a third season the list of numbered tombs had risen from Weigall's hundred to my own 252, and since then the total has increased by the efforts of various other investigators to no less than 406 and the end has not been reached. It gives me satisfaction to know that the official numbering still in use is merely the continuation of that started by Weigall and carried on by me. A general account of the project will be found in our *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, published in 1913, to which supplements were later added by R. Engelbach in 1924 and by the greatly developed and all-important second edition of B. Porter's and Rosalind Moss's *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. I, published in 1960.

I cannot but feel that Weigall's great merits in connexion with this enterprise have been somewhat smothered by all the subsequent work to which it gave rise, but this subsequent work had so many ramifications that not to describe some of them would be to do even greater injustice to the two gifted artists in whose house at Gurna Heddie and I were happy guests in many later years.

Out of my work above described grew a friendship and a collaboration which have continued to bear fruit for more than fifty years. In 1908 the Metropolitan Museum of New York decided to create 'a body of records which would serve the Museum as a ground for study and investigation and when given to the world through publication would be a contribution to our knowledge of the art and life of ancient Egypt'. It so chanced that Norman de Garis Davies, who had made a great reputation for himself through his work in the tombs of El-Amarna, was available to initiate this enterprise. In 1908 Norman settled down in Gurna together with his wife, Nina, in the charming little

house placed at their disposal by Robert Mond. Admirable as were the copies of scenes produced by Norman, they were by common admission excelled by the facsimiles in colour to which his wife began to devote herself. The help of these two gave me the chance of carrying into effect a project which had gradually been formulating itself in my mind. As yet, hardly any of the superb paintings found in the best of the tombs had been reproduced with adequate accuracy, and it became obvious to me that a comprehensive archive ought to be initiated, so that Nina's unrivalled handiwork might be stored in one and the same place. Before the end of 1909 a plan satisfactory to all concerned had been arranged. Nina was to continue helping Norman with her colour work whilst providing me at the conclusion of each season with as many paintings as I could afford to acquire. At the same time I agreed to start a new series of tomb publications to be known as the Theban Tomb Series, five volumes of which were ultimately produced, the first in 1915 and the last in 1933. Each of these contained several coloured plates to supplement the line-drawings which were likewise the work of Nina, though she was helped in these by Norman in such spare hours as his employment with the MMA could allow him. I made myself responsible for the accuracy of the copies of the inscriptions, as well as for the translations, the descriptive text which accompanied them and the general editorship, not to mention the cost of the whole enterprise. It need hardly be said that this series of mine was a much humbler affair than that financed by the mother of Robb de Peyster Tytus, a keen American amateur of Egyptology, who died in 1913; this splendid memorial to her son constituted Norman's main contribution to Egyptology in the years following 1917 when the first great folio volume appeared, with two fine coloured plates by Nina, his wife.

Leaving for future description the even more important developments that arose out of our Theban work, I now turn to the domestic events which ushered my life into an entirely new phase. The moment to leave Berlin had at length arrived. Down to the second half of 1911 Heddie and the children remained in the pleasant flat of which we had held the lease for so many years. A notebook still in my possession shows that she entertained lavishly during my absences in Egypt, thus leading some of her guests—there were some very distinguished persons among them—to express the laughing conviction that I was a mythical personage. The first step to be taken in our move was to sell all the furniture in our flat, which had a Teutonic appearance utterly unsuited to English taste; my Egyptologist colleagues were only too glad to supplement their own households with additions which they could acquire at a very reasonable price. But now also my fast-growing library had to be packed up for warehousing until a new place in England could be found for it. It was with many a pang that we quitted what had been our home for so long and where we had formed so many friendships. But as I have already said, England called, the children were to be educated there, and I wished to be nearer to my lonely and ageing father.

But where in England were we now to establish ourselves? Heddie would have liked to live in the country, but I felt strongly that this would cut me off too completely from the collections and libraries which were essential for my studies. Before we could start househunting we had to find someone to look after Rolf and Margaret, now respectively nine and seven years of age. We were fortunate in discovering in Kathleen Boileau, herself little more than twenty years old, a governess whose capability and conscientiousness could not have been surpassed. Today after fifty years, she remains one of the dearest friends of our family. We had no hesitation in placing the children

under her entire charge whilst we were engaged in our difficult task. My chronology of the next two years is much blurred, and I am unable to recall the sequence of the various moves which culminated in our finding a splendid new home in London. For a short time we had the lease of a finely situated house at Penn, high up on the hills behind Beaconsfield, but here no room could be found for my library and there was other disadvantages. The purpose of this notebook being solely to record the development of my work as a researcher, I shall pass over the events of the next eighteen months as quickly as possible. Kathleen and the children were parked out at Minchinhampton, a beauty spot in the Cotswolds, where two friends of Heddie's, the novelist, Constance Armfield, and her artist husband, Maxwell Armfield, were living in the midst of a whole colony of gifted people who formed amid the wonderful natural surroundings an environment which could not fail to be congenial and healthgiving to our children. It must have been here that we came into touch with the very talented architect who converted a Victorian house of the most conventional type into the much admired mansion which became our home until the breaking out of the Second World War. Our most kindly and generous next-door neighbour, Sir Edmund Davis, proved an ideal landlord, and our architect, Morley Horder, compensated for his many delays by the skill with which he changed 9 Lansdowne Road, W.11 into a house which gave me the library which I required as well as fine rooms for all the other members of the family. Heddie and I took the deepest interest in furnishing and decorating this almost ideal abode situated where I had easy access to the British Museum and the Edwards Library in University College, Gower Street, while we were near enough to Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park to have good opportunity for exercise. Lawn tennis I was able to have at Campden Hill not ten minutes away, and Queen's Club could also easily

be reached by taxi. Here, there was no longer reason to regret the loss of our happy home in Berlin.

A casual meeting in Cairo brought me a new co-operation and a new friendship. T. E. Peet, who had been persuaded by Randall-MacIver to embark on an intensive study of Italian prehistory, finding that there was in this no prospect of a permanent livelihood, turned his thoughts to Egypt. Encouraged by P. E. Newberry he joined John Garstang in the latter's excavations at Abydos, but later on in the spring of 1909 accompanied Newberry for some work in the Delta. Meeting me in Cairo he asked me whether I could help him to learn Egyptian. Always desirous to acquire a pupil, I gladly consented and proposed that he should come to study with me in the following May in Oxford, where I had now succeeded MacIver in the Laycock Studentship. This plan proved impracticable in 1910, but found its fulfilment in 1911. By this time Peet had, with his singular capacity for self-instruction, acquired a good working knowledge of Middle Egyptian. I therefore restricted myself to starting him in Late Egyptian, and together we worked through the Abbott papyrus, later to form the basis for his admirable publications *The Mayer Papyri* (1920) and *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty* (1930). Apart from these few weeks with me, so far as I know, Peet never had any tuition in Egyptian philology. Nevertheless, before he died in 1934 he had become a sound scholar not merely in hieratic, where no doubt he was greatly helped by the loan of my notebooks, but also in Coptic and demotic, a truly remarkable achievement (*JEA* XX. 66 foll.).

It was, however, in a totally different field that my co-operation with Peet was to find a really startling development. In 1905 Flinders Petrie excavating at Serâbit el-Khâdim, in the Peninsula of Sinai, had discovered and copied a large number of inscriptions in Egyptian hiero-

glyphic to add to those previously known but had left them unpublished and untranslated. They were almost all dedicated by Egyptian officials who had been sent to the site in quest of the precious turquoise there to be found. When the Egypt Exploration Society invited us to shoulder this sadly neglected task we willingly accepted and the result was a fine folio volume for the line-plates of which (1919) Peet was mainly responsible, while the translations and commentaries which were to have been my share in the undertaking were reserved for a later date.\* Included among the materials handed to us were drawings of eight much damaged rock-stelae, two squatting statues and a sphinx carved with characters of which some were clearly borrowed from the hieroglyphs, while others were equally clearly not so borrowed. Reluctantly we turned to the study of these enigmatic inscriptions, for there seemed little hope of our eliciting their nature. Almost the first sign to attract my attention was the ox head at the beginning (top right) of the best preserved of the stelae. This brought to mind the old contention of Gesenius that the prototypes of the Phoenician letters must originally have had the shapes indicated by the Hebrew letter-names, and accordingly I exclaimed to my companion 'Surely we must here have the origin of the Phoenician *âleph*'.† His reply was not encouraging, so there the matter rested for several weeks. In taking up the problem afresh my first step was to see what confirmation of my surmise could be found. To my astonishment, almost perfect equivalents were at once forthcoming for *bêth* 'house' , , *mêm* 'water' —the Egyptians always depicted water as a zigzag line —*ayin* 'eye'  and *rêsh* 'head' , besides others for one reason or another less convincing.

\* This was ultimately undertaken by Cerny in an excellent re-edition of our volume entitled *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, Part I, 1952. Part II gave the translations.

† The following is adapted from my popular account in *Legacy of Egypt*, pp. 56 foll. But see my original article, *JEA* iii, 1-16.

The total number of different signs contained in these inscriptions did not exceed thirty-two and of these some might well be variants; the natural inference was that the writing was alphabetic. But if so, there would have to be some sequences of letters which would yield individual words.

 It was easy to isolate one sequence of four letters which occurred no less than six times. Applying my principle I read the first sign as *b*, the second as ‘(ayin)—this is a peculiar guttural sound not heard in English—and the last as *t*—the Hebrew letter-name *tau* means a ‘mask’ and the Phoenician form is † or x. The third sign puzzled me, since it was not clear what it represented. Running my eye down the Phoenician alphabet in the first reference book that came to hand, I naturally stopped at *lâmedh* , though here the hook was at the bottom, not at the top. Disregarding this trifling difficulty, I now read Ba’alat, the female Ba’al, familiar as the designation of a prominent Semitic goddess. Were then the enigmatic tablets votive offerings to Ba’alat? I had the strongest reasons for believing it, since (1) the regular Egyptian translation of the Semitic divine Ba’alat was Hathor (so at Byblos) and (2) the goddess of the temple of Serâbit was well-known to be ‘Hathor, lady of the Turquoise’, her name occurring on a large majority of the hieroglyphic inscriptions there found.

Thus, without any forcing or *parti pris* on my part, by the mere combinations of a few simple observations with a few established facts, the Sinai texts in the unknown script had yielded the precise name one might most have expected to find there. Could this be mere coincidence? I thought and still think not. But, if not, obviously I had hit upon the origin of our alphabet, for the train of reasoning employed formed a rigid system, and if the conclusion were accepted, it would be well-nigh impossible to deny the premisses.

The last paragraphs, extracted in this year 1962 from the

Clarendon Press's book *The Legacy of Egypt* (1942) constitute the vital part of a long controversial argument that must be left for others to read. Nevertheless, in justice to myself I feel that I must stress the importance of this discovery of mine. It has been widely accepted, but also as widely disputed, and not merely disputed, but also badly represented by at least two able Semitic scholars. For this I am myself somewhat to blame, since in my original article (*JEA* iii (1916) p. 15) I made the mistake of describing my reading of Ba'alat as 'an unverifiable hypothesis'. In my latest book *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), pp. 25-6 I take a much more sanguine view of what many other scholars have regarded as a contribution to philological science of the highest importance. I have never failed to emphasize the fact that my conclusion has not been proved up to the hilt and will not be until evidence appears to enable us to read with certainty some other words of these much damaged inscriptions. In an article to appear in *JEA* xlviii I bring fresh arguments tending to show that the proto-Sinaitic script was that used by the Semites who assisted the Egyptians in their mining operations at Serâbit in the reign of Ammenemes III. This would date this writing to about 1800 B.C., a good deal earlier than is usually supposed.

I cannot refrain from quoting here the kind of misapprehension which is likely to arise over what I insist on regarding as my best discovery. G. R. Driver's very learned book entitled *Semitic Writing* (1948), which accepts the reading Ba'alat, though perhaps rather grudgingly (see p. 144), writes on pp. 96-7 as follows: 'Petrie recognizing a group of four or five signs which recurred several times, suggested that they concealed a religious phrase, and after several partly successful attempts on the part of others to read them Gardiner suggested (*l*)*b'*lt (for) Ba'alat. He was led to this suggestion, *now universally accepted*, by reflecting that the building in which these inscriptions were found was a temple of Hathor, an Egyptian goddess who was

equated with the Semitic Ba'alat.' This statement of Driver's is utterly wrong. My reading Ba'alat was no 'suggestion' on my part, it was the entirely surprising outcome of a completely logical argument based on the letter-names, as set forth above.

My paper on the Alphabet was read to the British Association in Manchester in 1915 and excited much interest. But now I must go back to the events of 1912, so far as I can recall them. I returned from Egypt early in the year and joined the family at Stumpwell, Penn. After a month or two there we had signs of an important impending family event, in view of which we took a temporary lease of a flat high up in Queen Anne's Mansions, where our second son, John, was born on November 4th, ten years all but a day younger than his brother. My life during the next months has left only the haziest impression on my memory, but I will set down just as much as seems indispensable for my present purpose. Family life there could be none so long as the builders were busy at Lansdowne Road. Rolf and Margaret were still in the Cotswolds. Heddie was naturally busy with her infant and with making purchases for the new home, a job which she did with great skill and perspicacity. I myself, still bereft of my library managed to carry on research in one direction or another. After six years as Laycock Student I had to relinquish this post, but another presented itself to take its place. A new museum of Egyptian Antiquities had been instituted at Manchester by the munificence of some magnate whose name I forget, and the University felt that it ought to express its gratitude by founding some sort of post where tuition in Egyptology could be given. Elliot Smith was very importunate in begging me to help him in this matter. I could not refuse absolutely, so I arranged that I should go to Manchester for one day every fortnight, deliver a lecture in the late afternoon and another

on the following morning. Great kindness was shown to me by a number of the professors among whom Elliot Smith and Boyd Dawkins were specially prominent, though others as eminent as Tout and Conway also offered me hospitality for the night which I had to spend in Manchester. From 1912 to 1914 I thus came to be the Reader in Egyptology for the University of Manchester. I am not proud of this brief episode in my career. Pupils I had hardly any and I was very half-hearted in the performance of my duties. I wonder what my generous hosts can have thought of their guest. For my part, if I had been more perceptive I could surely have profited more in my meetings with men of the highest distinction. At Elliot Smith's I found myself one afternoon and evening in the company of the great physicist, Lord Rutherford. To sum up what I have to say about this interlude in my existence, it was a very restless and unhappy time, but in it lay the germ and the pattern of years to come, and I do not regret the experiences which they offered.

It was a joy and delight to enter my new home, to have my family around me, to unpack and arrange my books, and to embark on a regular course of research. My bibliography will show how productive I was in all the coming years in spite of the First World War concerning the opening months of which I must necessarily write something. We started upon our summer holiday in 1914 with the happiest hopes. I was going to see my dear friend, Robert Hertz, and Heddie and myself, as well as Margaret joined him and his family at Chamonix. Enjoyable, indeed, were our talks and our walks together, but into this short but blissful time came the fatal news of the ultimatum which foreshadowed the disaster about to come. I was myself too ignorant and too careless of politics to have even suspicion of the impending tragedy, but Robert on reading his newspaper said 'C'est la guerre'. This was on the eve of my departure from Chamonix. Our pro-

gramme was to proceed to Ängholm via Copenhagen. I was to go ahead of the others to do some work in Berlin, where we were to meet and travel together. It would not be without interest to record our fortunes during the next week, but mindful of my purpose to deal here only with researches, I will be very brief. We met Rolf, John and his nurse at Copenhagen as arranged, and hearing news of the declaration of war crossed over to Sweden at night, stayed at Mölle in a pension until we could receive money to return to England, and finally reached Aberdeen from Bergen at the beginning of October. No one could have been more horrified than I was at the insane war which had been unleashed. Much as I admired the courage and idealism of my friends who espoused the patriotic cause I could never persuade myself that it could do anything but harm, and I was in an exceptional position having close intimacies on both sides. Thanks to Lord Bryce (whom I never met) and Sir Frederick Kenyon it was decided that I had better go on with my researches, and to this day I am glad that I had no active part in wrecking our world. In the last part of the War I was called upon to give a couple of hours a day to reading and summarizing Scandinavian newspapers for the Ministry of Information. That is all!

At last the nightmare came to an end. We had stayed in London for the greatest part of the time, though with summer holidays in North Wales, mainly at Llyngwrl, which we learned to love. My bibliography shows that I had made very considerable contributions to Egyptology, too disparate to be surveyed here in detail, but I will call special attention to the articles which I wrote on Egyptian religion and psychology, some of them published in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, some (e.g. 'Life and Death', 'Magic', 'Personifications') in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and one or two in *JEA* or elsewhere, the last named including my essay on the origin of the Semitic Alphabet discussed above.

Two friendships, both of them connected with Egyptology but in very different ways, were developed during this period and I remember them both with deep gratitude and affection. That with Lord Carnarvon was the most unexpected. Before the War a well-meaning but unfortunate letter from Griffith to Carnarvon saying that I had devoted much time in Cairo to the later celebrated Kamose Tablet, but was annoyed that permission to publish it was withheld, caused Carnarvon to receive me very coolly when I called upon him at Gurna where he was excavating. A week or two later I was talking with Dr. Marcus Johnson, a connexion of ours by marriage, in the Winter Palace bar when Carnarvon walked in. My kindly cousin was anxious to heal the difference, if so it could be called, between us and said to Carnarvon 'What is this misunderstanding between Gardiner and you?' To this I commented that, in fact, I had been annoyed at not being allowed to make public an important historical document which had taken me to Cairo at my own expense and with considerable expenditure of time, and I asked Carnarvon to put himself in my place and would he not be similarly annoyed? From that moment we became fast friends. I was inclined to avoid him rather than otherwise, since I was keenly aware that I did not belong to his world. But he deliberately sought me out, invited me to Highclere Castle again and again where I got to know well his magnificent collection of Egyptian antiquities, plotted with him to develop the Egypt Exploration Society after the War, and also to create a British School of Egyptology in Cairo. Through Carnarvon I had a talk with Arthur Balfour on the latter topic, but though the great politician showed the interest and the courtesy for which he was renowned nothing came of this after-dinner meeting. I also became acquainted in this way with two other collectors of Egyptian objects, namely, Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell and Sir John Maxwell, both of them to become in turn

President of our Society. Through them and in other ways our Government was persuaded to take some interest in the antiquities of Egypt, but nothing came of the proposed School. I shall write more about Carnarvon when I come to speak of the great Tut'ankhamun discovery, but already here I wish to express my deep gratitude for his friendship and encouragement, and I will not fail to say what great enjoyment I derived from his society and from the happy evenings at the theatre which we spent together, not to mention the luxury of his splendid homes in the country and in London.

Of far greater scientific interest, of course, and of quite equal intimacy, was my friendship with Battiscombe Gunn later to become the Professor of Egyptology at Oxford and also to succumb far too early to a death in 1950 at the age of sixty-seven. He did me the great honour of describing himself as my pupil (*Studies* p. xvii) and though I think this is true in a sense, yet I should be ashamed if I failed to acknowledge the immense debt which I owe to his acumen and learning; he was much more my partner than my pupil, and I would urge the reader of these notes to ponder the paragraph (p. xiv) in the Preface to my Egyptian Grammar in which I enumerate the very important details which I owe to him in addition to the universally accepted teaching with regard to Egyptian tenses which will be found in his epoch-making *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1924).

Gunn had been invalided out of the army at an early stage of the War, and he gladly accepted my invitation to come and work with me at Lansdowne Road. It was arranged that he should devote to work on my behalf several hours a day, but not so much time as would prevent him from pursuing his own more special interests. I suggested that he should start on an index of the places where Egyptian words and word-meanings had been discussed and this bibliography, later continued by Faulkner from 1926 onwards, fills no less than twenty slip-boxes which will

some day become the property of the Griffith Institute. This undertaking has proved useful both to me and to others on various occasions, but less so than I had hoped for two reasons; in the first place the incompleteness due to various circumstances, among them the Second World War, and in the second place my growing awareness that a very high percentage of the discussions of words in different books and periodicals were sheer rubbish, so that the references so diligently collected had only a limited value. Nonetheless, I have a hope that this work to which Gunn devoted so much time will some day bear fruit.

Far more valuable, however, were the talks which Gunn and I had on Egyptian Grammar and on Linguistic Theory generally. I had long made up my mind that Erman's Grammar, though a great achievement in its time was altogether insufficient in many ways. The greatest defect which Gunn and I found was that the German scholars who had collected the externals of grammatical form with such industry and success were far less interested in problems of meaning. It sufficed them to distinguish the various verbal classes and verb-forms, but the distinctions of tense, etc. which were thereby conveyed were never discussed. Not so by Gunn and myself, and gradually an entirely new pattern of syntactical analysis emerged from our combined efforts. I will divulge the fact, however, that I was sometimes almost in despair over my partner's unproductiveness. He was a real Bohemian and much of his research was carried on in his own lodgings at dead of night. After some years, perhaps about 1920, it was agreed that Gunn should seek employment elsewhere, and in the following years we find him assisting in the excavations at El'Amârna; then in company with Firth at Sakkâra; then becoming a curator in the Cairo Museum from 1928-31 and, after occupying a similar position at Philadelphia, becoming Professor of Egyptology at Oxford as successor of Peet (1934).

Once again chronology defeats me, but I vividly remember an occasion which was of great significance to us both. One day Gunn brought me a sheaf of articles on different points of Egyptian Grammar which he had written without my knowledge, and which he wished to submit to my criticism. To my great astonishment these articles included syntactical discoveries of the greatest importance. It is possible or even probable that the original work reflected much of our common discussions, but many of Gunn's results were entirely new to me, and I was greatly excited thus to become acquainted with things which could not be described otherwise than as epoch-making. But now Gunn asked me to hand him back his typescripts because as he said 'I wish to make some additions and to reconsider some points'. To this I replied that he had worked at my expense for a number of years without giving me any *quid pro quo* and that I intended to keep his articles and to get them printed. He was very angry at this ultimatum of mine, but he had no choice but to accept it, and I carried out my threat and—made his reputation! In Germany, Gunn's *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (1924) created great interest and, in particular, Sethe never tired of referring in his lectures to *die Gunnsche Regel*! I dare say that my treatment of my old friend Gunn in this matter was unpleasantly dictatorial, but it was not long before he forgave me, as will be seen from the paragraph of acknowledgments which I quoted above. It will be seen from the bibliography of Gunn which his Egyptian pupil, Bakir, compiled after his death (*Ann. du Serv.* L. 423–5) that his subsequent publications were relatively meagre when viewed in the light of his indisputable genius, but for this there were two reasons, firstly that he was an incorrigible perfectionist and, secondly, because he became enthusiastically absorbed in teaching, an occupation in which he achieved great success, see *JEA* XXXV, 105.

Two more volumes were added to the Theban Tombs Series before I again took a very active part in it, but I had collated the inscriptions during several visits to Egypt and in the fifth volume dealing with the tomb of the Nubian Viceroy, Huy I, was definitely co-partner with Nina Davies (1926). But in the years after the War a new enterprise of very considerable importance was what took me to Cairo and kept me there for several seasons, the Coffin Texts enterprise. It was in connexion with this that I came into such close contact with James Henry Breasted, though my co-operation with that eminent scholar and explorer, a co-operation by which we both profited and which developed into a much valued friendship, is shabbily disguised or rather ignored in the life of his father which Charles, his elder son, wrote after his death. I will now tell the story in my own way.

Kurt Sethe, after Adolf Erman the most eminent German Egyptologist, had spent many years studying the Pyramid Texts, so called because found first in the Pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. But besides these oldest Egyptian religious texts there remained a vast number of only slightly later ones which urgently needed copying and publishing; these texts, to a large extent the prototypes of the so-called Book of the Dead, were inscribed on the interior walls of rectangular coffins, mostly of painted wood, belonging to the period immediately preceding the rise of the Middle Kingdom. P. Lacau, the distinguished Director of the Egyptian Service of Antiquities and a very able philologist, had made a good start on this task but in course of time realized that his other duties would prevent him from continuing it, the material being very extensive. Talking over the matter with Sethe he agreed that I was the right man to tackle this important job. It was soon learnt, however, that Breasted had the same undertaking in mind, though at first imagining that photographs of all the coffins

would suffice.\* Having got in touch with Breasted I convinced him that hand-copies were an absolute necessity, and it was quickly arranged that we should collaborate in this arduous task, and it was found that the expense would be met by the Oriental Institute of Chicago, the grandiose foundation due to the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jnr., then in its early stages. Breasted and I arranged to meet in Cairo in December 1922 and then to start jointly on our copying. It was at first thought that Lacau would join us, but this he found impossible and most generously surrendered to us his pre-war copies. Before we could make a beginning a good many preliminaries had to be decided, and I think I may take to myself the credit for laying down the principles which Breasted and I bound ourselves to observe. The originals were mostly inscribed in hieratic, which would, of course, have to be transcribed into hieroglyphic. In editing the Pyramid Texts, Sethe had adopted the old-fashioned method of writing the texts from left to right, as in the printed books using hieroglyphic type, and his volumes present the text in horizontal lines instead of in the vertical columns which were the rule with the graven originals. My own publications of the Story of Sinuhe had taught me that the hieroglyphic transcriptions would have to rectify Sethe's habit in these two particulars, which carried with them the further consequence that the signs in the transcriptions would have to face towards the right. Another point on which I insisted was that no text should be regarded as finally dealt with unless it had been controlled by two pairs of eyes. Perhaps this stipulation has not been quite consistently observed, but it has been so except when the circumstances have made this impossible. Breasted caused sample pages of our copies to be reproduced in *Oriental Institute Communications* No. 1, pp. 80-1, where further information about this

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\* De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, p. ix, was, I think, mistaken on this point.

project may be read. A quite minor part in the first year's work was taken by Ludlow S. Bull, a pupil of Breasted's, who was a delightful companion and became one of my closest friends.

Breasted took an energetic part in our first season's work, and I marvelled how accurately this many-sided scholar accomplished his copying. In the following year, however (1923-4), the copying was much interrupted by the discovery of Tut'ankhamun's tomb, and with Breasted's increasing obligations it became clear that he would have to retire from the actual work. . . . 'In the next season' De Buck, (*Coffin Texts*, p. x) writes, 'I was engaged as assistant to Dr. Gardiner, since the task was obviously too large for one man to undertake single-handed. From that time onward the enterprise has been practically confined to Gardiner and myself. As Gardiner likewise became increasingly obliged to give the larger part of his time to other tasks, we soon developed the arrangement that I should copy the texts in Cairo and in Europe and he should check over my results at intervals.' An admirable account of the further development of this task was given in De Buck's Introduction from which I have just quoted, but now I must say something about the man and his uniquely qualified suitability for just this undertaking. He was a Dutchman who had collaborated with Sethe, in Göttingen in a series of articles entitled *Totenbuchstudien*,\* H. Kees and two less important scholars also taking part. De Buck was a fine scholar of great learning and pertinacity, rather stolid and silent; no one else would have been willing to pursue this dull and exacting task for thirty-two years, in fact, until his death from a quite unexpected heart failure in 1959, after he had been Professor in Leyden for many years. No colleague of ours was ever more regretted. He had a delightful humour, which he could have

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\* ZÄS, lvii-lix. This work was done in 1919.

charmed us with more often, had he not had an intense dislike for letter writing. He had just completed his seventh and final volume of *Coffin Texts*, a marvellous achievement. His translations and commentary are now in the hands of an able pupil,\* but no one will be able to make good the loss which we are all still feeling. I myself had become intensely bored with this difficult task many years previously! Nevertheless, I continued working in Cairo intermittently until 1929, when Golénischeff came to the Museum to tell me about the great papyrus find.

On November 6th 1922 Carnarvon telephoned to me at Lansdowne Road saying that he had just received a cable from Carter, in Luxor, saying that he had made a wonderful discovery in the Valley, a magnificent tomb with seals intact, and Carnarvon asked me whether it could possibly be the tomb of Tut'ankhamun. I replied that I was not well up in the history of the Valley and that we should have to wait and see. On November 23rd Carnarvon arrived at Luxor with his daughter Evelyn. It is not my intention to tell once again the often told story of the next weeks and months, but I shall set down here some facts which only I came to know of and which led to Carnarvon being much maligned by the journalistic world. After his rapid survey of the tomb this was covered up afresh and Carnarvon returned to England to pass Christmas, according to his wont, with his tenants. But the exciting news had quickly got abroad, and reporters were constantly on his doorstep or telephoning to him when he had gone to bed. The position was intolerable. Carnarvon had told me all about the find and I was constantly with him whilst he was in London. I was lunching with him one day when a footman came in and announced a call from no less a person than the Editor of *The Times* (I think it was Dawson).

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\* Rev. T. Bruisma 'now living in Leiden and works in De Buck's library', *Klasens*, 24.iv.62.

Carnarvon was annoyed at being interrupted in his lunch, and turned to me saying 'Do be kind and see him on my behalf.' Dawson then explained that the find was 'news' of the highest importance and worth quite a lot of money; did I think that Carnarvon would be ready to give a monopoly of the news to *The Times*. I, of course, said that such a matter lay entirely outside my experience. At that moment Carnarvon came in, doubtless realizing that it was necessary to be polite to such a person. Dawson then repeated his question once again and added as a persuasive argument that at the time of the Everest expedition this had been given as a monopoly to the complete satisfaction and advantage of all concerned. Dawson then departed to allow Carnarvon to think it over. Carnarvon's first reaction was to ask me what I thought, and I replied that it might be wise of us to go and see the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. This we did and were told that *The Times* monopoly had proved entirely satisfactory. That was the last that I heard of the matter until I reached Luxor shortly after the New Year, a little ahead of Carnarvon, who told me that he had accepted the arrangement and so had been relieved of the importunate interviewers. But he also said that when he lunched with one of the great newspaper lords the latter had said, 'Well, I can only tell you that you will repent the monopoly.' And so it was: three representatives of leading newspapers were sent out to sneak whatever news they could and one even went so far as to say that Carnarvon had 'prostituted archaeology' by making a lucrative bargain. It was entirely forgotten that the long drawn out excavations in the Valley had been extremely costly, and that if Carnarvon had tried to recoup his expenditure to some extent—he never discussed the matter with me—it was only natural and right. This was only the beginning of the troubles connected with the discovery. Would-be visitors arrived in their hundreds, the Service des Antiquités put every obstacle in Carter's

way, tempers became badly frayed and great unwisdom was shown by Carter, which ended in the Metropolitan Museum declaring that they would give no more help. But if this source of funds dried up, whence were they to come? I do not wish to conceal or to discuss certain irregularities which arose in connexion with the find, nor to revive memories of the litigation and acrimony which are really no concern of mine. I must, however, make some brief reference to the attempts made by me from time to time to bring about a full publication which is, I fear, no longer possible. We had great hopes when, through Miss Phyllis Walker's generosity, all Carter's notes were given to the Griffith Institute at Oxford, and it even looked as though the necessary expenditure would be defrayed by the Egyptians themselves. It was arranged between Drioton and myself in 1951 that we should seek an interview with Taha Husein, the Minister of Education, and should put our case before him. We explained that the three volumes published by Carter were by no means a genuine scientific publication, but that to produce this would cost about £30,000. We obtained a promise that such a grant would be asked for from the Government and later we were told that our demand had been favourably accepted by the Council of Ministers. But alas, politics intervened to stultify our efforts and no more was heard of our £30,000. In the present year (1962) at least one important object has been published from the find, namely, Tut'ankhamun's wonderful painted box. This is the joint product of Nina Davies and myself, a meagre offering to our science and our colleagues, but more has proved impossible, though gradually much may still be done piecemeal; we must not forget the fine photographs of the shrines published in the Bollingen Series by Piankoff and Rambova.

The death of Carnarvon on April 6th 1923 was the culmination of a season of both excitements and sorrows.

He might, perhaps, have recovered from the mosquito bite which he got at Luxor if he had taken better care of himself. Disregarding the doctor's advice he came down to Cairo and invited me to dine with him at the Mohammed Ali Club. He expressed himself very tired and despondent but insisted on going to a film. There he said that his face was hurting him and I begged him to go back to his hotel, the Continental. But no, he would see the film to a finish and he was never out of doors again. Erysipelas was followed by pneumonia and despite the presence of the best doctors in Cairo summoned by Lady Carnarvon, who had arrived as soon as possible, he passed away after a week or two. On his death-bed, or rather a day or two previously, he summoned me to him and dictated to me an additional legacy for his beloved daughter, Evelyn. The death was announced to me early one morning by Maudslay and was a great shock. I had thought that his recovery was almost certain.

It was a relief to join Breasted, at his invitation, in a visit to Palestine. From the Dead Sea, where all three of us (for Ludlow Bull accompanied us) bathed and emerged as sticky as if we had been dipped in gum, we drove to Jerusalem, where we lunched with Sir Herbert Samuel looking out on the endless desert beyond the glittering water. Our tour took us on to Nazareth and, thence, round the plain of Esdraelon, past Megiddo to Acre and up the Phoenician coast to Byblos beyond Tyre and Sidon. It was a wonderful experience enhanced by Breasted's delightful society and that of my dear friend Ludlow. But the time had arrived to return to my country and my family. It had been a momentous season in Egypt and Palestine, and the change was welcome. In my library many new tasks awaited me, while visits had also to be paid to my Father who had just entered on the occupation of the new house which he had built for himself at Wonston.

It was not until 1927 that the work, which I suppose I must admit to have been the most important achievement of my life, first saw light. My *Egyptian Grammar*, the outcome of much thought, much discussion with others and much experimenting, had always been my conscious or unconscious aim, though not holding a university post I had never had the student-pupils which are normally either the blessing or the curse of professional teachers. Griffith, who was about to reach the age of sixty-five—he was born in 1862—wrote to Hogarth that if I felt disposed to take over his Readership he would like to retire in my favour. This I was unwilling to do, and though I have several times been offered the Professorship in Oxford I have always been unwilling to renounce my freedom. It has been told how I gave a few lessons to Peet and that Gunn honoured me with calling himself my pupil. The only other teaching which I remember giving in these years was a few desultory lessons to Nina Davies in Gurna and some much earlier ones to a very clever and pleasant old retired schoolmistress whom I knew before we left Berlin. To this almost forgotten lady I owe the excellent index which she\* added in typescript to my *Hieratic Texts*, Part 1, published in 1911.

My *Egyptian Grammar*, though I immodestly say it myself, has been an immense success. It is in its third edition (1957) and the demand for it seems to show no sign of diminishing. It has recently come to my knowledge that more than one small boy has clamoured for the gift of it. What is the attraction? It is beautifully printed and the hieroglyphs used in it (of these more later!) are splendidly executed. The book is a large one and it is cheap! Perhaps I may flatter myself that the early lessons—for it is divided into lessons with preceding vocabularies—are not altogether beyond the range of the cleverer schoolboys, but

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\* Miss Woodward.

nevertheless, the sales have been phenomenal. Dry-as-dust, academically-minded scholars doubtless find it hard to approve of such a work parading in the guise of one of Otto's primers for beginners, but except in the case of one or two university teachers on the Continent, my method has been accepted and has proved its efficacy. But I now pass on to write about some of its more serious aspects.

I could not envisage my book otherwise than as printed with hieroglyphic type, but to appear in the type introduced by Lepsius in 1875, the so-called Theinhardt fount, was open to two very obvious objections. Firstly, the height of this type was considerably greater than that of the European type with which it could not help being used, so that unsightly gaps necessarily occurred whenever the two were used side by side. Take any volume of the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* and this defect becomes unpleasantly apparent; it could obviously be obviated only by the employment of hieroglyphic type on the same-sized bodies as the Romans chosen for use alongside them. Consequently I decided, if I could, to create two new founts, one of 18 point and one of 12 point (pica). This I succeeded in doing, and both are used in my Grammar. Another disadvantage of the Theinhardt fount was that it was avowedly based upon Twenty-sixth Dynasty originals, and it was now felt that in printing hieroglyphic texts a less debased series of forms ought to be available, and the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Thebes seemed to offer the best and richest materials. Happily, Nina and Norman Davies here came to the rescue; with unwearying perseverance they sought for good originals and it is upon these that, with few exceptions, the new types have been modelled. Full details concerning the cutting of the matrices will be found in the Introduction to the *Catalogue of the Egyptian Hieroglyphic Printing Type* issued for Private Circulation in 1928, a supplement in 1953. It would be pleasant to record here the names of all those who co-operated in a

task which has led to a widespread acceptance in various countries, but I shall content myself with paying a tribute to the skill and devotion of the able and ingenious craftsman, the late W. J. Bilton, to whom the success of the enterprise was largely due; nor must I fail to express my gratitude to the Oxford University Press, to which I ultimately presented the two founts and which now has taken on the responsibility of distributing the type to those printers who are willing to pay for the right to use them.

My determination to write an Egyptian Grammar had gone far to stimulate an interest in Linguistic Theory which ultimately almost superseded my early passion for Egyptology. The discussions with Gunn proved useful in many ways, but he was not the only one to whom I poured out my reflexions or complained of the insufficiency of our terminology. My first serious attempt to put this subject on a more rational basis was in a letter to Malinowski printed in part in *Man* 1919, No. 2. After this the topic never left my mind and culminated in my book entitled *The Theory of Speech and Language*, Oxford 1932, second edition 1951. I am happy to know that this work is still much read, though assuredly not to everybody's taste. For my own part I regard it as of far greater importance than my *Egyptian Grammar*, to which, however, I must now return, since I have here too lightheartedly leapt over a whole decade. I wonder to what extent my hieroglyphic disciples have become aware of my terminological innovations and explanations, but if these have rather generally escaped notice, at least I can assure my readers that to myself my linguistic speculations have been the source of much joy and intellectual enlightenment.

The year 1926 brought me an assistant whose devoted help has been perhaps the greatest benefit of my entire Egyptological life. R. O. Faulkner, now Dr. R. O. Faulkner and a much appreciated teacher of Hieroglyphics at University College, London, was a minor Civil Servant

who had received from Margaret Murray some elementary teaching in the subject of his predilection. Severely wounded in the War he had had all the more opportunity in his convalescence to devote himself to his studies. I was deeply impressed by the knowledge which he had already acquired, but still more by his sound common-sense and pertinacity. I needed someone to help with the Bibliographical Index that Gunn had left unfinished and when he had become an expert typist he was extremely useful to me also in that capacity. I shall later mention two books, one of mine and one of his, where his admirable English handwriting stood us in very good stead, but for the present enough has been said—though I will still quote some words from Faulkner's letter to me of February 18th, 1962. 'After all, it was you who, thirty-six years ago, gave me the chance to get out of the rut I so disliked and to embrace the career of my choice.'

In my wish that this notebook should present a more or less continuous account of my research work I have refrained from dwelling upon my personal and family life, nor do I intend to lapse into autobiography. But at least a little must be told, though I will try to be brief. If I were asked to state what was the happiest period of my existence I should certainly name the years between the two great wars. In passing I have already alluded to my great love of lawn tennis, a sport in which I never became a champion, but attained a degree of proficiency which in the words of the best 'pro' at Queens was 'above the average'. At all events I played for North Kensington fairly regularly and in one summer at least was the club captain. Much later I had a very kind and considerate partner, A. C. Chappelow, who arranged good games for me at every week-end, since I was no club-man and liked to get home as soon as I had had my exercise. When no tennis or squash racquets was available I walked in the park with a

very dear friend, who has been my constant companion and comfort right down to the present day. Heddie was no use to me for this purpose since I had the schoolboy habit of exercise between lunch and tea, and this did not suit her. Many of our evenings together were, however, very happy, because I had made it the custom of my life that the after-dinner time should be devoted to my wife insofar as she wanted it. But for the evenings I had acquired another much-loved diversion, namely music. I had for many years given up my violin, but now I took it up again and played trios or sonatas with a splendid pianist, Miriam Duncan, who taught me a lot. Both she and my 'cellist, Margery Edes, were, of course, professionals but they never failed to encourage me, and though they had to admit the poverty of my technique they said that I was thoroughly musical. I think I can claim to have played both in tune and in time, and after the Second War, when my residence had changed to Oxford I still adhered to my music evenings, though for the last three years I have abandoned them as being too tiring.

So much for my London life, but my ever-generous Father had made happy summer holidays still more regular. He encouraged us to take some really fine country house for three or four or five weeks in July or August; here we had wonderful house-parties, the children inviting their friends, and there always being a sprinkling of good tennis players. We had a splendid Swedish cook (Mrs. Fält) and a most impressive butler (Richman, really Reichmann) so that every luxury was ours. The memory of these holidays is so delightful that I feel compelled to name the years and the localities; we have visitors' books and photograph albums to authenticate them. 1926-9: Brompton-by-Sawdon in Yorkshire, the mansion of Sir Kenelm Çayley, in the park of which his grandfather forced his man-servant to fly from one side to another of a narrow valley, until he gave notice saying that he had

been hired to buttle, not to fly. I am told that this grandfather was one of the most prominent pioneers of aviation. To return to my enumeration. 1934-5; 1937-8: Brambridge Park in Hampshire; 1936: Shawford Park, a William and Mary house rather nearer to Winchester; 1939 found us at Tichborne Park, a rather ugly house in lovely grounds; at Sir Anthony's request we continued our lease until the end of the year, when the War was in its opening stages; here we remained, though with occasional visits to Lansdowne Road, until my Father died on February 2nd, 1940, shortly after which we moved to Upton House, Wonston, which he had bequeathed to me.

Scanning the last few pages it does not seem to me that Egyptology was much in the foreground, but if I have given that impression it is a mistaken one. I have skipped over a number of very productive years.

An article on 'The Definition of the Word and the Sentence', published in 1922, shows how deeply my thoughts were then already engaged on linguistic theory, and that then already the general lines of my synthesis were clearly understood. Speech was said then already to involve four factors, a recognition later taken over (I nearly wrote 'poached') by K. Buhler. But now back to Egyptology! Only a short time before the 1914 War, Sethe had paid us a visit in London and we then discovered and discussed those *Letters to the Dead* which we could not actually publish until 1928. The chronology of my years from 1922 on is again extremely hazy. There is no doubt that I did much collation both of papyri in the British Museum and of the *Coffin Texts* there and elsewhere. I was conscious, too, of my duty to publish the Ramesseum papyri and my large collection of hieratic ostraca. Cerny, who was later to collaborate with me so closely in the latter task, was in 1927 already specializing on the Cairo ostraca for the *Catalogue général du Musée*;

I first made his acquaintance in 1924, when he called on me in London. Nina Davies had continued painting for me in the Theban tombs, but in addition to what was done for me here and in the Cairo Museum, she was active also on behalf of the M.M.A. By 1923 I had quite a considerable collection of her work, an exhibition being shown at the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1927 Breasted, who had been greatly impressed, asked me to show Nina's results to Welles Bosworth, J. D. Rockefeller's architect, and in 1929 Breasted was able to report a munificent grant of (I think) £14,000 to make possible the two splendid volumes entitled *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* which ultimately appeared in 1936. Nina was, of course, responsible for the copies from the originals which were reproduced in the 104 plates by the Chiswick Press under my editorship. Thus, this incomparable work was an exclusively British production, though all of us who took part in it recognized that it was only fair that it should be published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The interval between the announcement of the grant and the appearance of the finished books may seem strangely long, but it must be realized that colour reproduction is a very slow and exacting process and therein lies the explanation. It need here only be added that in 1961 it proved possible to supplement this work by another dealing with Tut'an-khamun's Painted Box, the reproductions of which were generously provided by the celebrated firm of chemists, Farbwerke Höchst in Frankfurt am Main.

I have told how successful Ibscher was in unrolling one of the Ramesseum papyri. In 1907 I invited him to London at Petrie's request, and there he made a successful job of what I later called the Ramesseum Onomasticon. In Berlin he continued the work, but only very slowly, the most important result being what Sethe published in 1928 under the name of *Der Dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus*. I had, however, plenty more work

for Ibscher to do, and it became clear that if this were to be accomplished he would be obliged to devote several weeks to it continuously every year. I forget when he began to make prolonged stays at Lansdowne Road where he became a very welcome guest. Ibscher's visits, almost annual events, continued nearly until the outbreak of the Second World War. I had personally acquired several valuable Ramesside papyri, which required smoothing and mounting, the *Will of Naunakhte* (*JEA* 31, 29) and *Adoption Extraordinary* (*JEA* 26, 23); and the missing half of the Amherst Papyrus discovered by Capart had to be joined temporarily for the photographic publication in which we co-operated. Then, too, Ibscher brought with him from Berlin the Moscow fragments the order of which I had to investigate and which were ultimately published by Caminos in the volume *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (1956). A far greater and more important task was presented by the fragments which I secured in Cairo from the dealers Tano and Nachman and which were subsequently presented to the British Museum (with the exception of the finest papyrus of the lot) by Mr. and Mrs. Chester Beatty. The existence of these fragments was indicated to me by Golénischeff, who urged me to secure them without delay (1929). It was not until months later that it definitely emerged that the fragments all came from a single find at Dêr el-Medîna. Many of the fragments were very small and it took many months for Ibscher and myself, aided by Faulkner, to reconstruct a number of nearly complete papyri out of them. Our work is described in some detail in the final publication *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, third series* 1935. It is unnecessary here to enumerate the contents of this uniquely important collection of papyri except to recall those named by me *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, *The Blinding of Truth*, and *The Dreambook*. A number of less important ones remain unpublished in the French Institute in Cairo.

A far more exacting task awaited Ibscher at Lansdowne Road. Although the restoration of the Chester Beatty papyri was a very lengthy undertaking owing to the great number of fragments it was not technically a difficult one owing to the invariably good preservation of the material. Very different the great manuscript dating from the reign of Ramesses V which Capart purchased at Luxor and which ultimately passed into the possession of the Brooklyn Museum. This proved to be extremely brittle and difficult to handle, and Ibscher's achievement in unrolling and mounting it was one only surpassed by his success with the Ramesseum documents. The decipherment entrusted to me was very arduous, and despite the assistance obtained from Faulkner for writing out the extensive transcriptions, then very neatly and accurately drawn out by Constance Smither, many months passed before the plates (1941) translation and commentary (1948) and indexes (1952) could be published. As regards the contents, it need here only be recalled that this great administrative document deals with the taxation of lands in Middle Egypt and that owing to the highly technical nature of the subject the elucidation of the official procedure will doubtless remain obscure for many a long day.

Mention must here be made of some important work done at Lansdowne Road by Ibscher although it was not in connexion with any possession of my own. The extremely ancient Greek biblical papyri acquired by Chester Beatty needed to be pressed and mounted. I found it very exciting to be harbouring in the workroom at the top of my house what were undoubtedly then and possibly still are the oldest existing manuscripts of the Old and New Testament. These were subsequently published by Kenyon.

The above-mentioned undertakings concluded the splendid help given me over a period of nearly forty years by my valued friend, Ibscher. I well remember the appre-

hensive look on his face as he left Lansdowne Road after his stay there in 1939. He died in 1943.

I had never forgotten my obligation to publish the Middle Kingdom papyri so laboriously reconstructed by Ibscher, and I must now record the ways in which this obligation was fulfilled. The papyrus which Ibscher unrolled in London in 1907 was subsequently taken to Berlin where, under an arrangement made with Petrie it was disposed of to the Berlin Museum in order to cover the cost of conservation. I early realized that publication of this papyrus must go hand in hand with that of another of similar content but much later date which Golénischeff had brought to Berlin for temporary safety\* and which he proposed should be published by myself. It was not until 1947 that I brought out together the two papyri under the title *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1 vol. plates; 2 vols. text), with elaborate commentary. Two years previously the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (xxxi, 3 foll.) published under the title *The Semneh Despatches* a brilliant decipherment of another of the Middle Kingdom Ramesseum papyri, the posthumous work of Paul C. Smither, who if he had lived would undoubtedly have succeeded to the Professorship of Egyptology in Oxford. Two more papyri from the same great find were edited by myself, namely, *A unique Funerary Liturgy* (*JEA* 41 [1955], 9 foll.) and *Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum Papyrus* (*Rev. d'Égyptologie* II [1957], 43 foll.). There still remained extensive fragments of the papyri which Quibell had rescued from the wooden box discovered by him beneath the back of the Ramesseum, and it needed two more volumes to reproduce these in photographs and transcription. It is a thousand pities that this treasure of literary and secular documents had not come into Ibscher's

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\* December 1905; I possess Erman's transcription made then.

hands from the start, but at least we can pride ourselves on having recovered as much as was humanly possible in the circumstances. Also I had fulfilled the conditions which enabled me to hand over the entire find to the British Museum, as explained in the Introduction to my concluding volume (*The Ramesseum Papyri*, 1955); the other volume alluded to above had as its editor John W. B. Barns (*Five Ramesseum Papyri*, 1956).

Though the ambitious scheme of Hieratic Text publication seemed to have been stillborn I had always intended to revive it, or at least to resuscitate it in a less comprehensive form. In 1932 I published my *Late-Egyptian Stories*, the transcriptions and textual notes being in my own writing. This I found very exacting, though I think I acquitted myself of the task quite creditably. I was glad, however, to avail myself of Fairman's aid for my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, which followed in 1937. A much more prolonged partnership was that with Jaroslav Cerny, which has continued down to the present year (1962). In 1934 he joined me at Lansdowne Road in a determined effort to cope with the hieratic ostraca which I had accumulated over the years. I had myself transcribed all the better ones and had even made facsimiles of some, though my skill in this respect was far inferior to his. In the large folio volume *Hieratic Ostraca* (1957), which was our joint production, both the facsimiles and the transcriptions were Cerny's handiwork, but I had quite my fair share in the readings of the texts. Translations will have to await Cerny's great treatise on the workmen of the Royal Tombs.

At wide intervals Cerny and I had worked together at Turin, on the last occasion (1952) the Royal Papyrus being our principal objective. My devoted friend and partner surprised me on my eightieth birthday by the presentation, beautifully got up and bound, of my own book on the Canon of Kings, a most flattering and pleasing coping-

stone to our many years of happy co-operation. In 1948 he had autographed a volume of mine entitled *Ramesside Administrative Documents* which incorporated many of the transcriptions which I had made during my first stay in Turin in 1905 or thereabouts, naturally controlled anew and brought up to date. In one more undertaking Cerny had a prominent part in connexion with a work of mine: in 1955 the E.E.S. published the long delayed text volume to Peet's and my inscriptions of Sinai, including additions made on Cerny's visit to Serâbît el-Khadim in March and April 1935.

My close association with Breasted, which continued down to his death in 1935, had begun only after the close of the First World War, when we combined to plan the great enterprise of the *Coffin Texts*. Previously I had met him only very cursorily in the British Museum (1900) when he was copying the important Shabaka stone, the subject of his admirable article 'The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest' (*ZÄS* 39, 39 foll.) and then again in the early days of our residence in Berlin. The tragic events of the Tutankhamun discovery brought us closer together and our delightful tour in Palestine and Syria (1923) cemented a friendship which was only temporarily interrupted by a misunderstanding which arose after I had been elected *in absentia* to a Research Professorship in the University of Chicago, a post which I held, though without visiting America, for some years from 1924 onwards. Breasted was a most charming man, handsome in appearance, a real idealist and full of worthy ambitious schemes; it is only regrettable that an autocratic trait in his character deprived him to some extent of the affection on the part of his younger colleagues which I believe to have been his due. I personally was deeply attached to him, even if he did not realize it to the full.

I have told how Breasted's admiration for Nina Davies's

colour facsimiles of the wall-paintings in the Theban tombs led him to induce John D. Rockefeller, Jnr, to finance Nina's great work *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* (V, 34-5). I much regret that Breasted did not live to see the completed tomes, which would certainly have delighted him. Breasted had presented me to Rockefeller when Rockefeller was visiting Egypt for the first time in 1929, so that it was only natural and right that I should take the first copies of Nina's *magnum opus* to New York to present them to him personally. Rockefeller and his wife welcomed Heddie and me royally and could not have been more hospitable and more anxious to make our week's visit to New York enjoyable. This was in 1936.

During Rockefeller's tour with Breasted up the Nile the latter took the opportunity of interesting him in the E.E.S.'s enterprise of publishing the whole Temple of Sethos I, at Abydos, in facsimile, just as the Oriental Institute were already doing for the Temple of Medinet Habu, at Thebes. I had suggested the Abydos undertaking to the E.E.S. in 1925-6 but, to tell the truth, had only the vaguest notion as to how it was to be organized. Fortunately, A. M. Blackman, who had much experience of creating memoirs for our Archaeological Survey, promised his aid, and secured for that purpose the assistance of a uniquely talented lady, Miss Amice M. Calverley. The successive steps which led up to the publication of our Volume I in 1933 are set forth fully in my Introduction to that volume. It is there told how enthusiastic John D. Rockefeller had been with the wonderful painted reliefs in the temple and how, led on by Breasted with my connivance, he had promised to supply the funds for their reproduction in a style not inferior to that of the Oriental Institute's work at Medinet Habu. Thus was initiated a joint enterprise by the E.E.S. and the Oriental Institute, I being appointed as editor on the technical side while the finance was left to be administered by the Americans. It

soon turned out that no one could have been chosen better qualified to organize our sumptuous publication than Miss Calverley. Her practical ability in running a camp, her wonderful craftsmanship as draughtsman and photographer made my interference almost nugatory; also she had the great luck to obtain as assistant the help of another lady only a little less gifted than herself, Miss Myrtle F. Broome. It is impossible to exaggerate the ability of these two ladies, an ability as great as that of Nina Davies at Thebes. The sole defect that we found in Miss Calverley was her many-sidedness and her restless energy. She was a musician as well as an artist and she could not be tied down over a series of years to a single task, however important. After completing three magnificent folios, each better than its predecessor, in a most masterly, and it must be admitted also a masterful, fashion she abandoned the Abydos scheme for war work in Greece and Crete, then to collect folk songs and peasant costumes in Rumania, and it was not until 1953(?) that she was ready to continue the work so admirably initiated. Much against my will, because engaged upon a very exacting book of my own, I was persuaded once again to serve as Amice's editor, and the introduction to her fourth and final volume (1958) was, except for a few trifling details where agreement could not be reached, my work. It is a tragedy that Amice did not live to complete the fifth volume which would have rounded off the programme which Rockefeller's grant had made possible; she had driven herself too hard, and succumbed in April 1959 to two successive heart attacks before she had long settled down to the remaining task. She was a most charming person and a delightful hostess in the home which she had made for herself at Abydos; that she was not always easy to work with cannot be denied, and I often felt that my position as her 'Ed.', as she affectionately called me, was almost superfluous. I am proud, however, to have been associated with her in an undertaking which

must be regarded as one of the greatest that Egyptology has to show.

The death of my Father in February 1940 ushered in a new phase in my wife's and my existence. As already told we stayed on at Tichborne Park for a few months before moving to Upton House, Wonston, the house which I had inherited from him. It soon became clear that the London house would have to be disposed of and after a large clearance of my very extensive library and the removal of the rest to Wonston, 9 Lansdowne Road was sold very advantageously. It was never my intention, however, to make Upton House our permanent home. It was only after the conclusion of peace that we could look about for a residence where I should be in closer touch with my colleagues. It was Dorothy Hodgkin, the wife of our Provost of Queen's, who mentioned to me Court Place, Iffley, which was destined to become our home. Heddie would have liked to stay on at Wonston, and was not unnaturally horrified by the condition of Court Place when she first saw it. Permits to reconstruct the back of the house were refused and for a time we were in great difficulties. At last, however, the kitchen department was made habitable, and an added window to the small but pleasant sitting-room at the top of the house gave Heddie an almost ideal place in which to write her reflexions and to live the life she loved. As it turned out, no habitation could have given her more advantages than she ultimately obtained from Court Place. In April 1955 the affliction of a severe stroke deprived her of the power of speech and made her practically bed-ridden. Where away from Oxford could she have had a permanent nurse more devoted than Mrs. Henson, and night nurses almost equally kind? Her bedroom looking out on the church is cheerful and bright and she has a toilet to herself ideally handy. My insistence on this new home has been an unqualified

success, and it was hardly an exaggeration when a man of taste and discernment recently said that ours was the finest house in Oxford. Today (July 1962) we have lived here for sixteen years and I, for my part, want this to be my last earthly home.\*

I am constantly running the risk of forgetting that these notebooks of mine were intended solely as a record of my work as a researcher, but as they may possibly fall into the hands of someone completely ignorant of the externals of my life I will add just a few more details. First of all, my predecessors at Court Place: about 1906 the gifted American writer, Logan Pearsall Smith, came to live here with his mother—a remarkable woman evangelist whose last days must have been spent here; she wrote with enthusiasm of the noble cedar tree on which she looked out from the drawing-room. A French or Swiss widow, Mme. Favarguet(?), was the next tenant and she was followed by Professor Vinogradov in whose time Dorothy Hodgkin came to dance at Court Place. My immediate predecessor was J. Bryson, of Balliol. After him as sub-tenant was Mrs. Dulcie Sassoon from London.

Heddie had made a practice of spending some weeks at Ängholm every summer and it was perhaps in the year before her stroke that I accompanied her there and sadly bid goodbye to the beloved island. Since then I have taken various holidays abroad with my friend Renee Schuh, among them to Norway, to Sweden, to Italy and to Spain (Malaga, Granada and Seville), and am not without hope that one or two more such holidays may remain for us.

My last visit to Egypt having been in 1929 it was natural that I should wish to return there once more. I had planned to spend several months there, but an operation for an ingrowing goitre postponed my leaving England until

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\* My splendid butler and friend, Cecil Mottishaw, came with me here for the first time in October 1946. He died of cancer seven years later.

early in 1951. Relatively short as was my stay in Egypt, it was not only extremely pleasant but also very profitable in many ways. My colleagues vied with one another to show me things that were unknown to me. I had no intention to do any serious work, and there was nothing which I subsequently used for my printed work except a few readings in the great fragmentary inscription of Tuthmosis III, at Karnak, that appeared in *JEA* xxxiii, 6 ff. I will not mention all the excursions which I made, especially with Labib Habachi, since notes about these will be found in my notebooks, but I was glad to have glimpses of such Delta sites as Bubastis and Tanis and of the Fayyûm; a new friend to whom I feel especially grateful was Sir Robert Greg whose car took me to these places and to others which I should otherwise never have seen. Particularly memorable was the visit with Emery to Sakkâra and the all too hasty inspection of Zaki Saad's excavations near Helwân. When I flew back to England I had the company of Rolf, which was a comfort because I had somehow injured my leg and could hardly walk. A clever lady osteopathist in Oxford gave it one single twist and made it well again! During the past ten years—this is written in 1962—I have never been tempted to return to Egypt; from all I hear it has become too much vulgarized; Greg and Russell\* have died, and Labib has been dismissed from the Service des Antiquités; and now there has come about a mad rush of most countries to Nubia to counter the damage which is going to be done by the High Dam. I am firmly convinced that Abu Simbel cannot be saved, and even if some of the Nubian temples can be transported to greater heights it must not be forgotten that the much more valuable antiquities of Middle and Upper Egypt are meanwhile being neglected; *my* Egypt, I fear, is a thing of the past.

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\* Chief of Police who stopped much drug traffic.

My bibliography, which Barbara Sewell has supplemented by hand, tells me that I have not been idle since my return from the tour in Egypt, and that, indeed, some of my *opuscula* might merit a mention here. But I prefer to cut short this account of my recent efforts and will merely state that apart from my *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, over which I took immense trouble (1961), and various non-Egyptological articles such as my *Theory of Proper Names* (2nd edition, 1957) I have not much of value to show. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* was, I think, a necessary tacit criticism of Faulkner's overrash effort, but I find in it not much to boast about. I am deeply conscious that my life's work is practically finished, and that it is only right and proper that the subjects which I have made my own should now pass into other hands. I feel some satisfaction that I have lived to complete the text-publications which it was my duty to complete. Perhaps my greatest regret is that I can point to no young pupils who will be handing on the torch—the death of Paul Smither was a bitter blow, but among colleagues who are no longer in their first youth, but from whom much of great value can still be expected there are at least Faulkner and Harry James, to mention only those of British birth. I will spill no more ink to praise other much admired fellow-workers such as Cerny and Caminos—they know that they have my blessing. Herewith I close this ill-written, but I hope not entirely superfluous, retrospect.

Monday, July 9th 1962.







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MEMORIAL DINNER

IN COMMEMORATION OF

THE LATE

SIR ALAN GARDINER

SATURDAY, 23 MAY 1964

IN THE

MAGRATH ROOM



## MENU

*Crème Princesse*

*Truite Saumoné Royale*

*Poussin Rôti*

*Salade*

*Haricots Verts*

*Pommes de Terre Croquettes*

*Soufflé Rothschild*

\*

## VINS

*Forster Langenmorgen, 1959*

*Côte de Beaune Villages, 1959*

*Quinta do Noval, 1947*

*Dom Zarco*

SIR ALAN GARDINER, Kt.

BORN 29 MARCH, 1879

DIED 19 DECEMBER, 1963

M.A., D.Litt. (Oxford), Hon. Litt.D. (Cambridge)  
Hon. D.Litt. (Durham)

Fellow, British Academy

Honorary Fellow, The Queen's College, Oxford

Sometime Research Professor, University of Chicago

Member of the Philosophical Society of America

Membre de l'Institut de France

Membre Associé de l'Institut d'Egypte

Honorary Member, Societe Asiatique de Paris

Corresponding Member of the  
Royal Danish Academy of Science  
of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences  
of the Oriental Institute, Prague  
and of the

Prussian Academy of Science

Foreign Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy



## *Sir Alan Gardiner's Publications*

- The Inscription of Mes, Leipzig, 1905
- The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1909
- Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte, Leipzig, 1909
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- A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes (with Weigall), London, 1913
- The Tomb of Amenemhēt (with Nina de G. Davies), London, 1915
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- Inscriptions of Sinai (with Peet and Černý), London, 1917 and 1952
- Facsimiles of Theban Wall-paintings (with Nina de G. Davies), London, 1923
- The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia (with Nina de G. Davies), London, 1926
- Egyptian Grammar, Oxford, 1927, 1949, 1957
- Egyptian Letters to the Dead (with Sethe), London, 1928
- Catalogue of Egyptian Hieroglyphic Printing Type, Oxford, 1928
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- Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift, London, 1935

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- Late Egyptian Miscellanies, Brussels, 1937
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- Egypt of the Pharaohs, Oxford, 1961
- Tut'ankhamūn's Painted Box (with Nina de G. Davies), Oxford, 1962
- My Working Years, Oxford, 1962

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