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MODEL OF A TELL EL-'AMARNAH HOUSE

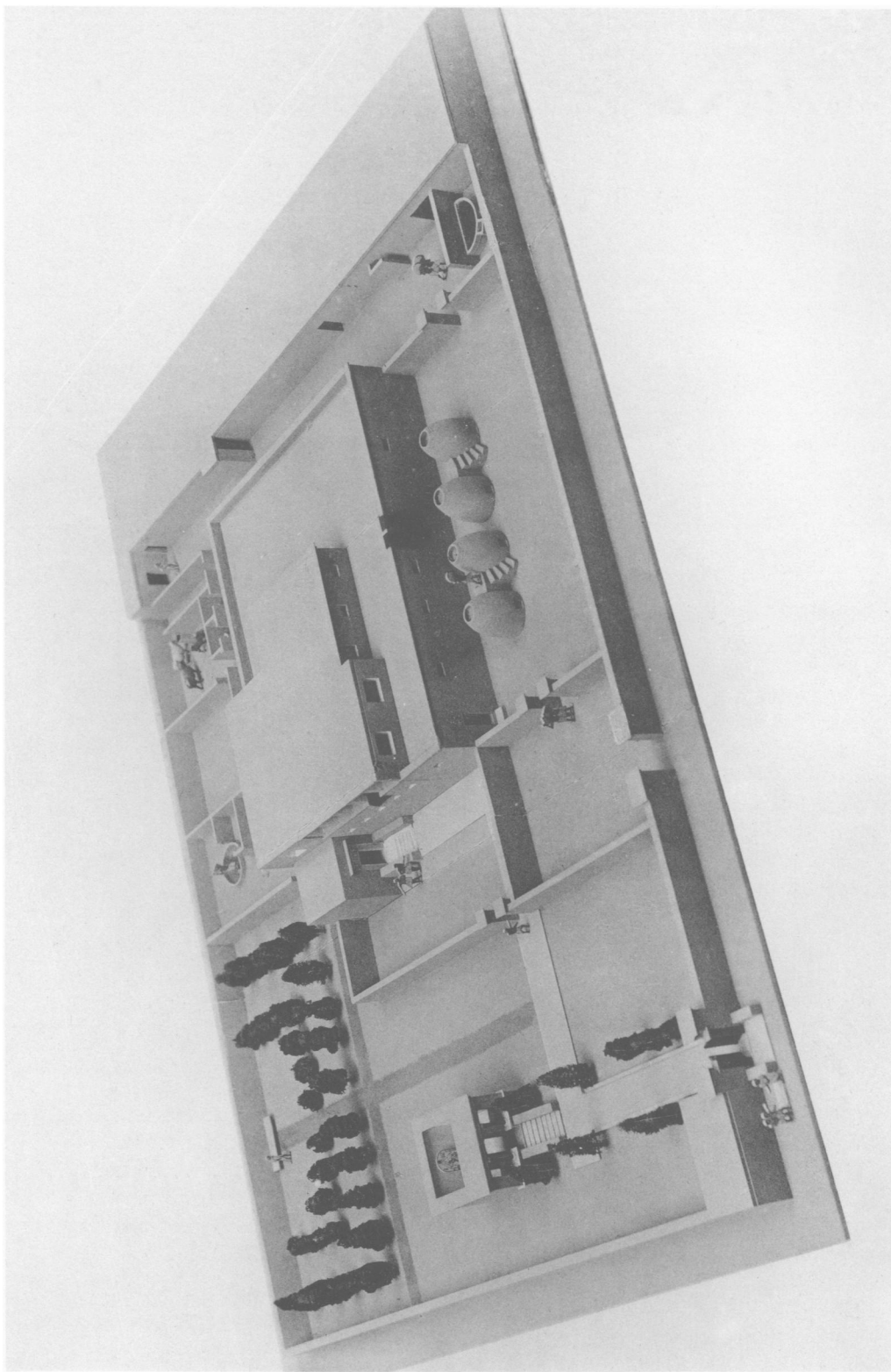
By SETON LLOYD

With Plates i-iv

THE model¹ shown in Pls. i-iv is of an Egyptian dwelling-house of the Tell el-'Amarnah period, reconstructed to a scale of three centimetres to the metre. Several hundreds of these houses have now been excavated, and data in connexion with their construction and detail have gradually accumulated, so that it has now been found possible to produce an accurate representation of a typical example, including its garden, outbuildings, etc., with a reasonable amount of assurance and a minimum of conjecture.

The drawings from which this model was made were based on the plans of an actual house (T. 36. 11) excavated by Dr. Frankfort in the spring of 1929, supplemented by various features from slightly different ones, with the object of embodying in the model the best and most typical examples yet found of all sections and aspects of the house and of the estate surrounding it. T. 36. 11 was a large house in the north suburb of the town, standing with its subsidiary buildings in a walled plot probably staked out by the owner when the court arrived at the site of the new capital and the rush for land began. It is bounded by streets on two sides, and on the remaining two by other estates (Fig. 1). There is a small Porter's Lodge, containing scarcely anything more than a seat and a flat hearth, in connexion with the Main Entrance from the street; and the latter shows an interesting piece of reconstructed detail. The plan of these gateways is the same in almost all the larger houses. The boundary wall thickens out into two piers, and between these a stone threshold is usually found, bearing marks which show that a small projecting jamb was built up on either side in order to form a rebate for the doors themselves. Sometimes there is a raised step between two low walls on the street side. The elevation (Fig. 2, top, left) of the whole is simple to reconstruct when one examines the innumerable representations of such gateways amongst the carvings in the 'Amarnah tombs (see N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*). These are in fact themselves a little difficult to understand until one has studied the plans as we find them. They invariably show (*e.g.* Part VI, Pl. xx) the two flanking pylons surmounted by cavetto cornices, while the doors themselves are pivoted behind small inner piers, *i.e.* the jambs mentioned above; and these also are crowned with small cornices at a lower level, giving the appearance seen in the model. There would be a space between the outer edge of the doors and the main pylons, and it is a great temptation to think that the effect thus produced when looked at from inside may have originally suggested the idea of the "broken lintel" which has always been such a mysterious feature of 'Amarnah architecture. Traces of paint on a threshold suggest that the jambs and doors were painted scarlet. Inside the entrance gates there is an Avenue of small trees (House T. 36. 11) spaced as indicated by the "puddles" of river mud in which they were planted; and facing one at the end of this is the Private Chapel (Pl. ii), a fairly certain reconstruction, based on a variety of evidence (Fig. 2, right). The plan of this, and other similar chapels, always suggests a small slightly raised temple *in antis* with a low

¹ The model was made to the order of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago by Messrs. Aumonier and Sons, of Charlotte St. The photographs are by "Basil", of 100 Tottenham Court Road.



Model of a Tell el-Amarnah house

flight of steps leading up to it. Such steps were found in House T. 35. 12 together with the stone threshold of the inner and outer doorways, and in T. 36. 11 a minute column base appeared, bearing traces of red paint and fixing the size and scale of the small columns in the restoration; a section of the painted plaster cornice with its colouring and pattern also remained intact. In the chapel of a house in the main town fragments of a stone stela with scenes of Aten-worship were found, and in the centre of the inner shrine in that of

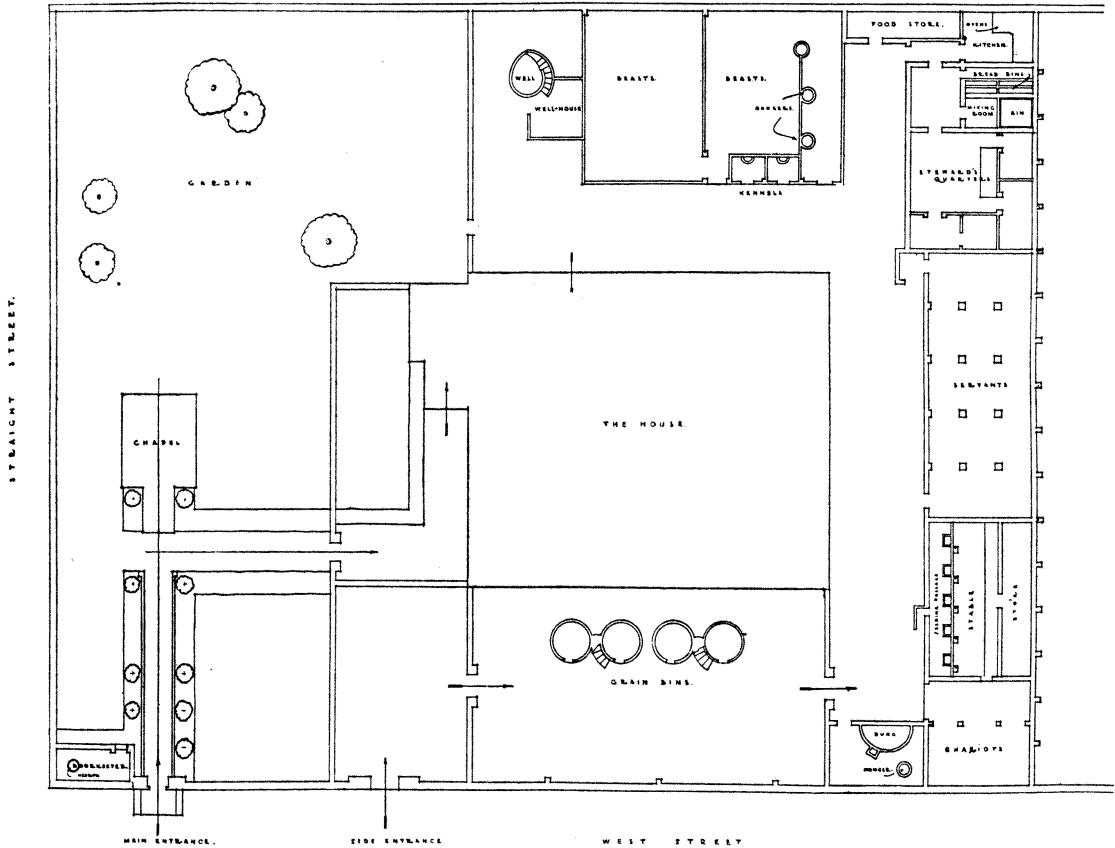
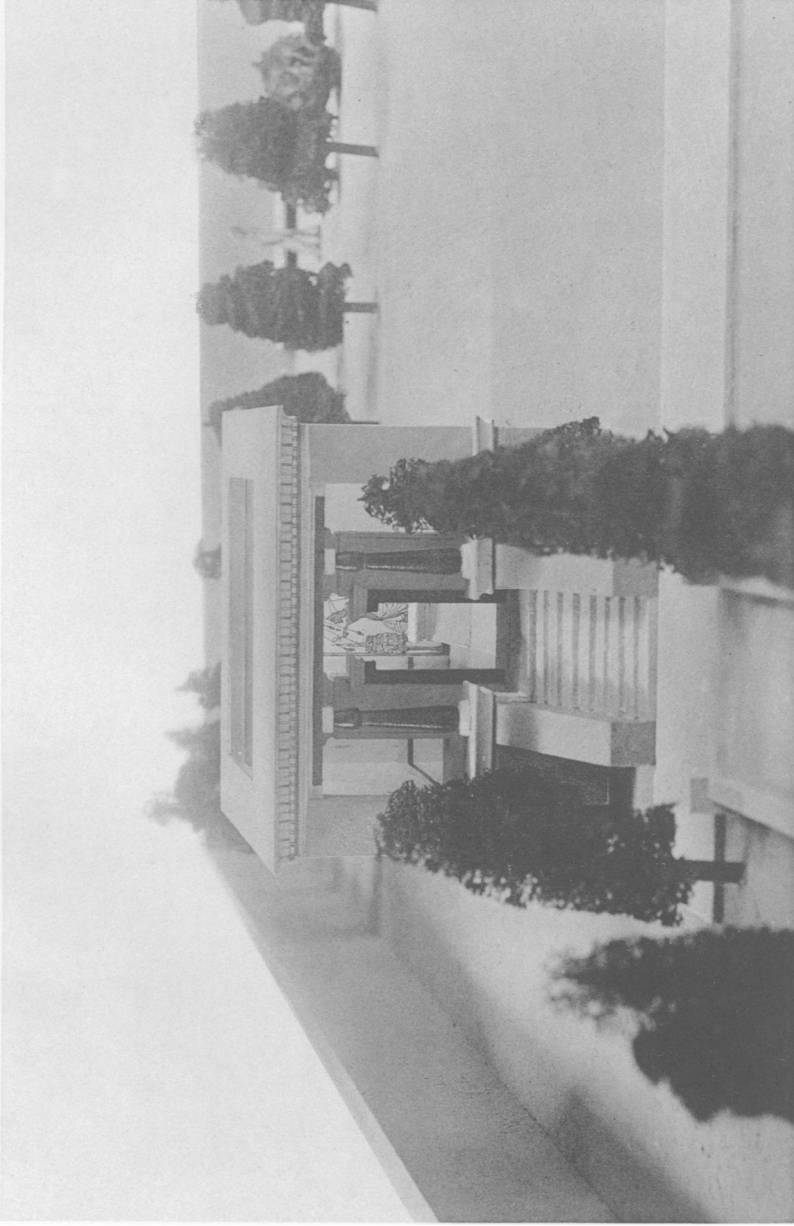
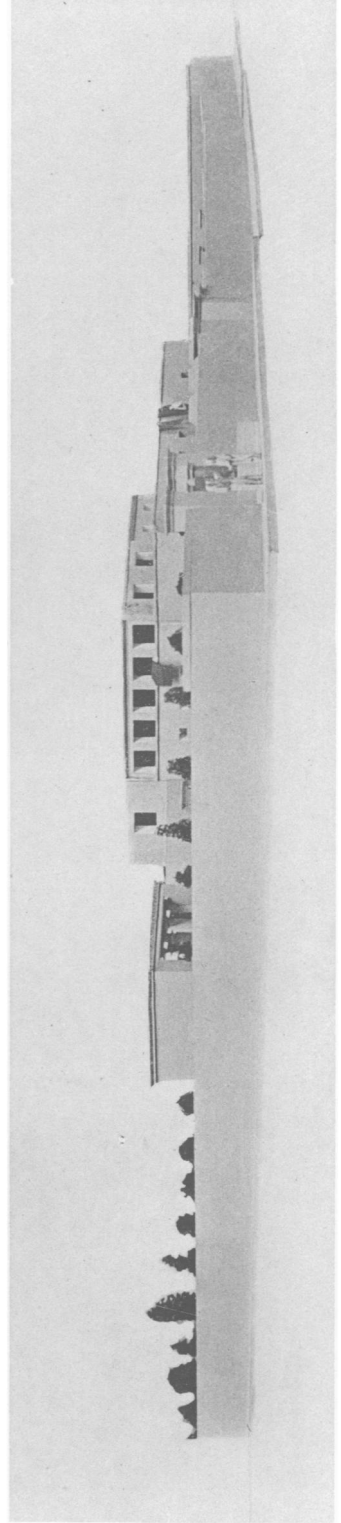


FIG. 1. Plan of the estate. Scale about 1 : 500

T. 35. 12 the base of a small square offering-table remained in position. In the light of all this evidence a glance at Mr. Newton's reconstruction of Tomb Chapel No. 525 (*Journal*, VII, 180) is extremely helpful; and one's knowledge of the nature of Aten-worship immediately suggests that, whereas the actual shrine would necessarily be hypaethral, the minute colonnade would probably be roofed in. The representations of obviously similar chapels in the tomb reliefs bear out such points as this and help to confirm the accuracy of the reconstruction. Between the shrine and the colonnade a little architectural detail seems necessary. A broken lintel would almost certainly occur here as being apparently closely connected with the ritual, and the treatment of the piers on either side is taken directly from the only extant examples of this type of architectural feature at 'Amarnah, namely, the south wall in the hall of the tomb of Tutu (Davies, *Rock Tombs*, VI, Pl. xxxvi), and the shrine in Panehsy's house (*Journal*, XIII, 211); only some small details such as the red line round the inside of the shrine have been added to improve the decorative effect.



1



2

Model of a Tell el-Amarnah house

1. The chapel 2. View from north-west

On an axis at right angles to this one enters an inner courtyard, from which the house itself is accessible through a projecting porch having a brightly painted doorway with the owner's name and station incised in hieroglyphs upon the stone jambs. (Pl. iii, and Fig. 5, top, right. Cf. the House of the Vizier Nekht: see Peet, Woolley, and others, *City of Akhenaten*, I, Pl. vii, 4, 6.) The inscribed lintel suggested here is a smaller version of that between the North Room and Central Room inside. There is also a tradesmen's entrance

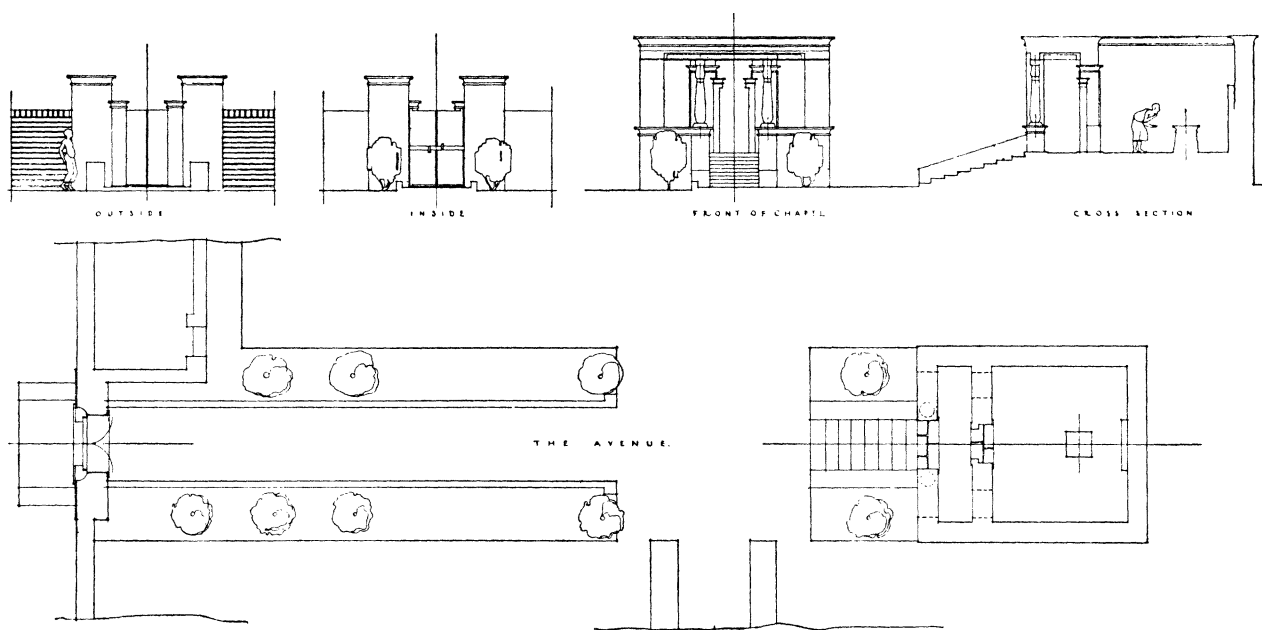


FIG. 2. Entrance gateway and chapel in grounds. Scale about 1:200.

from the street to a granary courtyard full of Conical Grain-bins. These were filled from above by means of a minute staircase serving each group (cf. House T. 35. 9, where these staircases were found), and subsequently emptied through a small trap-door in the base. The south and east portions of the site are covered with a series of low outbuildings, including stables, servants' quarters, kitchens, cattle byres, etc.

The Stables (from House Q. 44. 1; *Journal*, x, Pl. xxv) consist of a stone-paved standing-space for eight horses with a built-up manger and a tethering-stone let into the pavement for each horse. Behind the mangers is a feeding passage accessible from the outside—an extremely modern arrangement—and parallel to the actual stalls runs a long chamber obviously for storing harness, etc. There is also a shelter for the small wooden chariot used at this period, and a compartment for manure.

The Servants' Quarters (from House T. 36. 11) are simply a large chamber with the entrance protected by a small porch and the roof supported on a series of square brick piers.

The Kitchen Group (from House T. 36. 36, etc., *Journal*, xvii, Pl. lxi) includes living quarters for the principal cook or steward which will be seen to be planned similarly to the main house on a very minute scale. The kitchen itself contains a range of ovens evidently exactly corresponding in function to the modern Arab woman's bread-oven, and adjoining it is a room with a built-up "rack" for storing or drying the flat loaves of bread, and another with a cement-coated slab at a convenient level in which the dough was mixed.

Behind the house are Cattle Byres with built-up mangers and a largish enclosure, a small corner of which is divided off into two Dog Kennels (T. 36. 11. At a house in the main town the bones of greyhounds were found in a similar compartment). Conveniently adjoining the service entrance to the house is a shallow well, from which the water-supply

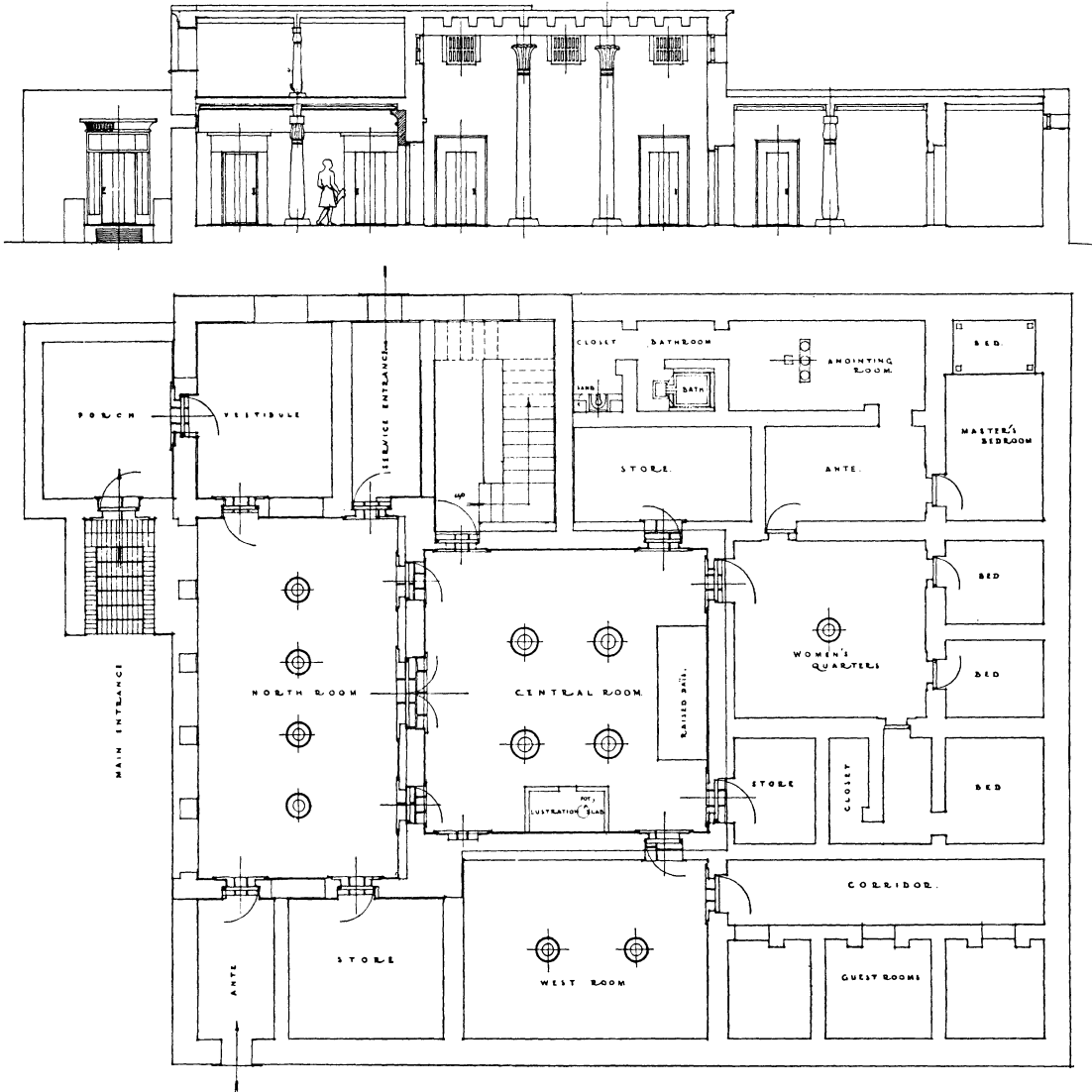


FIG. 3. Plan and section of the house. Scale about 1:200.

was obtained by a tiny spiral staircase leading down (from House N. 49. 18; *City of Akhenaten*, I, Pl. vii), and beyond this the north-east corner of the estate is laid out as a simple Formal Garden. This is based on traces of a similar lay-out of trees in House U. 37. 1 (see the forthcoming *City of Akhenaten*, II), and on certain representations of gardens in reliefs.

The House itself (T. 36. 11) consists as always of a Central Room with clerestory lighting, and low outer rooms lit from the sides (Figs. 3, 4; Pls. i and iv). It is in the former,



Model of a Tell el-Amarnah house

Below: North Hall with outer wall removed

Above: upper hall with outer and inner walls removed, revealing
clerestory of Central Hall

with its four scarlet wooden pillars and many painted doors (see previous reconstructions in colour by Newton, Borchardt, and the present writer; *City of Akhenaten*, I, Pl. iv; *Journal*, xv, Pls. xxiii, xxiv), that the indoor life of the establishment centres, for it not only has access to the more intimate and domestic part of the house on the south side, and stairs to

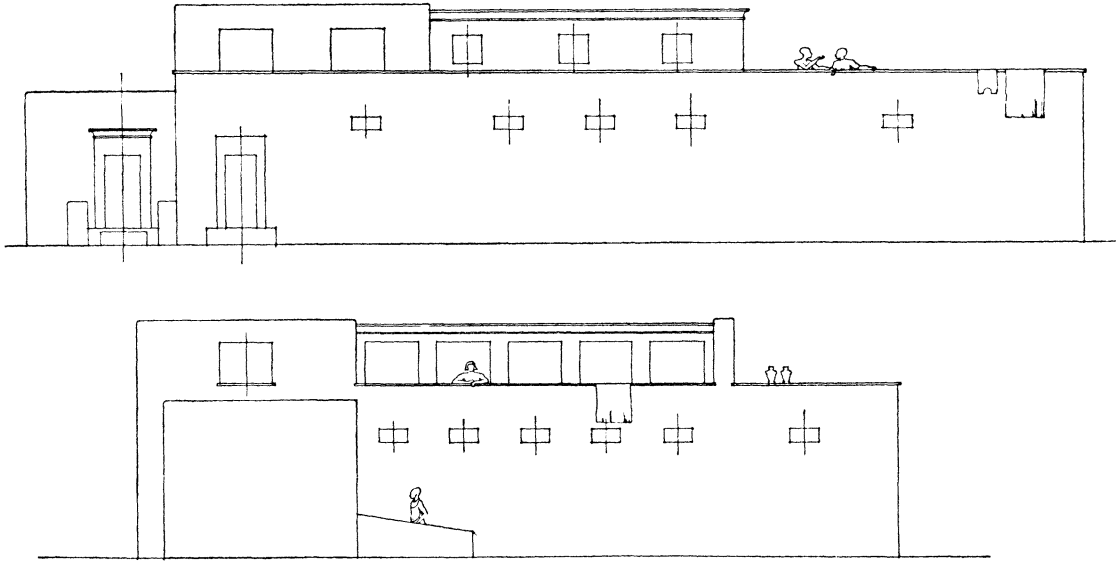


FIG. 4. West and north elevations. Scale about 1:200.

the flat roof and upper loggia to the east, but, together with the indispensable North and West Halls comprises an extremely formal and highly decorated suite of reception rooms.

Thus on arriving one immediately enters the North Hall (Pl. iii), a room used generally by the family in the summer heat, and so having arrangements for service from the kitchens, as well as service entrance from the granary side. This will account for two doors at one end and one at the other, and here the first signs of studied symmetry are seen, for the place of the fourth door is taken by a painted niche.

The ceilings in these large rooms consist of a deep main beam above the columns, brightly painted with a "block" pattern and supporting smaller beams painted pink with panels of white between them. The sizes, shapes, and arrangement of beams in this and all the other ceilings were ascertained by Dr. Frankfort and the author in the season 1929-30, and in subsequent seasons by Messrs. Pendlebury and Waddington after a lengthy investigation of fallen fragments of the mud casings of these beams (*Journal*, xv, 147). But the decoration of the North Hall was concentrated on the upper part of the walls, where at intervals there were small grille windows in the outside walls, and to make these less conspicuous a frieze of sham vertical bars is found in plaster presumably all round the room, striped with several colours, and combined with an elaborate running pattern of flower petals (from House V. 37. 1; see *Mural Painting of Tell-el-Amarnah*, Pls. xviii and xxi).

From here three large doors (Fig. 5, left) led into the great Central Room, the middle one being surmounted by the great stone lintel (found by Mr. Pendlebury in the season 1930-1; *Journal*, xvii, Pl. lxxv) bearing again the name and qualities of the master of the house. Entering by this, one passed between the four tall columns, to arrive eventually before a slightly raised dais of mud brick covered with skin and fabrics, where the master would sit when administering his household or receiving guests. This room obtains clerestory

light through small gratings near the ceiling, sham ones again being substituted for the sake of symmetry where it was not practicable to have openings in the walls (fragments found in Houses V. 37. 1, and P. 46. 11; cf. too, *City of Akhenaten*, I, Pl. vi). On one side of the room is a wide lustration slab of stone with a vessel for washing on arrival, and near the dais a saucer-shaped hearth for burning charcoal (House V. 37. 1 and many others).

The West Hall, which, together with the suite of guest chambers leading off it, and various

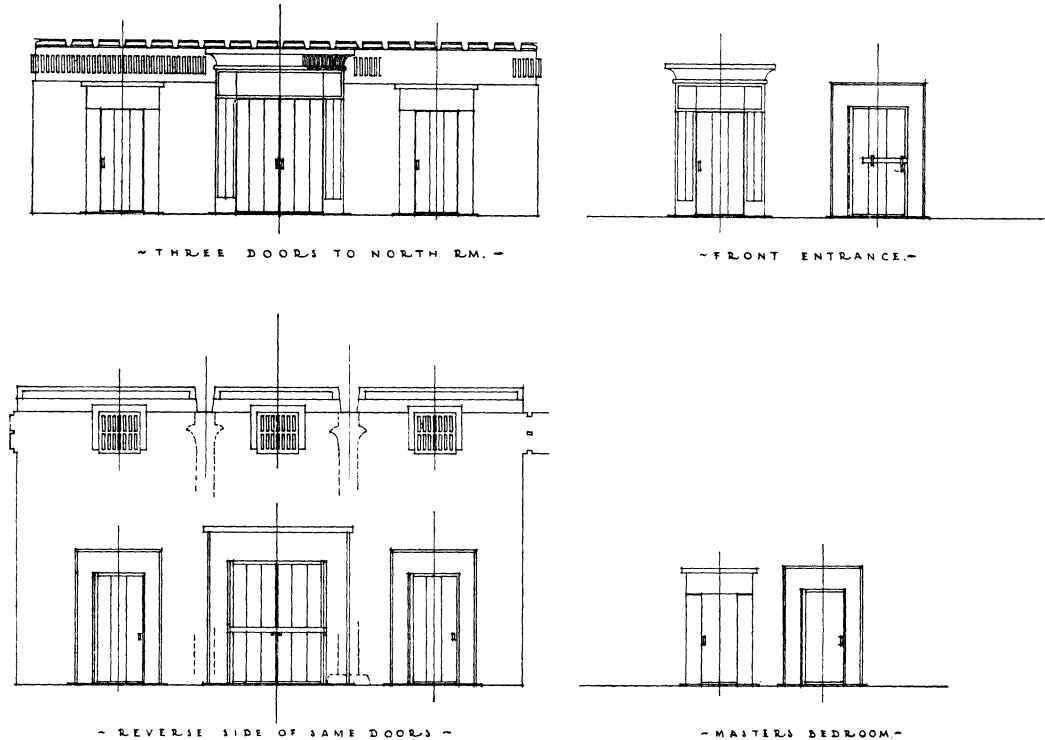
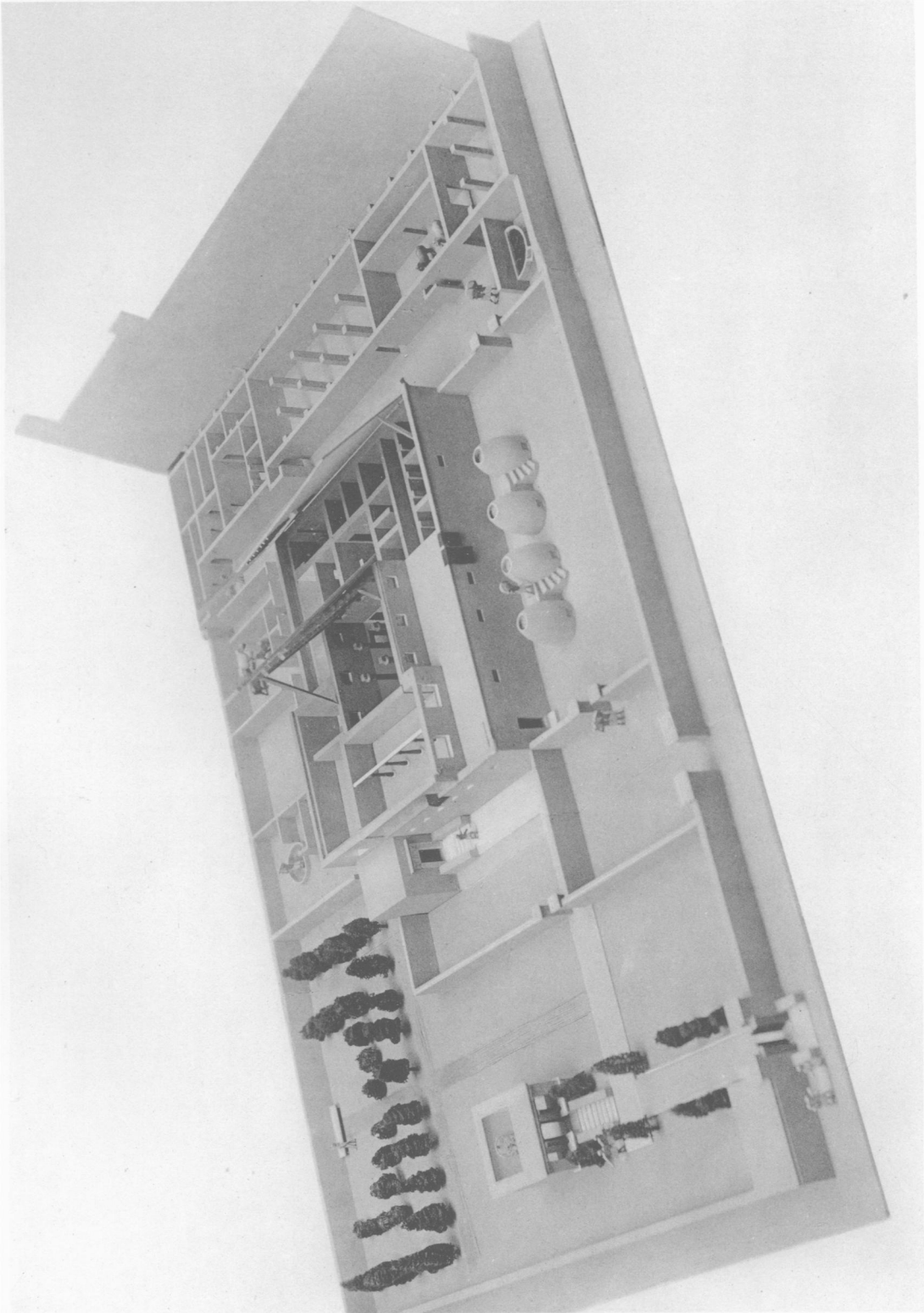


FIG. 5. Details of the doorways and doors. Scale about 1:150.

store rooms, completes the public part of the house, is simply a smaller version of the northern apartment and was probably used mostly in the winter, when the latter would be on the cold side of the house.

There remains the more intimate part of the house consisting of the Women's Quarters and the Master's Bedroom Suite, which are all grouped round a small square Inner Sitting Room. In a characteristically oriental manner, the former are considerably restricted, women and children being apparently accommodated in three extremely small cubicle bedrooms, in marked contrast to the master's luxurious suite, which shows an arrangement worthy of a modern hotel. Here, off an ante-chamber (door, Fig. 5), is his bedroom, with a slightly raised recess at one end to form a proper setting for his bed (see *City of Akhenaten*, I, Pl. xii). Note the head-rest on the latter, which shows that one slept facing the higher end, which was probably adorned with a painting. The bed itself is raised upon four small stone blocks. A second door from the ante-chamber leads into an anointing room, in which was found a piece of furniture consisting of three stone bowls cut out of a single block, one of which still had traces of crystals resembling bath salts, and a stone seat upon which the master would sit while being anointed (T. 36. 11; cf. *City of Akhenaten*, I, Pl. vi).



Model of a Tell el-Amarnah house
With roofs raised to show the internal structure

Beyond this is a shower-bath built in limestone, in which he would stand while a slave poured water over him from behind a low screen wall; and beyond again a closet. Here appears in position the pierced stone seat hollowed out for comfort (found in 1931; *Journal*, xvii, Pl. lxxi). It was supported (in House V. 36. 7; *Journal*, xv, Pl. xxvi, 3) between two small built-up compartments for sand. One of these contained an earthenware dipper. Anointing room, bathroom, and closet were painted white.

The doors (Fig. 5) throughout are of wood, pivoting at top and bottom and having stone thresholds, and sometimes stone jambs and lintels. They are known to have been painted red and yellow in stripes, from niches which are often painted and shaped in imitation of doors. The wooden columns stand upon stone bases, which bear traces of having been painted red. The shape and colouring of their upper parts one can only conjecture by referring to carved representations and to those in the rock-hewn tombs of 'Amarnah, and the beams are of wood encased in mud plaster. The staircase is of brick supported on wooden joists.

It only remains to justify the reconstructed upper story (Pl. iii). This is of necessity the least reliable part of the reconstruction, but as it is known that part of the roof was covered in, and that in almost all cases small column-bases fallen from above are found in and around the North Room only, it leaves very little doubt that the upper story must have taken very much the form shown in the model. Especially convincing is the evidence obtained in V. 37. 1, which will be published in full in *The City of Akhenaten*, II.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY ON THE OCCASION OF ITS JUBILEE¹

By GEORGE FOU CART

To the President and Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society.

May I be allowed at the outset to offer my deepest thanks to your President, whose kindness enables me, if only in thought, to be present at your meeting. He has given me a unique opportunity—the next, your second Jubilee, will be a little too late for me—of expressing, as I now do, my gratitude for all that my career owes to the Egypt Exploration Society. I should perhaps rather say “for all that my life owes to it”, for my debt of gratitude has been accumulating since I took my first steps in the study of our science, first as Inspector of Antiquities in Egypt, later as an excavator, and lastly as a university professor.

It is a long period to look back on, longer perhaps than I should like. Next month it will be forty-two years, out of the fifty which your Society can now claim. It is a privilege not untinged with sadness to be able to speak, as an eyewitness, of the earliest years of your work, as an eyewitness who was then already in Egypt. But it is also a consolation to be able to call up at this moment the personal remembrance of names revered by all of us, the names of those who in those distant days began the first methodical exploration of the Nile Valley. It is thanks to them that our science has from that time had at its disposition the tools necessary for its task. In pronouncing these names, with which personal circumstances enable me to associate, through my family connexions, those of other revered masters who were your collaborators or your colleagues, I fulfil to-day a pious duty at one and the same time to all those to whom I owe all that I have accomplished and all that my life has been.

I have to carry my memory back to November 1890 to reach my earliest relations with the Egyptian Exploration Fund. I was then completing my classical studies at Athens, where I had been educated. My father, who had just finished his time as Director of the French School, had been entrusted with the mission to Egypt which was to result in the publication of his *Mystères d'Éleusis*, and resolved to take me with him.

During the brief stay in Paris which preceded the journey it was decided that we should visit thoroughly and systematically the whole of Graeco-Roman Egypt—that is to say, so far as possible at that time; for I have known the days when the frontier town of Aṣwân echoed with the noise of arms. The name Kôm Ombo, too, stood in those days not for the temple which two years later we were to clear, along with de Morgan, Legrain, and Jéquier, but for a vast heap of sand on which a battery of British artillery guarded against a possible invasion of Upper Egypt by the Dervishes.

George Perrot and Édouard Naville were naturally the first whom I made a point of consulting. The bonds which united my father to these two scholars—all three belonged to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres—secured for me from Naville, during these

¹ We print with great pleasure George Foucart's letter, sent in response to our President's request that he would, in view of our Jubilee celebrations, contribute to the *Journal* something in the nature of a personal reminiscence of the Society's earlier days. There was much to be said for printing the letter in M. Foucart's vivid French, and it has only been translated because it was felt that in view of its extreme interest to members of the Society it ought to be brought within the reach of one and all.—*Ed.*

few weeks of initiation into archaeology, my first lessons on Ancient Egypt, lessons which remain graven on my mind. In his teaching, authoritative and methodical like all his writings, one could recognize the stamp of that fine classical training, based on Graeco-Roman studies, without which no one could lay claim to be considered a real master of his science.

And so I set out, accompanied, by way of provision for the voyage, with voluminous notes and a precious box fitted up inside as a camp library, from which we were not to be parted throughout the journey. Side by side with the first volume of Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire de l'Art*, in which was presented for the first time a general treatment of Egyptian Art, was to be found first and foremost a complete set of all that your Society had then published. Throughout that part of the Delta with which your *Memoirs* dealt, my father and I were able to visit the excavation camps and the places referred to. With your books in our hand we traversed stage by stage, from Tell el-Yahûdîyah to the Bitter Lakes, the route of the Exodus. We visited the land of Goshen and the sites of the great marsh-area of Menzâlah, so full of towns and memories of all the ages from the Shepherd Kings to the Byzantines. Never, until the time of the Egypt Exploration Fund, had this part of the Delta been archaeologically explored. At times it seemed as if one must still rely for it on the evidence of classical writers or of the earliest Christian pilgrims. It was in the light of the Fund's investigations that I was able years ago to check Brugsch's *Dictionnaire géographique*, the Supplement to which had then just appeared and formed, so far as Lower Egypt was concerned, the last word in our knowledge.

To read all these *Memoirs* on the spot thrilled me; it taught me, or, better, it revealed to me, the science of archaeology. It cleared up and gave life to the still somewhat confused mass of which my beginner's knowledge consisted. Your *Memoirs* taught me then what a well-conducted excavation means. To-day they are all well conducted, at least so we are told, though I can assure you that I have seen excavations carried out in the old fashion, and a very bad fashion it was. Catalogues, plans, a day-book, classifications of objects, drawings and photographs, numbering and cross-referencing are to-day the A B C of every archaeologist worthy to conduct an excavation. But I will add, with Rabelais: "Il n'y a pas longtemps." Such methods were a great novelty in Egypt and, among all the claims which the E.E.F. has upon our gratitude, it is not the least that its workers introduced practical archaeology to the idea that an excavation is not a mere series of holes from which objects are taken out to be sent to museums.

In Upper Egypt, where there were shortly to be carried out those splendid pieces of work associated with the names of Ehnâsiyah, Deshâshah, Beni Ḥasan, and El-Bershah, notes of introduction from Naville had preceded us. The visits we made enabled us to improve our knowledge of all this very up-to-date archaeology and to appreciate its methods, and also to make the acquaintance of the E.E.F.'s teams of workers, who now, after a laborious existence rewarded by well-deserved fame, are the respected *doyens* of their science. But when I would mention their names I find myself hesitating, for far too many of them are no more.

There still exists, indeed, a detailed testimony of what I owed to your Society at the time of this first journey. It is a book which is now old, the work of a beginner. Be that as it may, my *Histoire de l'Ordre Lotiforme*, or at least the first half of it, shows how I had been taught to think and to co-ordinate my ideas by your excavations at Bubastis, Ahnas el-Medînah, and other places; for these excavations demonstrated for the first time the great antiquity of the Egyptian architectural orders; they recovered the correct dates of usurped monuments, and made it possible to lay down the systematic laws of development. In

remembrance of these days of the Society's beginnings, which roughly coincide with my own, I ask you to accept a copy of what was my first work in Egyptian Archaeology and the first result of the lessons which I owe to you.

I was soon to revisit the country towards which my professional career had now so definitely turned. The classical and Hellenistic archaeology towards which my earliest studies had been directed was now to be replaced by the study of the civilization of the Nile Valley. A Keepership and Inspectorship in the Department of Antiquities had just been created, and the Egyptian Government had offered it to me. My connexion with the E.E.F., to which my new post gave more effective form, was now placed on a permanent footing, for as soon as I took up my post the Gîzah Museum entrusted to me the general inspection of the whole of Lower Egypt and the Eastern Desert. This was, at that time, precisely the field of your Society's researches.

Once more the precious set of *Memoirs* departed in its box-library for a fresh tour of several months. I do not suppose that many of your readers have been able to enjoy, as I have, the pleasure of reading one by one this series of reports, each one on the site where the notes for it were drawn up. At each point in my inspection where the E.E.F. had worked or dug I was free to stop as long as was necessary, and, with the book in my hand, to follow step by step what the authors told. I mentally reconstructed their busy life; I seemed to be present with them at their discoveries, and to build up with them, in front of the monuments themselves, the structure of their deductions. I have followed with Naville the route of the Exodus; I have lived with Flinders Petrie at Tanis. I spent weeks in drawing up a survey of Bubastis, and each morning found me setting out from the old Irrigation Department house at Zakâzîk accompanied by my inseparable travelling companions, *Bubastis* and *Festival Hall of Osorkon*.

All this was a great pleasure to so keen a student, and an incomparable training for a beginner such as I was. I do not hesitate to say that, owing to my having read them in this way, those whose names stand at the head of these volumes have in the truest sense been my masters; and to-day I can still better appreciate all that my knowledge of Ancient Egypt owes to them. But I knew at once that they were also my friends. Often at night time, in the silence of the study, when I look at that precious set of old travelling companions, a little tired, as I too am now, after so much wandering and camping in the Egyptian plains—for travelling was not in those days the simple matter that it is now, especially round Lake Menzâlah, along the Wâdî Tûmilât, not to speak of Naukratis or Qodḏâbah—I feel myself surrounded by real presences, for I could still say by heart whole pages of some of these books, if not of all of them, and in any case I could turn up at once the page where each site and each monument is described. I still know when or how it was found and where it now is; and if I happen to turn up one of those which have gone to enrich the Cairo Museum, off I go to see it again, like an old friend whom one is glad to meet once more. To stand before it calls up to me the distant years of my early archaeological life, and with these there come back to me the faces of those members of your Society whom I used to know in those days. Of all the sites I have visited that of Şaft el-Ḥennah is still my favourite. Naville had a particular fondness for all this corner of land which was Goshen; through the scholarly formality of his description there seems to peep out that indefinable something without which one might try in vain to understand the mind and the history of those who lived there before us.

The year 1893 was to be devoted to a general inspection and an administrative reorganization of the Department in Upper Egypt and in Nubia. Here again the E.E.F. was to be my guide and companion. Cemeteries such as those of Beni Ḥasan and El-Bershah, of which Newberry was then preparing a critical publication, were naturally among those in which

my official duties obliged me to ascertain in detail the state of every tomb and to make arrangements for guarding and protecting them. Those who know only the Egypt of the last few years can have no idea how bad were the then existing publications of sites like these. None of them were accurate enough to make really scientific work possible, and the subject still remained exactly where the early pioneers of Egyptology had left it. One of the chief services which the E.E.F. has rendered to purely archaeological studies lies in its having undertaken, through its Archaeological Survey, the long and often difficult task of presenting complete, accurate, and fully illustrated records of the mass of material contained in these tombs, a material which nothing can replace either for what it is or for what it proves, so long (and only so long) as it is properly arranged and correctly reproduced.

It is from the *Memoirs* of the Archaeological Survey that I first drew and transferred to slips all that had reference to funerary belief and Egyptian life, and it was with this first lot of material that I was later able to train my pupils at the University. Here too, as in the case of excavation, there was still nothing of the kind in the Egyptological literature of our university libraries.

He who wanted information about any of these great cemeteries, unrivalled in their value for our knowledge of antiquity, had in those days still to search blindly in old books dating from the very birth of Egyptology, books still poor in content, made up of excerpts—often without references—of incomplete scenes and texts, of drawings often inaccurate or so summary as to be mere sketches. Accurate work was impossible under such conditions, and you were the first to make it possible in this field of study.

I have one regret, and perhaps my many years in the profession may lend force to my expression of it; it is that this indispensable series of *Memoirs*, which might have rendered so many further services, should not have been carried on. I know that the work is less fascinating than that of excavation with the thrill of its discoveries. It demands great devotion. It is not all who, like our colleague N. de G. Davies, are so admirably self-denying as to devote years and years to secure a satisfactory publication of a group of tombs, sometimes even of a single tomb. At the same time I am sure there are some among us who are fully conscious of the high service they would render in this way to the progress of our knowledge. And it must be added that they would be rendering an equally great service to the task of preservation; for in many of these tombs which they publish with such irreproachable accuracy the colours will in a few years, alas, have completely faded and become indistinct, even if whole pieces of wall have not disappeared for ever. This very year, taking the books once more in my hand, I was able to compare what was still to be seen at the time of my first inspection with what one can descry to-day on sites between Beni Ḥasan and Denderah, at Shêkh Sa'îd, at Mêt, at Dêr el-Gebrâwî, etc. The experiment was sadly conclusive; it might be said that these ancient documents have reached the point where light, the wind, and the sand-blast are inimical forces which their age can no longer resist. And that is why I express my regret, thinking of the cemeteries which still remain, both north and south of Thebes, which so badly need recording in the manner of the Archaeological Survey—that of Kaşr eş-Şayyâd for example—not to mention the cemeteries of Thebes itself, where the danger is as formidable as ever.

Siût, Dêr Rîfah, and Ahnas el-Medînah (Deshâshah had not yet been excavated), kept me a long time. When I reached Luxor I was destined to come into direct personal touch with the activities of the E.E.F., for I there met Édouard Naville, who was busy clearing the temple of Dêr el-Baḥrî. During the first complete month which my duties as inspector allowed me to spend in the true capital of the Egyptological kingdom, I was delighted to be able to be present at Naville's work and to see what emerged day by day from the sand of

the 'Asasîf. Here I experienced once again the emotions felt two years previously, when I had taken part with Grébaut and Daressy in the discovery of the High Priests of Amūn. It was not until nearly twenty years later, on the day when I was present with Carter at the opening of the coffin of Tutrankhamūn, that I felt anything comparable with what I used to feel then, at certain times, on this unique site, before the sudden emergence of some splendid relief of the great temple built by Hatshepsut. My conversations with Naville were not confined to the dig. In the evening we would return to Luxor, and long chats would continue there, in the dear old Karnak Hotel, where Naville and his family stayed. Sometimes came those clear Upper Egyptian nights when one could descry the amphitheatre of Dêr el-Bahri, the cliffs of the 'Asâsîf, and the plains of Western Thebes. Naville's lessons given in such a setting are not such as one forgets quickly.

The Karnak Hotel, now closed, is scarcely known to the new generation of archaeologists. Among various ambitious plans which I shall doubtless never see realized is that of turning one of those delightful old houses whose terraces are still washed by the Nile into a kind of Egyptological centre. There could be placed the souvenirs and portraits of the archaeologists who lived at Luxor in times which to-day have become almost mythical, those to whom is due the resurrection of all that monumental Thebes which one may visit to-day.

From 1899 onward it is mainly as a professor that I have been in constant contact with your Society, and in this new field I owe you no smaller a debt of gratitude. The teaching arrangements in the faculties of our French Universities include, as is well known, both a course of public lectures and other courses open only to our pupils. In preparing both these types of lecture, where the needs as well as the methods differ greatly, your publications have been very valuable to me. The general public who attended the open lectures, both in Bordeaux and in Marseilles where I was appointed subsequently, had much to learn from being brought into contact with Egyptian archaeology. For formal lessons dealing, section by section, with the history of the art and the beliefs of Ancient Egypt I decided to substitute a more direct study of these questions just as they were raised by, or modified by, the latest excavations or the most recent publications of monuments in Egypt. It will readily be seen without any further explanation that publications such as yours provided me with exactly the kind of documentation I could have wished for. My series of lantern-slides made each winter from the plates of the periodical *Memoirs* of the E.E.F. still constitute, in the archives of the Faculty, the nucleus of the collections dealing with Egyptian excavations and cemeteries.

Meanwhile your Society kept sending me regularly its annual *Memoirs*, together with those *Reports* in which our distinguished colleague Griffith so cleverly summed up and put before us the progress made each year in our science. I was re-reading the other day a letter in which he told me how much work this indispensable résumé cost him, and how exacting it sometimes was.

The works you sent me in those days I always received with deep gratitude, for they were studied and commented on year by year in the lectures confined to pupils. They enabled them to make their entry into Egyptology in a more concrete manner. They enabled me too, through the *comptes rendus* which I published of them each year in various of our learned journals, to reach a more numerous public, that of the *Journal des Savants*, of the *Revue Archéologique*, and the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, for example. In this connexion, too, I had the opportunity of entering into more personal relationship with some of my colleagues on the E.E.F. through an exchange of letters with Griffith and Alan Gardiner, with the latter of whom I had in earlier days attended Maspero's lectures at the Collège de France. These relations were continued in the very rare visits to London which I was able

in those days to pay during the holidays. Among the collaborators in and the promoters of your Society in those days I would here offer my affectionate homage to our revered colleague Sayce, to whose admirable works I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness. To see him again each year in Egypt, so unchanged from what he was in the days of my youth, convinces me that the burden of the years is lighter than I might have feared, when he can carry it with so little effort.

The courtesy of your Committee enabled me about this time to present to my University a few small Egyptian antiquities, which helped to swell the modest archaeological collection that I was trying to get together for my pupils. About the same time I had the honour of becoming a member of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. And that gives me the opportunity to call up another of the friendly faces of those from whom I was always sure to find a cordial welcome, and practical help if I needed it. I see once more among those who are gone the noble face of my friend F. Legge; I see once more, in Great Russell Street, the office where I passed hours in chatting in such friendly wise with Nash and with Miss Patterson.

And so this period of my university career was filled by a regular life of study, of scientific reports, of articles and *résumés*, a life which was to continue until the moment when the Great War put a stop to everything. Fresh duties in Egypt were to prevent me, from that time right up to the present day, from keeping up with you, through an academic life, relations so friendly, and so advantageous for me. Nevertheless they have been maintained in another form, perhaps more direct and more personal, a form very like that which they had at the beginning, for I am now once more able to be present each winter at your discoveries and your work in Egypt. Thus I have been able, in recent years, to follow, sometimes day by day, the activities of your expeditions at Tell el-'Amarnah, at Erment, and above all at Thebes. While Sir Robert Mond's excavations at Shêkh 'Abd el-Kurnah were enriching with new tombs the unrivalled treasure of the Theban cemeteries, Mr. and Mrs. de Garis Davies still continued their excellent work there, devoting their lives to a most necessary and most praiseworthy task, that of saving for science these representations of Egyptian life, unrivalled by anything that has been bequeathed to posterity by an ancient civilization. At Thebes, whither in a few days I am going, D.V., to pass my twenty-fifth winter, the expedition sent by our Institut Français to Dêr el-Medînah and that directed in recent years by Sir Robert Mond and his assistants have at times been working so near together and with such similar objects that they may almost be regarded as working in collaboration. In proof of this I need only point to the friendly terms on which the two camps stood and the readiness with which they helped each other.

Archaeology cannot, however, be confined within the walls of a University, and so, during the long period of fifteen years which preceded this definite return to my beloved Egypt, I had kept up a more direct contact with the E.E.F. than books, articles, lectures, and even visits to London could have brought about. From time to time official missions, lectures which I gave in connexion with the "Revue générale des Sciences" gave me from time to time chances to visit Egypt, the common field of all our work, chances which I accepted as often as I could. And there, for a few weeks, and when possible for a few months, I was able to be present on the site of the Society's work as in the old days of my tours of inspection for the Department of Antiquities.

But is "to be present" the right phrase? Among all my memories of these stays in Upper Egypt the happiest is that of the winter 1906-7, when I again had Édouard Naville as my master for several months. I had been instructed that winter to copy the tomb of Menna. My assistants and I lived in the little house of Shêkh 'Abd er-Rasûl, son of the celebrated 'Abd er-Rasûl of Royal Mummies fame, a house every Egyptologist must know.

It has sheltered a good many of us during the last fifty years or so. Édouard Naville and his family were living a few yards away from it in a strange building tucked away at the foot of the cliffs of Dêr el-Baḥrî which no longer exists. It was there that he camped during the long excavation which was to reveal the Early Theban temple of the Eleventh Dynasty, a temple of a unique type, whose clearance has made Dêr el-Baḥrî a site without rival in the Nile Valley. Once again, in this winter of 1906-7, I witnessed the discovery of priceless works of art, and gained, under Naville's direction, practical lessons in archaeology the value of which I shall never be able to appreciate sufficiently. Days like these, passed on the spot, when hour by hour the earth is yielding monuments like the temple of Mentuhotpe or the famous Chapel of the Cow, are worth, from the point of view of learning, all our library researches. Sometimes a relief or a piece of painted wall would begin to come out of the ground, and I had hard work to restrain my impatience to have the whole of it at once and to learn, without having to wait, the secret that the earth still hid. But the sun might be sinking and the end of the day's work drawing near. I should have liked to see the work completed there and then. Naville, however, more methodical than I, would refuse. When the moment came for the end of the day's work, whatever discovery might at that moment be taking place, he would pull out his watch, and at the pre-arranged hour to the very second he would order the foreman to give the signal with his whistle, the signal that all we excavators in Egypt know so well, the signal which is instantly followed by the loud shouts of the basket-boys, free at last for the day, and the abandonment of every movement by the native workmen—the pick already raised would never fall to complete the cut it had begun, the basket three parts full would never be filled. "It can wait for to-morrow," Naville would say with his usual calm. But what amazed me was what happened at the end of the season. It was a question of finding out whither the famous underground passage of Mentuhotpe would lead. Some thought that the old native legend might prove to be true, and that one fine day we might come out through this passage into the Valley of the Kings. In any case what could be more thrilling than this mysterious advance on and on through the solid rock. But the fatal date of the closing-down for the season was coming. I ventured to implore Naville to go on at all cost; the key of the mystery might be already almost within our grasp. "And suppose", I said, "you haven't finished clearing the underground passage when the time comes to close down?" "Ah well," said Naville calmly, "we shall know the secret next winter."

On this anniversary, so full of splendid memories of the past and lofty example for the future there has been gathered in London a material testimony to fifty years of work and methodical effort. I deeply regret that personal reasons make it quite impossible for me to come and see this collection. Grouped in this way, and taken out of the archaeological series to which in normal times they belong, these objects would have seemed to me a part of my very life as an archaeologist. How many of them indeed have I not seen come out of the earth or arrive in Cairo, before being sent on to our western museums?

But you all know that this momentary re-assembly of such a precious series of objects represents only a part of what your Society has found in half a century of work, and I, whom fate has permitted to live so long in the Valley of the Nile, cannot help thinking of all that you have added out there to the great Cairo Museum.

Of the various objects with which, during so many years of toil, you have constantly enhanced the richness and interest of that museum some date back to the first years of your work. Many, during my archaeological career, I have actually seen arrive at the museum and followed during their subsequent movements. There are some which I helped de Morgan, Émile Brugsch, and Daressy to place in that strange Palace of Gîzah, where the

spell of an oriental system of decoration was so quaintly, and sometimes (to risk a paradox), so harmoniously allied with the objects of a collection still in course of formation. Grébaud had bequeathed to us magazines still crammed (it seems to happen in all museums) with monuments of the most varied provenance, which had to be arranged in the rooms of Gîzah as best we could. They have suffered many a move since then.

I will not venture to think how it might have been possible to have, out there too, for a few days an exhibition of objects you have contributed to the Cairo collections, for perhaps after all this is but an impracticable vision in view of the material difficulties of such a scheme and of official restrictions. At the same time I may be permitted as an archaeologist and a professor to express a hope. We should like to see in this Cairo Museum, side by side with the objects, some definite reference to their finders, as has been the case for some time past in the temporary exhibit of "recent acquisitions" near the entrance. In this way the modern visitor could form a better idea of the large contribution which the E.E.S. has made to the treasures of this museum, the foremost museum of Egyptian Archaeology—a contribution of which the ordinary visitor is naturally quite unaware, and, may I add, that our younger archaeologists are often no better informed. The Department of Antiquities in Egypt owes much to the E.E.S.; it seems to me that it would have everything to gain by acknowledging its debt, for in giving honour it would also be receiving it.

But it is not only for your part in the formation of the museum that we are indebted to you. I have spoken above of the great and useful material which you have supplied through so many years for our studies and for the work of our pupils in the universities, and there is a last aspect of your work of which I want to say a few words in concluding. I have not the honour to be one of those who preside over your destinies, and if I venture on this occasion to express my appreciation of your work in yet one more direction I feel justified by my position as a teacher and a grateful friend. Through your periodical publications, so clear, so accessible to every teacher who specializes in Egyptology and to a great part of the educated public, publications the like of which had previously never existed, you have established the essential link between your science and the rest of the sciences. You have helped every one better to recognize the importance of Egypt in the sum total of human knowledge, and to follow more easily the unceasing progress of our knowledge of Egypt, in a way in which they could never have done from the technical and professional monographs in which we publish for specialist consumption the results of our investigations. You may thus rest secure in the knowledge of having passed beyond the bounds of Egyptology and made a noble contribution to the task of humanity.

GEORGE FOUcart.

PARIS, 24.10.32.

PROBLEM 14 OF THE MOSCOW MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS

BY QUIDO VETTER

THE determination of the volume of a truncated pyramid with a square base, the special values of the sides of the base and top being 4 and 2 respectively, and the height 6, by the formula $T = (a^2 + ab + b^2) \frac{h}{3}$, as given in the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus No. 14, is very important for the appreciation of Egyptian mathematics, and continues to hold the interest of Egyptologists as well as of historians of mathematics. The problem has been discussed in this Journal by B. Gunn and T. E. Peet (xv, 167–85), K. Vogel (xvi, 242–9), and W. R. Thomas (xvii, 50–2). The question of greatest interest is how the Egyptians reached this determination. Of course, we must assume they could determine a whole pyramid earlier than a truncated one; they may have reached this determination empirically, as these authors have suggested. But the formula for the volume of a truncated pyramid is too complicated to be got empirically by means of simple experiments, as I showed some time ago.¹

Gunn and Peet assume that the Egyptians divided a regular quadrilateral truncated pyramid by means of suitable sections into a rectangular parallelepiped, four trilateral prisms—which can be put together into a rectangular parallelepiped again—and four quadrilateral pyramids—which can be put together into a regular pyramid. The two rectangular parallelepipeds, in the opinion of these authors, were put together into a new one, so that a truncated pyramid was transformed into two solids the sum of whose volumes was determined by the expression $T = abh + \frac{1}{3}(a-b)^2h$. It is necessary in this expression to take out of the bracket the factor $\frac{h}{3}$ and then to transform the factor $3ab + (a-b)^2$ into $a^2 + ab + b^2$. Gunn and Peet assume that this latter step was taken by a comparison of planes, *i.e.* by the so-called Greek algebra.

Vogel objects to this hypothesis that it presupposes an algebraical skill which we cannot prove from any other Egyptian source. He therefore puts forward another hypothesis, namely that the Egyptians arrived at their formula by approximation. At the same time Vogel points out that they were well acquainted with a truncated pyramid with a square base and two sides at right angles with the base.

I do not intend to decide which hypothesis is more probable. I only wish to show how the Gunn-Peet hypothesis can be simplified by assuming that the truncated pyramid from which the formula was discovered was not regular, but had two sides perpendicular to the base. I suggested some years ago that the truncated pyramid of the Moscow Papyrus was probably² of this form, and this is also the view of the editor of the papyrus, W. W. Struve.³

¹ Q. Vetter, *Jak se počítalo a měřilo na úsvitě kultury (How they did sums and measured at the dawn of civilization)*, Praha, Melantrich, 1926, pp. 133 and 134.

² *Op. cit.*, 133.

³ *Mathematischer Papyrus des Staatlichen Museums der schönen Künste in Moskau*, Berlin, 1930, p. 134, n. 3.

If we cut such a truncated pyramid in which the edge AE is at right angles to the base (Fig. 1) by two planes $ABGH$ and $ADFG$, we shall get four solids, namely two quadrilateral pyramids $V_1 \equiv ABCDG$ and $V_2 \equiv EFGHA$, and two equal trilateral pyramids $V_3 \equiv ABFG$ and $V_4 \equiv ADGH$. Of these the quadrilateral pyramid V_1 is regular, because $b = \frac{a}{2}$, a square base $ABCD$, whose side $a = 4$, and with height $h = 6$. The two sides EFA and EHA of

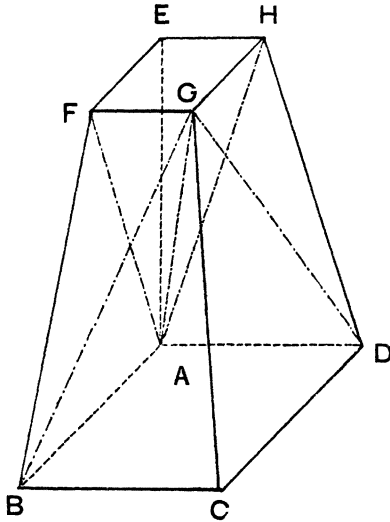


FIG. 1.

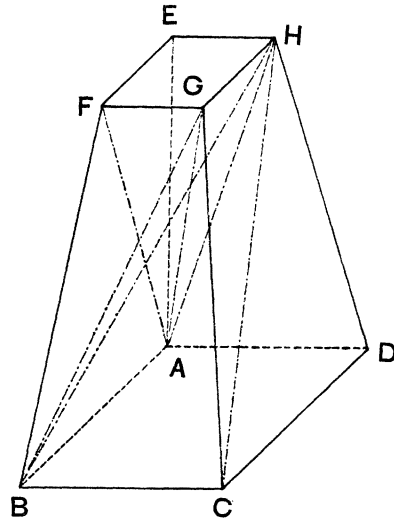


FIG. 2.

the pyramid V_2 are perpendicular to the base $EFGH$, which is a square with a side $b = 2$; the height is again $h = 6$. The trilateral pyramid V_3 , similar and equal to V_4 , has a base ABF , which is an isosceles triangle with base a and height h . The height of the pyramid V_3 is $FG = b$. Therefore the volume of the given truncated pyramid is

$$T = \frac{h}{3}a^2 + 2 \cdot \frac{b}{3} \cdot \frac{ah}{2} + \frac{h}{3}b^2 = \frac{h}{3}a^2 + \frac{b}{3}ah + \frac{h}{3}b^2.$$

Now this truncated pyramid of the Moscow Papyrus is not a general one; it is a special one, in which two sides are at right angles to the base and the edge of the top is half the edge of the base, as mentioned above. There is still another way of cutting up a truncated pyramid of this special form, and it enables us to put both the trilateral pyramids (which are not equal this time) together into a new trilateral one, the volume of which is equal to the middle term of the expression for T , namely $\frac{b}{3}ah$.

The first section (Fig. 2) is $ABGH$ again. But we shall now cut each of the newly got solids by a fresh section. We shall divide the solid $ABCDHG$ by the plane BCH into the two pyramids $V_1 \equiv ABCDH$ and $V_3 \equiv BCGH$; and the solid $EFGHAB$ by the plane FGA into the two pyramids $V_2 \equiv EFGHA$ and $V_4 \equiv FABG$. The base of V_1 is a square with side $a = 4$. One of its sides is an isosceles triangle ADH lying in a plane perpendicular to the base, so that it is possible to measure the height of the pyramid directly in it. The pyramid V_2 is the same as in the former case. Moreover, since $b = \frac{a}{2}$ and $ABCD$ and $EFGH$ are squares, the point G lies on the perpendicular erected on the base $ABCD$ at its middle

point; therefore the triangles ABG and BCG are isosceles and congruent. The sum of the angles BGF and CGH and the sum of the angles AGF and BGH are both equal to 180° . Therefore, if we place the triangle ABG on the triangle BCG , they will coincide, and the edges FG and GH will lie in the same line. The pyramids V_3 and V_4 will thus form a new trilateral pyramid, the base of which will be the isosceles triangle ABF . Its edge $FG+GH = 2b = a = 4$ will be perpendicular to the base and will thus be its height. Its volume will be $\frac{2b}{3} \cdot \frac{ah}{2} = \frac{b}{3} ah$. The volume of the truncated pyramid is again

$$T = \frac{h}{3}a^2 + \frac{b}{3}ah + \frac{h}{3}b^2.$$

In both these ways the truncated pyramid can be decomposed into pyramids on which the dimensions necessary for determination can be measured directly, excepting the pyramid V_1 in the first case; but this, being regular, need not have caused any difficulty even in the lower stages of mathematical development.

The truncated pyramid can thus be decomposed either into two quadrilateral pyramids plus the sum of two similar and equal trilateral ones, or into three pyramids, whose volumes are the three terms of which the formula for a truncated pyramid consists. By means of this hypothesis we avoid all need to explain how the Egyptians transformed the expression $3ab - (a-b)^2$, according to Gunn and Peet, or even the expression $a^2 + \frac{b}{a-b}(a^2 - b^2)$, according to Struve (*op. cit.*, 176) into $a^2 + ab + b^2$. Nothing in our knowledge of Egyptian mathematics justifies us in assuming that the Egyptians could make such complicated transformations of mathematical expressions.

If we admit the hypothesis I have developed above, only one assumption is left, that the discoverer of the method was able to take out of the bracket the factor $\frac{h}{3}$, i.e. $\frac{6}{3}$, in the expression $\frac{h}{3}a^2 + \frac{b}{3}ah + \frac{h}{3}b^2$, or, better, in $\frac{6}{3} \cdot 16 + \frac{2}{3} \cdot 4 \cdot 6 + \frac{6}{3} \cdot 4$. Whether the Egyptians knew how to make this transformation remains doubtful.

THE DAKHLEH STELA

By ALAN H. GARDINER

With Plates v–vii

THERE can be few Egyptian inscriptions with as many claims to our interest as that which W. Spiegelberg published over thirty years ago under the title *Eine Stele aus der Oase Dachel*.¹ The unusual provenance alone would have sufficed to commend it to our attention, but the varied information which the document provides concerning the natural conditions, administration, cult, and topography of a distant Oasis gives it a unique place among historical texts. The period to which the stela belongs is another interesting aspect, dated texts of the Twenty-second Dynasty of Libyan rulers being of comparatively rare occurrence; moreover, as Professor Griffith has pointed out,² this is the earliest inscription in which the title of Pharaoh is prefixed to a king's name after the model of the Biblical "Pharaoh Hophra", "Pharaoh Necho". Then again, we have here a characteristic example of a trial by oracle such as Dr. Blackman has discussed in more than one valuable article of this *Journal*.³ And lastly, the linguistic and epigraphic interest: the language is a good specimen of Late Egyptian idiom tinged with the element of formalism typical of all official records, while the gaunt and crowded hieratic characters incised upon the stone have their own peculiar difficulties to whet the appetite of the decipherer.

The stela is one of two from the same locality presented to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford by Captain (now Sir Henry) Lyons, whose account of their discovery I quote from Spiegelberg's article: "On reaching the village of Mut (Lat. N. 25° 29' 4", Long. 29° 4' 40" E. of Greenwich) in Dakhla Oasis 1st January 1894 I was shown two stelae, one of limestone and the other of sandstone, both of which were said to have been found in a mound formed of ruins of ancient buildings a short distance S.W. of the Government buildings of that village; I could hear of no others from the same place at the time and brought these two back to the Nile." It is the limestone stela, measuring 37 inches in height by 26 in breadth, with which we are here concerned; the sandstone stela, of rather smaller size, was published by Spiegelberg in a subsequent article and deals with a gift of offerings to the local temple.⁴ For the skill shown by Spiegelberg in the reading and interpretation of these late documents I have nothing but praise, and his two articles possess a permanent value, no less for their admirable comments and illustrative notes than for the excellent photographs which they contain. Nevertheless, particularly as regards the larger stela, the progress of our knowledge makes a new treatment imperative. Intensive study of Twenty-first Dynasty texts like the story of Wenamūn, the Decree of Neskhons, and the Correspondence of Butehamūn has given a familiarity with the grammar and the script of the period which enables me to offer here a much improved rendering. Moreover, my opportunities have been far greater than those enjoyed by Spiegelberg. On three separate occasions between 1910 and the present year I have collated the text with the original, my task made easy by the special facilities granted first by Dr. Hogarth and again quite recently by Dr. Leeds. As a result I am fairly confident that no new readings of importance remain to be elicited, though the meaning of a few rare words must await future elucidation.

¹ *Rec. trav.*, XXI (1899), 12–21.

³ *Journal*, XI, 249–55; XII, 176–85.

² *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXIII (1901), 74–5.










⁴ *Rec. trav.*, XXV (1903), 194–6.





Since the dispute upon which the god Sêtekh here delivers judgement turns upon technical matters concerning the irrigation of the Oasis, it will be best to examine the terms involved before turning to the text itself. In investigating the meaning of these terms H. Ll. Beadnell's book, *An Egyptian Oasis* (London, 1909), has served me in good stead, but I should have had little confidence in my conclusions had they not been reviewed and amplified by Sir Henry Lyons, who most kindly placed his special knowledge at my disposal. The water of the oases of the Libyan desert is derived mainly from artificial wells sunk to a great depth, by which an underground water-supply derived ultimately from the Nile is tapped and made available for agriculture. Such artesian wells driven through the sandstone produce water which as a rule flows freely and with considerable force at the surface, though in other cases the level of the ground is not attained. Sometimes a well ceases to flow on account of an accumulation of vegetable debris and drift sand around its mouth. The ownership of the wells is naturally of the highest importance, and is closely connected with the ownership of the land, though at the present day there are persons who own water but no land, and others who claim land but own no water.¹ From the text here to be studied it would appear that, in the Twenty-second Dynasty, the possessor of a well was deemed to have good title to all the land flooded by it. Such, at least, seems to be the situation presupposed by the inscription.

Three distinct terms in connexion with "water" are used: (a) the fem. $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ *hnmt* ll. 5, 7, and in the vertical line of hieratic at the top of the stela, with the variant $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$, which serves, curiously enough, not only for the plural (ll. 4-5, 11), but also for the singular (ll. 9, 10); (b) the masc. $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ *wbn* ll. 9, 12, 14, vert., and once for plural, l. 12, with variants $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ ll. 5, 6, 10, $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ l. 10, and the plural $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ ll. 4, 13; (c) the fem. $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ *hxy(t)* ll. 6, 9. Of these *hxyt* may be rendered by "flood-water", as it clearly refers to any sheet of shallow inundation-water overlying the ground. It is connected with a verb *hxy* "to inundate" (*Wörterbuch der. aeg. Spr.*, III, 13), and its none too frequent occurrences (e.g. *Westcar*, 2. 20; *Harris Mag. Pap.*, 7. 10; *Amenemope*, 4. 13; 10. 10) bear out the signification here assigned to it. The meaning of *wbn*² is given by its etymology, which connects it with the verb expressing the rising of the sun (cf. the name *Weben-Rê* below) and with the noun $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$, which undoubtedly means a wound from which the blood flows freely. When it occurs alone, I shall translate it as "flowing well", the term used by Beadnell and others for the visibly active wells irrigating the oases. The term *hnmt* is the ordinary Egyptian word for a well, and in our stela must, I think, in so far as it is opposed to *wbn*, designate the underground water-supply which feeds the latter. That the *wbn* is part of a *hnmt*, or at least that *hnmt* is the more general term, is indicated by two passages, ll. 5 and 9, giving the compound term $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ *wbn-hnmt*, which I shall render as "well of flowing water", and also by the fact that the "flowing well" is said in l. 10 and in the vertical column to "belong to" ($\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ literally, be "in the hand of") a *hnmt*-well. Two other compounds of *hnmt* are employed in the general statement of ll. 4-5, where the prince Wayheset is said to have come "to inspect $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ the flowing wells and $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ the (other) wells which are [in] Sa-Wahet (name of the town corresponding to the modern village of Mut, see l. 3), both $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ *hnmt-hbs* closed wells and $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ *hnmt-ww* irrigation wells". In the former of these compounds the element *hbs* is undoubtedly the verb $\text{𓂛} \text{𓁱} \text{𓄞} \text{𓄶} \text{𓄿}$ literally, "to clothe", the

¹ See Beadnell, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² The word occurs also in the story of Apophis and Sêknênrêc "the hippopotamus-pool which is in the *wbn* of Nê (*i.e.* Thebes)" 2. 5, cf. also l. 8; 2. 8, but there the meaning can hardly be a "flowing well" in the sense here intended.

specific determinative  being replaced by the signs for "water" belonging to the whole compound. As Sir Henry Lyons points out, two possibilities here present themselves. Either *hnmt-hbs* means a well that has been deliberately stopped up by plugging, a "plugged well", or else it is one that has become "closed", or "covered up", by silting or the like (see above). The latter alternative is doubtless preferable for several reasons. In the first place, the stem *hbs* expresses less than the English word "to plug"; a plugged well is certainly "covered" or "closed", but not all "covered" or "closed" wells are plugged. Had "plugged" been meant, probably some such verb as *htm*, "sealed", "closed", would have been employed. Secondly, *hbs* is used elsewhere of "covering" in the sense of "rendering invisible", e.g. of the sun which may become "covered" or "veiled", or again of a statue or sculptured relief which may "cover up" some earlier one.¹ Thirdly, we shall see below that the appeal to the oracle was due to the raising of a question whether a certain sheet of inundation-water was not due to some well other than that of Weben-Rêr; but if so, the second well, the suggested existence of which is negated by the god, would have been a "closed" or "concealed" well, the waters of which might perhaps spread over the land without their source being immediately obvious. Lastly, the term *hnmt-hbs* appears to be contrasted with *hnmt-ww*, which may well mean a well capable of irrigating a tract of land  *ww*, older  *w*. That this is the meaning is perhaps borne out by the curious triangular sign here used to determine *ww*. This cannot be a large and unusually made , for the land-determinative in hieratic is always  and not , see in our stela the determinatives of  l. 12, of  *ibid.*, and of  l. 14. Now in Beadnell's book I read the following (p. 69): "The position of each well is nearly always conspicuously marked by a thick clump of acacias, from which . . . the main irrigating channel generally runs in a southerly direction, the cultivated lands being of *triangular form*, with the apex at or near the source of the water, and raised little, if at all, above the general level of the surrounding plain." The italics in the foregoing quotation are mine.

Two more technical terms of a legal character require notice. In ll. 12-13  *mw-nmh*w, "waters of *nmh*-men", are contrasted with  "waters of Pharaoh", i.e. waters belonging to the Crown, as we should say. The antithesis demands that the former expression should be rendered "private waters", and the declaration of the god "they belong to the private person (*nmh*) who shall lead them off" (l. 13) confirms this conclusion quite apart from the exact signification to be assigned to *nmh*. But Spiegelberg² and Lacau³ have between them shown that *nmh* is the origin of the Coptic word *παρε* "free"; and the first-named scholar establishes beyond a peradventure that in the Saitic contracts of servitude *nmh* is the exact opposite of  *bsk* "slave", while the still earlier attested expression  *sh-nmh*w, "fields of freemen",⁴ corresponds accordingly to the *ιδιόκτητος* γῆ of the Ptolemaic period.

Several other nouns and verbs with technical or legal implications remain to be discussed, but it will be best now to turn to the main text (Pls. v-vii), and to leave these details to the commentary which will follow the translation.


Translation

(1) Year 5, fourth month of winter, day 16 of the king Pharaoh Shoshenk, beloved of Amün. On this day came (?) the son of the prince of the Ma, (2) the chief official of lands, the priest of Hathor of Diospolis, the priest of Horus and Sakhmet (?) of Pi-djōdj, the priest of Sētekh of the

¹ See my *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 88-9.

² *Ä.Z.*, LIII (1917), 116-17.

³ *Recueil Champollion*, pp. 722-3.

⁴ *Ä.Z.*, xxxv (1897), 23 n.; *Ann. Serv.*, iv, 185. For the juristic term  which follows the phrase in one inscription see now Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, p. 104, n. 6.

Oasis, the overseer of inundated lands, (3) the overseer of plantations (?), the prince of the two lands of the Oasis, Wayheset, he being in the town of Sa-waḥet, after Pharaoh had sent him to restore order in the Oasis-land, (4) after he had found it in a state of war and turmoil (?). On the day when he went to inspect the flowing wells and the (5) (other) wells which are in Sa-waḥet, both closed wells and irrigation wells, he arrived to see the well of flowing water of Weben[-Rēr], (6) after the priest of Sētekh Nesubast, the son of Patē, had spoken before him saying: "Behold, a sheet of flood-water has been let loose, and is here in the neighbourhood of this flowing well of Weben-Rēr. Examine it, namely this (7) [well of] Pi-Rēr in whose neighbourhood thou art, for (it is) a private well, and it belongs to my mother Tewhenut, whose mother was Hententēre." Then the priest and prince Wayheset said to him: "Stand in the presence of Sētekh (8) [and claim] it."

In year 5, fourth month of winter, day 25, on the day when the noble god Sētekh, great of strength, the son of Nut, this great god, was caused to appear at his feast "Beauty of Daytime",¹ the prince Wayheset stood in the Presence. (9) Then said Sētekh, the great god: "Nesubast, the son of Patē, is in the right. This flood-water which is to the north-west of the well of flowing water of Weben-Rēr, this well of Pi-Rēr, which is in Sa-waḥet, is the property of his mother Tewhenut. (10) Confirm it unto him this day." Then said the great god: "There are not two flowing wells belonging to Weben-Rēr, this well of Pi-Rēr which is in Sa-waḥet, but only one well was found on that cadastral (11) register of the wells and orchards of Pi-Rēr which the controller 'Onkhef, the son of Setnakhte, issued as a copy of the register of Pharaoh Psusennes, the great god, in Year 19." Then said Sētekh, (12) the great god: "As for every flowing well which is in this district, those which [lie?] to the west of Sa-waḥet are derivatives released from the flowing wells of Huy, as they are called. These are private waters, and there is no (13) water of Pharaoh among them. They belong to the private person who shall lead them off this day." Then said the god: "As for the flowing wells to which Nesubast, (14) the son of Patē, has laid claim, he shall lead them off that they may . . . (?) the soil, together with the flowing well of his mother Tewhenut. Confirm them unto him, they being confirmed to son of his son, (15) heir of his heir, to his wife and to his children, there being no other son of private status belonging to Tewhenut who shall have a share in them except (16) Nesubast, the son of Patē."

Thus spoke Sētekh, the great god, before very many witnesses. List thereof:

The priest of Sētekh of the Oasis, the prince and chieftain, (17) Wayheset.

The matwahaer, Pawered.

The matwahaer, Waykeseher.

The matwahaer, Ten . . . (?) (18) te.

The matwahaer, Kayham.

The captain of shield-bearers, Pete

The cultivator (?) 'Onkhef, son of Nefenbwnakhte.

The divine father, the scribe of the seal, Patē, the son of Kana.

(19) The divine father, the scribe of the temple, Tjarsētekh, the son of Serthout.

The scribe, Pekom.

....., the son of Patē.

The divine father, T

The divine father Kersētekh, the son of 'Onkhef.

(20) The priest of Amenape (?) Penamūn, the son of Patē.

The doorkeeper, Pronkh, the son of Pengebg.

The doorkeeper, Pwōnesh.

.....

¹ My translation involves extensive emendation of the text. On this see the commentary.

Commentary

1. Breasted,¹ Gauthier,² and Meyer³ are in agreement that the Shoshenḫ here mentioned was the first of the name, Breasted adducing the plausible reasons that “the document mentions a revolt in the oasis, and a reorganization, which would be especially likely to occur at the advent of a new dynasty, and we find Dakhel under the control of Sheshonk I’s successor, Osorkon I”. No additional argument can be drawn from the fact that, as Daressy had already perceived,⁴ a cadastral register of the nineteenth year of a king Psusennes is mentioned in l. 11; we cannot even tell for certain which of the two Psusennes was intended. The absence of cartouches is without significance on a stela inscribed in hieratic and from a provincial source. The only thing that might incline us to a later reign is the use of the word “Pharaoh” before the royal name, this use being more characteristic of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty than of the Twenty-second.⁵

1-3. For the verb preceding the princely titles we expect or and one of these two may have been intended. would not suit, as “came” and not “went” is required. A less likely alternative to is the simple auxiliary anticipating in l. 3.

The title doubtless indicates membership of the royal family, though Wayheset was not necessarily a son of Shoshenḫ; neither Gauthier (*op. cit.*) nor Meyer (*Geschichte*, II, 2, 2nd ed., 49) regard him as such. That is a short writing of the Libyan tribe held to be identical with the *Máξυες* of Herodotus, was first pointed out by de Rougé (*Mélanges d'Archéologie*, I, 87), and is proved by variants of the titles of Petēse and his father Takelot, Mariette, *Serapéum*, Pls. 24 and 26 = *Rec. trav.*, XXII, 9-11. The first element in “great prince of the Ma”, usually written (in hieratic \leftarrow , e.g. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, Pl. 88), was often read as \leftarrow , see *Serapeum*, no. 26 = *Rec. trav.*, XXII, 11; cf. *Ann. Serv.*, V, 93. But it is very possibly the same Takelot whose title is given on a coffin in Cairo as *A.Z.*, XXI (1883), 69, with the Libyan word *mess*, “lord”, as Erman pointed out *ibid.*, but without the epithet, “great”. In partial agreement with this, the prince Ankhḫōr receives the title in one inscription, *Ann. Serv.*, IX, 278, and in another, *Rec. trav.*, XXXV, 136. *Ms* ϵ is found again on a dagger naming *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, 284.⁶ On the other hand, —“great” is omitted in Mariette, *Serapéum*, Pl. 27, top, corresponding to *op. cit.*, Pl. 26, l. 9; cf. also a *Ann. Serv.*, XVI, 82. From this evidence I conclude that in these titles was read *ms* or *wr* indifferently, just as we used to speak both of the “Emperor of Germany” and of the “Kaiser”; and further that the epithet “great” was occasionally omitted in either case. In other words, it appears to be the same princely rank, amounting virtually to kingship, which is meant by all the four expressions *wr* ϵ , *wr*, *ms* ϵ , *ms*. Hence we may take it that Wayheset in our inscription was a son of a ruling *mess* or prince of the Meshwesh, whether of Nemrat, the father of Shoshenḫ I, or of some kinsman.

Spiegelberg points out that the various priesthoods held by Wayheset belong either to the Oasis itself, or else to places in Egypt whence roads ran thither. with Hathor

¹ *Ancient Records*, IV, § 725.

² *Livre des rois*, III, 307.

³ *Gottesstaat, Militärherrschaft, und Ständewesen in Ägypten*, in *Sitzb. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.* (1928), 513, n. 3.

⁴ *Rec. trav.*, XXXVIII, 10.

⁵ See Griffith, in the article quoted above, p. 19, n. 2.

⁶ Daressy notes that the name is composed of elements found in Osorkon and Masaherta. The two Twenty-first Dynasty personages of the latter name will doubtless have had Libyan blood on their mother's side.

as its goddess, is definitely located at Diospolis Parva, the modern Hû. In the Golénischeff glossary, the Abydos list, and the Medînet Habu cult-scenes is named as the place almost immediately following to the north; it is the Coptic ΠΣΩΣ, identified by Daressy with Abu Shûsha, on the west bank some five miles farther south than Abydos. An inscription quoted by Spiegelberg gives Hathor as the goddess of Pi-djôdj, but at Medînet Habu (*Rec. trav.*, xvii, 119) Horus and Sakhmet are the deities, as also perhaps on our stela. Spiegelberg's reading is impossible. The group here used is evidently the same as that found in the vertical line of hieratic (see below, Fig. 1), and I can see no other solution than which the correspondence with Medînet Habu renders very tempting. Difficulties are not lacking, however. The supposed would be different in form from just before in the name of Diospolis Parva, where the shape closely resembles that of the normal hieroglyphic sign. This disagreement could be got over by supposing that in the latter case the sistrum was intended, this being commonly used in that name. But a further point is that one would expect with and , and it is perhaps also strange that two divine names should be combined in the mention of a single priesthood.

For the other titles of Wayheset see Spiegelberg's notes, to which my own are purely supplementary. As Spiegelberg has rightly seen, "the two lands of the Oasis" are Khargah and Dakhlah, the eastern and western parts of what was known in classical times as the "Larger Oasis" (*Oasis Major*), which the Egyptians called "the southern Oasis".



3. misread by Spiegelberg here and for that reason wrongly interpreted by him in its later occurrences ll. 5, 9, 10, 12, is evidently the ancient name of the modern village of Mut where the stela was found. The other example of the name, quoted by Spiegelberg from a note of Maspero's, lacks the town-determinative.— "restore to order", cf. (=) "now when order had been restored", *Pap. Mayer A*, 6, 9; also *Harris*, 79, 2.




4. "war", "rebellion", see *Pap. Br. Mus. 10052*, 13. 24=Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, Pl. 33.


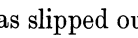


5. The preceding is clearly for . is a writing of found below in l. 11 in . "The flowing well of Weben-Rêc" occurs again in ll. 6, 9, 10, and there is ample room for its restoration here. The name appears to belong properly to the actual flowing well in question, but the denial that there were two flowing wells belonging to Weben-Rêc in l. 10 makes it necessary to extend the designation to the neighbouring irrigated land as well.


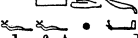

6. In this line we encounter for the first time the name of the man on whose behalf the stela was erected, a certain Nesubast, son of Patê. He was a priest of the local temple of Sêtekh, a rank also enjoyed, doubtless *ex officio*, by the newly appointed governor Wayheset. Correct hieratic writings of the name of Nesubast would have been or , but the scribe has everywhere inserted the meaningless doubtless by some confusion of thought. In the hieroglyphic legends at the top of the stela is used without . The father's name is common in demotic, and as Griffith showed me many years ago, occurs in Greek as Πατῆς. The same spelling as here is found below in ll. 9, 14, but the variant occurs in l. 16, cf. the same name in ll. 18, 19, 20. The hieroglyphic legends above are so badly cut (see below, Fig. 1) that the signs are difficult to interpret, but I believe is there the right reading.






(or simply) is the same word as occurs below in the plural in l. 12, where the reading is , the plural strokes alone being slightly doubtful. Spiegelberg read here, and his failure to read the continuation in l. 12 is responsible for his rendering






there "sie sind ererbt und in Besitz genommen". The metathesis  for  from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards is well authenticated, and I believe that we here have the passive participle "let loose", "released" in both cases; in l. 12 the preposition *m* must be supplied before *nr wbn(yw)*, the omission of *m* occurring elsewhere in our text, before *dmī*, l. 3; *Sr-wšht*, ll. 5, 10; *pr hrw*, ll. 10, 13; between *i·n·f* and *Sth*, l. 16.

6-7. For the restoration  see below, ll. 9, 10, where *try hnmmt Pr-Rr* occurs in apposition to *pry wbn-hnmmt Wbn-Rr* and simply *Wbn-Rr* respectively. These later passages show that  is not mere anticipation of the nominal object following, after the model familiar in Coptic. *Sw* refers back to *pry wbn n Wbn-Rr*, and *try hnmmt n Pr-Rr* is further elucidation of that expression. The topographical name  *Pr-Rr* "Pi-Rēr" appears to refer to the entire neighbourhood to the west of Sa-waḥet; in ll. 10-11 we read of "this cadastral register of the wells and orchards of Pi-Rēr", and the following line throws light on its whereabouts.

7. It would appear that  has slipped out after  cf. the very similar sentence  in l. 12.  has doubtless subordinating force in both places, and I translate it here as "for"; in the other instance it is better left untranslated.

8. The restoration  is uncertain, and based upon the supposition that *st* can have the meaning "to claim". *St r* seems to have that technical sense in ll. 13-14, and for the construction with direct object one may compare in the other Dakhleh stela ll. 12-13  "as for him who shall claim (?) it, he (shall fall a victim to) the sword of Amen-Rēr", *Rec. trav.*, xxv, 195. Spiegelberg there rendered "Jeder (aber) der es (das Dekret) beseitigen wird, soll dem Schwert des Amon-Rēr verfallen sein", which is open to the double objection that the word for "decree" is feminine,  l. 11, and that no such meaning of *st* is recorded in the Berlin dictionary. The suffix probably refers to the offerings mentioned in the broken lines at the beginning of the decree.

The words beginning  after this has been emended into , are susceptible of literal translation as follows: "on this day the priest of this noble land caused Sētekh, etc. to appear on . . . (date) in his festival 'Beauty of Daytime.'" However, a few small details of orthography render this version suspect, apart from the superfluous  already noted: the determinative  after *shr* and *hm-ntr*, and the abnormal position of the *n* under *pn*. It is strange, moreover, that *hrw pn* should stand before a date and not after it. Now we have seen that the scribe who designed the inscription was not above garbling a simple name like Nesubast. May he not likewise have garbled a stereotyped formula of dating? On the well-known "Stela of the Exiles" (Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, Pl. 22), we find in l. 9, after the date on "fourth month of summer, (in the) five epagomenal days, the birth of Isis, corresponding to the festival of Amūn in the New Year",¹ the words  "the making to appear of the Majesty of this noble god".

¹ E. Meyer (*Gottesstaat*, p. 6, n. 1) declares this dating to be "nach wie vor völlig dunkel". The text, kindly verified for me by Blackman from squeeze and photograph, reads  with  and not , as Breasted supposed. Weill, *Chronologie égyptienne*, 64, has rightly seen that the last words signify "5 jours épagomènes, naissance d'Isis", though he wrongly translates what precedes as "4^e mois d'Akhit" instead of "fourth month of summer". The group  is explained by the entry  in a Turin papyrus (Botti-Peet, *Giornale della Necropoli*, Pl. 4). What is really unique is (a) the treatment of the epagomenal days as part of the last month of the year, instead of standing entirely outside the year, and (b) the information that the feast of the New Year commenced two days before the actual New Year's day. The "birth of Isis" was the specific name of the fourth epagomenal day.

From this it appears to me well-nigh certain that our passage is to be corrected into "on the day of causing to appear this noble god Sētekh". We may go even farther, and place the date etc. in front of Probably there was confusion in the original draft, the date having been added in the interline.

The writing rather than makes it probable that the name of the festival was and that we should not translate, with Spiegelberg, "at his beautiful *Wršw*-feast".

9. The word is the technical term with which juridical verdicts were announced, the full formula being *mxtw X, rḏ Y*; see *Pap. Ch. Beatty I*, 13. 2, which shows how is to be read in the same expression *Pap. Mook, 2. 4=A.Z., LXIII, 106; Pap. Berlin 9785, 17-18=A.Z., XLIII, 39*. Here the second half of the formula is absent, the suit being against the Crown.

10. Sētekh follows up his verdict with three more oracular pronouncements on the same topic. The first of them has a close parallel, as we shall see, in the column of hieratic at the top of the stela. Thence we learn that the word following *wbn 2* is to be restored as a substitute for the more frequently found after *ⲙⲙ* "there is (are) not", see *A.Z., LXII, 6*.

For common in documents of this period, see my note on *Wenamūn 2. 3*. The reading is certain, and agrees with the view of the *Wörterbuch*, I, 173 that in *Mes, N. 10* is not to be read *wrt*, as I had supposed in my note on that passage, but with initial We have here the feminine noun and it should not be confused with the masculine word though this has a very similar sense.

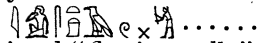

11. Can the scribe have written for (see *Rec. trav., xxv, 193*)? A list of *rwḏ*-controllers of wells is found on the *verso* of the Canon of Kings at Turin, immediately before a tax-list relating to the Oases. On my showing the present passage to Griffith some years ago, he at once recognized the common demotic preposition *r-l* "like" in the noun of which is the Coptic *ꝓꝓ*. He quoted another early instance from the Rogers Tablet (l. 15), where we read "copy of the writings laid before Amūn", *Rec. trav., II, 15*. For as a writing of see above, the note on l. 5. I have already referred to Daressy's brilliant discovery of King Psusennes in this sentence, see the note on l. 1.


12. The literal translation is: "As for every flowing well which is in the region of this district, that which . . . in the region of the west of Sa-waḥet, they are heirs released [from] the flowing wells of Ḥuy, as they are called." The too general expression "every . . . district" is qualified and limited by another relative clause introduced, quite in the Coptic fashion, by *pꝓ*, which here implies selection out of a number, like *pꝓ nmḥ* in l. 13. The virtual plural *wbn nb* is then taken up by the plural pronoun after which an *m* of equivalence has to be supplied. The term translated "derivatives" is in the Egyptian literally "heirs". As applied to wells, *iwrw* can only be metaphorical. For *ḥfy* and for the preposition (<*m*) probably to be supplied after it, see above, the note on l. 6. The identity of the man Ḥuy in the name of the wells is unknown; Ḥuy is a familiar abbreviation of Amenḥotpe.

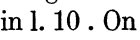
12-13. The antithesis of *mw Pr-ꝓ* "Crown waters" and *mw nmḥy(w)* "private waters" was discussed in an earlier part of this article.

The restoration is guaranteed by l. 14, where the reading is clear, despite Spiegelberg's notes of interrogation. Probably *int r bnr* is the equivalent of the modern technical term "to lead off", for which I am indebted to Sir Henry Lyons. The

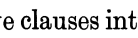
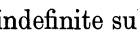
phrase is unlikely to be a mere expression for “take possession of”. Note that the preposition *r* is omitted here in the future relative *nty iw-f (r) sdm*, as often from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards.¹ So too in the non-relative use, ll. 14, 15.



13.   see above on l. 8. The god’s statement that Nesubast had claimed “flowing wells” in the plural is not borne out by the words of the petitioner in l. 6, where reference is made only to the single well of Weben-Rēr. Nevertheless, we can hardly imagine that the oracle is according a right that had not been asked, and we shall later find, in the inscription at the top of the stela, a mysterious reference to a flowing well of a different name.



14. I cannot restore the words before *itn*, and the traces before this word seem definitely to exclude  as suggested by Spiegelberg.

The first *smn* is imperative, as above in l. 10. On  see now Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*², § 522; also my note on *Wenamün* 2. 54.


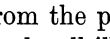
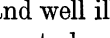
14–15. The expression “son to son, heir to heir” is known as far back as the Decree of Antef from Koptos, ll. 6. 12, but occurs also in other inscriptions of this period, *e.g.* in the Decree in favour of Isiemkheb, l. 26=Maspero, *Momies royales*, p. 706; the Decree of Amenophis, son of Hapu, l. 4.


15. Note the two virtual relative clauses introduced by  and  respectively, and referring to the indefinite subject *ky šri nmh*.

16. For the strange writing  Griffith long ago quoted to me a Greek equivalent *ορταις τοπαις* for , but whether the assimilation of these two titles is responsible for the presence of the *p* here I am unable to judge.

16–17.  is an apparently military title common at this period, see Meyer, *Gottesstaat*, &c., p. 7, n. 9; p. 8, n. 1; it is thus quite distinct from the title , which, as its extension in l. 3 showed, refers to his governorship of the Oasis.








17. Spiegelberg failed to realize that *matwāher*—the vocalization here given to the word is of course purely fictitious—is a title or name of some employment. The word looks Libyan and the meaning is unknown.

18. For  “shieldbearer” see *Wörterbuch*, v, 59. The title “captain of shield-bearers” may possibly occur again in the address of a letter from El-Hibeh published by Spiegelberg, where I read from the photograph , *Ä.Z.*, LIII, Pl. 2. Spiegelberg’s transcription gives  and well illustrates the danger of the old and over-facile method of transcription which represents by definite hieroglyphs what the Egyptians deliberately made indefinite. This method could be safely adopted only if our knowledge of Late Egyptian were perfect, which is far from being the case.²

There is reason to think, as Spiegelberg has pointed out *Ä.Z.*, LIII, 109, n. 2, that  meant a military “recruit” or the like, who in peace time cultivated the land on behalf of some estate-owner. In stating that the term was a designation of labourers and slaves, the Berlin dictionary (II, 83) accords to the *mnh* too low a rank.

¹ I take this opportunity of again (see *Journal*, xvi, 224, n. 1) emphasizing the fact that the future *nty iw-f sdm* (or *hr sdm* for *r sdm*) is always future. Failure to observe this grammatical detail may lead to serious historical misinterpretation. Thus the stela Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 36–7, does not refer, as Meyer (*Gottesstaat*, p. 6) supposed, apparently on the basis of Breasted’s translation (*Ancient Records*, iv, § 676), to the restoration of the tomb of Nemrat which had been plundered, but merely threatens death to any men who might plunder it—*nty iw ty*, l. 3.

² It is to be regretted that Erman, in the second edition of his *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, § 41, does not lend the sanction of his weighty opinion to a method of transcription which every progressively minded student must deem an essential reform.

20. Spiegelberg translates the title of Penamūn as "der Priester vom Amonshause", but this would be a most unusual expression, the word *hm-ntr* being always combined with the name of a god, not with that of a temple. We have seen in the note on l. 6 that the engraver regularly uses  in place of  or . I hesitatingly suggest that here   is written for   Amenāpe, the god of Luxor and of Djēme.

For the name *Pn-Gbg* Griffith compares the Greek transcriptions *Πακῆβκισ*, *Πακοῖβκισ*, variants of *Πακοῖβκισ*. The end of this name and the whole of that following are now lost and are restored from Sir Henry Lyons's hand-copy (Spiegelberg, p. 20), supplemented by the published photograph.

The expressions used in the inscription were addressed to a public well acquainted with both the natural resources and the administrative practice of the Oasis. This knowledge not being vouchsafed to ourselves, we have to base our interpretation upon such information as is available as to present-day conditions in the same region, supplementing it with a little imagination. The picture thus disclosed is as follows. At the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty troubles had broken out in the Oasis, and the new Libyan Pharaoh Shoshenḳ I found himself constrained to send thither as the new governor a close relative, the prince Wayheset. In times of turmoil and civil disorder property is apt to be usurped and any title to it called in question, so that one of Wayheset's first acts would naturally be to inspect the wells upon which the prosperity of the Oasis depended. When the prince was in the town of Sa-waḥet, a certain priest of Sētekh named Nesubast petitioned him to look into the ownership of the land adjacent to the flowing well of Weben-Rēc, alleging that this well had belonged to his mother. The claim was based in the first instance upon the fact that a new sheet of inundation water had appeared in the neighbourhood, and Nesubast contended that the area covered by it was fed by the well of Weben-Rēc and by no other. Judgements at this period being delivered by oracle, Wayheset cited Nesubast to appear before Sētekh, the god of the Oasis, at his approaching festival. On the appointed day the prince himself put the questions to the god, who signified his verdict by movements visible to the various witnesses whose names are appended at the end of the inscription. The shrine of the deity had doubtless been carried from the Holy of Holies to the hypostyle hall, and there, resting on the shoulders of priests, was jerked upwards or downwards in the prescribed manner to betoken the divine assent or dissent. Needless to say, it was the prince Wayheset who really determined the issue. None of the parties can have been unaware of this fact, but nevertheless the verdict was devoutly accepted as coming from the god.¹ Probably Nesubast put forward his claims in several separate utterances, but after his first words, which are quoted in abbreviated form, only the oracular responses are recorded. Some examination of documents, as we shall see, must have preceded the trial. The decisions are given in four distinct oracles. The first declared that the claim of Nesubast was just, and that the inundated ground to the north-west of the flowing well of Weben-Rēc did in fact belong to his mother Tewḥenut, the daughter of Ḥententēre. The second oracle stated the grounds for this judgement: only one flowing well was connected with Weben-Rēc in this tract of land known as Pi-Rēc, and that single well was found inscribed in Tewḥenut's name upon official records copied from others of the nineteenth year of one of the two kings named Psusennes, and published as authoritative by the controller ʿOnkhef, the son of Setnakhte. A third reply gave Nesubast yet further rights. It appeared that all the flowing wells to the west of the town of Sa-waḥet, including of course that of Weben-Rēc, were derivatives of the wells known as those of Ḥuy, which were not

¹ See the interesting analysis in Meyer, *Gottesstaat*, pp. 8 ff.

40, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

^a But without Ⓣ below l. 14. ^b As in the vertical line of hieratic at top. ^c Crowded, but certain. ^d Ⓣ ; the first sign very unlike Ⓣ in l. 3; hardly Ⓣ . ^e For <9> Δ . ^f Clear, except Δ . ^g sic; no room for Ⓣ . ^h Certain. ⁱ I saw Ⓣ and noted: neither hmt nor wbn is possible.

The Dakhleh Stela
 Lines 8-13

1. ... 2. ... 3. ... 4. ... 5. ... 6. ... 7. ... 8. ... 9. ... 10. ... 11. ... 12. ... 13. ... 14. ... 15. ... 16. ... 17. ... 18. ... 19. ... 20. ... 21. ... 22. ... 23. ... 24. ... 25. ... 26. ... 27. ... 28. ... 29. ... 30. ... 31. ... 32. ... 33. ... 34. ... 35. ... 36. ... 37. ... 38. ... 39. ... 40. ... 41. ... 42. ... 43. ... 44. ... 45. ... 46. ... 47. ... 48. ... 49. ... 50. ... 51. ... 52. ... 53. ... 54. ... 55. ... 56. ... 57. ... 58. ... 59. ... 60. ... 61. ... 62. ... 63. ... 64. ... 65. ... 66. ... 67. ... 68. ... 69. ... 70. ... 71. ... 72. ... 73. ... 74. ... 75. ... 76. ... 77. ... 78. ... 79. ... 80. ... 81. ... 82. ... 83. ... 84. ... 85. ... 86. ... 87. ... 88. ... 89. ... 90. ... 91. ... 92. ... 93. ... 94. ... 95. ... 96. ... 97. ... 98. ... 99. ... 100. ... End ... about 16 groups ... 4-5 groups ...

a I see ... Sp. read ... before itr, apparently wrongly. ... Sp. ... I think wrongly. d Or else a short line, like l. 18, with no lacuna. e ... Sp read ... but I seemed to me impossible. f Exactly like ... elsewhere, but perhaps understand as ... I see ... of dyons apud Sp. g See phot, Sp. & dyons, now lost; ... abnormal in shape. h Phot. shows ...; on original I read ... as certain, preceded by ...; the latter are evidently, wrong.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON A HARVESTING SCENE

BY WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN

With Plate viii

IN this *Journal*, VIII, 235 ff., I published a paper called *Some Occurrences of the Corn-‘arūseh in Ancient Egyptian Tomb Paintings*. I pointed out that a particular figure, which was apparently somewhat of a puzzle to Egyptologists, was most probably an ancient ‘*arūset el-kamh* (bride of the corn), an object made of ears of corn which is to be found in Egypt at the present day under this name.¹ The loaves of bread represented in these ancient pictures I also explained by the modern custom of placing loaves of bread in amongst the grain after winnowing, but at the time I had not actually seen this done. The following information was given to me by three or four independent witnesses with regard to this custom, and, as will be seen, the details vary slightly.

One informant told me that when the heaps of wheat, beans, and the like are standing ready to be winnowed, the owner brings some loaves of bread, dates, and other foodstuffs in the evening and puts them in among the grain. The men who winnow it on the following day eat this food, together with any people who happen to be present. These gifts are regarded as *baraka* and are believed to ensure plenty, both of the grain to be winnowed and of the harvest in the following year. On the other hand, at El-Lāhūn I was told that the bread was put in the heaps of wheat only, and after, not before, it was winnowed; also that the gift of bread was the perquisite of the man who did the winnowing and was not shared with others.

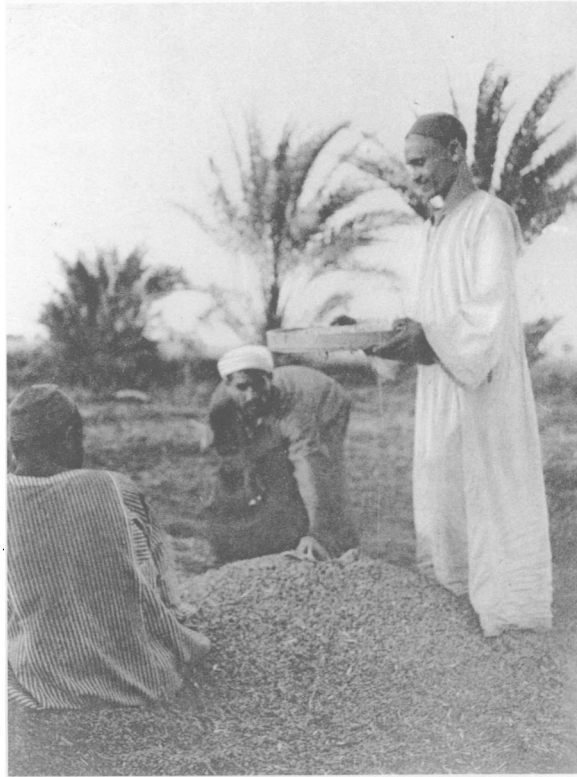
Again, another man said that, in the case of beans, bread and cheese are brought by the owner just before sunset, the beans having been already winnowed. These gifts remain thus buried all night, and the man who removes the beans to the owner’s granaries eats this food after he has completed his work. Should the owner remove the beans he himself will eat the gifts of food.

The photographs reproduced here were taken by me at the time when some beans were being winnowed, when I myself saw this ceremony. The gift of bread was placed on the heap of beans (Pl. viii, fig. 1) when a certain amount had been winnowed, in the last process of which they had been shaken in a sieve. The mound of beans was flattened at the top, and the owner placed the bread on this; the rest of the beans were then sieved over it. The servant I had at the time, a Fayyūmī Arab, told me that cheese also is sometimes placed with the bread.

With regard to the *kullah* of water standing in a hollow on the pile of beans (Pl. viii, fig. 2), I was told that some of this water may be drunk during the night by *mashāyikh min taht el-ard* (sheikhs under the earth);² and that on the following day—for the *kullah* is placed on the mound before sunset when the bread is placed inside the pile—any people who happen to come to the spot and require a drink may refresh themselves from the *kullah*. Moreover, the water, as well as the bread, is believed to ensure a plentiful harvest

¹ N. de G. Davis, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, 63 ff., and Pl. xviii. See also W. S. Blackman, *The Fellāhīn of Upper Egypt*, 171–2.

² See W. S. Blackman, *op. cit.*, 104.



I



2

A modern Egyptian harvest custom

1. Placing the bread on the heap of winnowed beans
2. The *kullah* of water placed on the heap

in the ensuing year, as well as a good supply for the current year, so that the owner may have sufficient for all his needs.

Thus the three objects found in the harvest scenes as depicted in the Tomb of Nakht at Thebes and in the New Kingdom Tombs Nos. 38 and 57, namely, the ancient "bride of the corn", the loaves of bread, and the vessel of water, are found still to persist in modern times in association with the harvest. What the water and loaves were used for in ancient times must, I suppose, still remain problematical, though perhaps they were offerings to the figure now called "bride of the corn", or to the harvest goddess, Ernūtet.

AN UNPUBLISHED ROCK-TOMB AT ASYÛT

By ROSALIND MOSS

I SHOULD like to draw attention to a rock-tomb at Asyût which has not been published as far as I am aware. It lies at the foot of the hill behind the modern slaughter-house (whence its local name of "Salkhana tomb"), and belonged to another Hēpzefa, also nomarch of the Lycopolite nome. Planned on the same colossal scale as that of his well-known namesake, this tomb consists of an unfinished outer court with subsidiary tombs, a pillared hall, an inner hall, and a vaulted passage, beyond which is the sanctuary with three niches in the west wall. The large pillared hall is now roofless, but on the jambs of the doorway leading to the interior are remains of titles of the deceased, part of an inscribed architrave is lying on the ground, and the right (north-west) wall of the hall is still covered with inscriptions to a great height. This, however, is so badly destroyed that it is impossible to make out much, but the greater part consists of a long vertical text containing epithets of Hēpzefa, who apparently lived in the reign of Amenemhat II, and is described as hereditary prince and overseer of prophets. Then follows the usual address to the living, and next to it is a contract (𓂏𓂛𓂏) in tabular form. It was on the floor at the south-east end of this hall that a large number of New Kingdom stelae leaning against the walls were found by Mr. Wainwright in 1922 when clearing the tomb for the Service des Antiquités; the demotic papyri described by Sottas in *Ann. Serv.*, xxiii, 34-46, were discovered at the same time high up in the rubbish near the centre of the hall.

Opening out of the court are small tombs of one or two chambers, of about the same date, three of which have inscribed doorways, while one has remains of painted scenes in the interior. Of these, two on the north and south sides of the court belonged to overseers of sealers, named Hēpzefa 𓂏𓂛𓂏, son of Idi 𓂏𓂛𓂏, and Wepu 𓂏𓂛𓂏 whose mother was Khety-ro 𓂏𓂛𓂏, respectively, and one on the west side to Idi 𓂏𓂛𓂏, son of Ipi 𓂏𓂛𓂏, lector and prophet.

THE ADMISSION OF A PRIEST OF SOKNEBTYNIS IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

MERTON DEMOTIC PAPYRI I

By S. R. K. GLANVILLE

With Plate ix

ABOUT three years ago Mr. Wilfred Merton acquired, together with a number of early Greek papyri, a single demotic document, the first in that script to be added to his collection of manuscripts. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Merton for his invitation to publish it here before its appearance in the projected catalogue of his collection.¹




The papyrus itself consists of a single narrow strip, of average height 5½ in. (14.2 cm.) and width 11¾ in. (30.2 cm.). Worm-punctures and larger holes (in part due to the folding of the papyrus) give a ragged appearance to the page,² but have not destroyed much of the writing. The most damaged part, the left-hand edge, is so frayed that it looks at first sight as if part of the document was missing from this end. But although the last signs of two or even three lines are destroyed, the remaining lines seem to be complete, and probably the most that has been lost is a ¼ to a ½ in. of selvage. In any case we need expect no margin, as only a narrow one—½ inch—has been left at top, bottom, and right-hand edge. The material has been economically used with long lines running right across the page.

The provenance of the papyrus is abundantly proved by internal evidence to be Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat ; Umm el-Breigat) in the Fayyûm.³ It is dated in the 29th year of Ptolemy Euergetes II (Pl. ix).

Transcription

Recto

1. *P(?) [zlc(?)]-mt z n wcb·w n Sbk-nb-T^o-tn n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḥ·w^a n ntr·w mr-
yt·w n ntr·w nt pr p ntr <a->tny^b*
2. *yt·f n ntr·w mr-mwt·w n ntr·w mnḥ·w ḥms·w n wcb·w n Sbk-nb-T^o-tn ḥn t wshy^c p cy^d*
3. *mnq mt n(?) Sbk-nb-T^o-tn^e P-te-Ḳsr P-te-Ḳsr e-tbe n sh·w n wcb·w Sbk-nb-Tⁿ e-w z
w^r sp mty-n^f*

^a The broken and somewhat faint signs after | are the  of a redundant determinative (); cf. in this line *yt·w* (where the two plural determinatives are separated by the sign for |), and the irregular  det. of *yt·f* in l. 2. ^b Probably nothing lost beyond the last (incomplete) sign visible. ^c No fem. -*t* in *wshy* as here written; the final sign is the divine det., not the plural, cf. *'rpy* l. 7. ^d Probably nothing lost after *cy*, as that word has clearly been crowded into the available space. ^e The fragmentary signs between *mt* and *T^o-tn* can all be accounted for as part of *Sbk-nb*, with the exception of a short straight stroke which appears to have run into the beginning of *Sbk-*; this can only be *r* or *n*. ^f Probably nothing lost.

¹ I have had constant opportunities to discuss the text with Sir Herbert Thompson; my obligation to him is again much greater than would appear from the explicit acknowledgements that follow.

² The papyrus was not in first-class condition when the document was written: a little to the left of the centre a strip ¼ in. wide had been torn from the surface for about 1½ in. The text is written on the vertical fibres.

³ See below, p. 38.



The Merton Demotic Papyri : No. 1

Scale 3

4. *Pa-ḥe s Pa-Ḥrp a 'r-f wcb *wḏ n Sbk-nb-Tn ḥ-sp 29 tp pr 5 p rn n wcb-w s tpy P-te-Wsr P-te-Wsr [p co-n-]s(?)^h*

5. *Ḥr-wḏ Pa-ḥe s 2-nwⁱ P-mnh-Sbk P-te-Mc-Rc(?)^j Sbk-ḥb(?) s 3-nw Wn-nfr-p-my(?) Sbk-ḥb(?) Pa-ḥe*

6. *Ḥm-ḥwy^k(?) Mc-Rc s 4-nw Wn-nfr Tše(?) Pa-Nt(?) p co Wn-nfr Sbk-ḥb(?) -p-my(?) s 5-nw Sbk-ḥb(?) P-te-Wsr*

7. *Sbk-ḥb(?) Tše(?) Pa-Ḥrp p co Pa-ḥe n wcb-w nt e mnq mt p 'rpy ḥry*

8. *Sh P-te-Wsr P-te-Wsr nt 'r n sh-w n wcb-w*

Verso

. . . .^l *Pa-ḥe Pa-Ḥrp^m*

^h Apparently the *w* of *wḏ* written out; not an elaborate det. of *wcb*; but the sign is damaged. ⁱ The traces after the large lacuna suit *s* ("phyle") very well. ^j Probably only one name lost in the lacuna.

^k Almost certain, cf. the clear reading *Mc-Rc* in the next line. ^l Very faint, but *ḥwy* at least is certain.

^m Traces of four or five signs before *Pa-ḥe*. ⁿ Very faint trace of some six or seven signs after *Pa-Ḥrp*.

Translation

Recto

(1) The registration (?)¹ namely by the priests of Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis,² and the Brother Gods (Philadelphoi), the Beneficent Gods, the Father-loving Gods, the Gods who appear, the God Who-honours- (2) his-Father, the Mother-loving Gods, and the Beneficent Gods (Euergetes II and Cleopatra II and III): there were assembled³ the priests of Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis in the Court⁴ of the House (temple), (3) to take counsel⁵ with (?) Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis, (and?) Petosiris (son of) Petosiris concerning the records of the priests of Soknebtynis; they saying together (*i.e.* with one accord): "We are agreed (upon)⁶ (4) Pakhes son of Paapis, that he shall be⁷ a *wḏ*⁸ priest of Soknebtynis. Year 29, Tobi 5,⁹ in the name of the priests: 1st phyle—Petosiris (son of) Petosiris [the phyl-]arch (?),¹⁰ (5) Haryothes (son of) Pakhes; 2nd phyle (son of) *Pemenkh-Sobek*, Petemarres (?) (son of) Sokonopis (?);¹¹ 3rd phyle—Onnophris (son of) Pmois, (*or* *Onnophripmois¹² son of) Sokonopis (?) (son of) Pakhes, (6) *Hemkhuy* (?)¹³ (son of) Marres; 4th phyle—Onnophris (son of) *Tše*(?),¹⁴ *Pa-Net*(?) the elder, (son of) Onnophris, Sokonopis (?) (son of) Pmois (*or* (son of) Sokonoppmois);¹² 5th phyle—Sokonopis (?) (son of) Petosiris, (7) Sokonopis (son of) *Tše*(?),¹⁴ Paapis the elder, (son of) Pakhes—(being) the councillor priests (of) the temple aforesaid."

(8) Written by Petosiris (son of) Petosiris who keeps the records¹⁵ of the priests.

Verso

. . . . Pakhes (son of) Paapis¹⁶

Notes

1. I owe the suggested reading *zlc* before *mt* to Sir Herbert Thompson, but it is by no means certain. Assuming *p* for the first sign of the line to be correct, only a bare trace of the beginning of the next word follows and little more than a trace at the end of the tear, which might be the tail of *ϣ* in *zlc*. If that is so the word is here written without its usual determinative *ϣ* (see references quoted in the next paragraph), the possible explanation being that *zlc-mt* was regarded as one word, only requiring one det. after *mt*, since both component parts take the same determinative, *ϣ*.

The reading *zlc-mt*, if correct, makes good sense in the context. The compound word means "record", "contract" in general (= *χηματισμός* in Canopus and Rosetta: Spiegelberg, *Dem. Texte d. Priesterdekrete*, Gloss. no. 416; cf. Sethe, *Dem. Urk. . . . Bürgschaftsrechte*, 111 and 135-6). Note also *cy n zlc-mt* in B.M. 10591, 3. 15, 10. 22, etc. (unpublished); and, for the more restricted sense suggested here, the same papyrus 10. 17-19 and vs. 3. 19 *zlc t wpy*, "to record or register the judgement" (I owe these references to Thompson). A similar sense is perhaps to be found in P. Elephantine (ed. Spiegelberg) 7. 14, but it is not possible to make anything of the signs immediately following *zlc* in that passage.

2. The writing of the god's name and description shows two forms in this papyrus, apparently used without any distinction of meaning. In the longer form the town is spelt *T³-tn*, in the shorter it seems to be reduced to *Tn*. To preserve the distinction in the translation, I have called *Sbk-nb-T³-tn* Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis, and *Sbk-nb-Tn* "Soknebtunis". But in fact the pronunciation of both spellings was presumably the same. Compare the three forms found in the demotic papyri at Cairo from Tebtynis (ed. Spiegelberg, *Cat. Gen.*): *Sbk-nb-Tn* in Cairo 30612, a. 6 and b. 4; 30617, a. 4 and b. 4; 30622, 11; 30630, 6; 31223, 3 and 4; 50016, 1 and 4; *Sbk-nb-T³-tn* in 30620, 6; 30623, 5; 31212, 3 and 6; and *Sbk-t-nb-T³-tn* (cf. Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 5) in 30605, 4; 30606, 5; 30618, vs. 5 (?); 31179, 5. There does not, however, seem to be any other example of the alternative spellings occurring in the same papyrus.

3. *hms* in the technical sense of an assembly of priests is found in a number of papyri from Tebtynis at Cairo; P. 30605, 4, 5; 30606, 4 and 6; 30619, 2 and 3; 31178, 3; and in Griffith, *Rylands Cat.*, Papyrus xxv, 4.

4. *wshy(t)* generally in demotic of the Halls of Osiris in the Underworld (e.g. II Khamuas, 2. 2-4; P. Berlin 8351 (ed. Spiegelberg), 4. 20; Paris, *Todtenbuch* (ed. Lexa), *passim*), retains its classical use as "hall" or "court" of a temple in a building inscription from the Serapeum, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 971, ll. 1 and 3, and in Griffith, *Ryl.*, P. xxv, 4, where the same phrase (*hms hn t wshy*) is used as in the Merton papyrus, and of a similar assembly of priests. (See Griffith, *op. cit.*, 154, n. 3.)

5. For the meaning see the three passages in Canopus quoted by Spiegelberg, *Priesterdekrete*, Gloss. no. 143. That this rather special use of *mnq mt* is required here is shown by a second occurrence of the idiom below (l. 7) in almost precisely the same phrase as is found in Canopus. The syntax in l. 3 is, however, unexpected. *Mnq mt* with this technical sense in the examples quoted, including l. 7 below in this papyrus, is always used intransitively, without even an indirect object. At first sight, therefore, it seems hazardous to assume a usage *mnq mtr* or *n* "to take counsel with" in the present passage, but the context demands it, and some support is to be found in two demotic fragments in Cairo, P. 31123 and P. 50016. In both these the last line contains enough to recognize the well-attested expression *n wcb-w mnq mt* (as Spiegelberg, *Cat.*, p. 309 notes); but in addition the phrase *mnq mt* or fragments of it occurs twice in P. 31223 and once in P. 50016 towards the beginning of the text, in the last instance followed by *e³r* and a personal name. Enough of these fragments is left to show that they follow in the main the scheme of our text, and it is highly probable from its position and especially from the occurrence of *r-f wcb Sbk-nb-Tn* in the next line that *mnq mt e³r N* in P. Cairo 50016, 3 corresponds closely to *mnq mt n Sbk-nb-T³-tn* in l. 3 of the Merton papyrus.

A more serious objection perhaps to this interpretation lies in the necessity to insert "and" between "Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis" and "Petosiris". Though by no means impossible grammatically, this relationship between the god and the priest is unexpected. But the only escape is to assume that a title of Petosiris has been lost before

Tebtynis and is to be read instead of *Sbk-nb*; and this seems against all reason in front of the traces.

6. *nty* here apparently used transitively, without even a preposition before the object. For only a small low sign could have been lost in the hole after *nty-n* without leaving any traces, and the scribe's pen had practically run dry on the last stroke of *nty-n* and had been freshly filled at the beginning of the next line. Exactly the same use of *nty* is perhaps to be found in P. Cairo 50016, 2 and 5, though in each case the context is insufficient to give certainty as to the syntax, and *nty* here may even be a personal name.

The formula *e-w z wꜥ sp* (for *n wꜥ sp*—see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.*, § 412—or $\epsilon\omega\gamma\tau\sigma\eta$) occurs in the agreements of the priests' associations for the provision of cults, P. Cairo 30605, 5, etc. (see *exx.* quoted in n. 3).

7. The classical use of *'ry* with a title meaning "to be such and such (title)" is retained in Demotic (Griffith, *Ryl.*, P. IX, 5, 16,¹ etc.; Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, 7,* e, ϵ). The present formula occurs in both the Cairo fragments, 31223, 3 *Pa-mnh(?) 'r-f wꜥb Sbk-nb-tn p rn n wꜥb-w*, and 4 *Pa- . . 'r-f wꜥb Sbk-nb-Tn* (rest lost); 50016, 4 *Pa-Mr . . . 'r-f wꜥb Sbk-nb-Tn* (rest lost), and is there taken to have its usual meaning by Spiegelberg, *Cat. Gen.*, 333. Is it possible, however, to translate "we are agreed to make him a priest"?

8. There can be no doubt of the reading *wꜥd*, but no use of the word in connexion with the priesthood is known, nor any title. Thompson suggests a possible meaning "full" (derived from the root "be sound"), indicating that the priesthood granted was the complete office of *wꜥb* as opposed to minor posts in the temple service. Or could it mean that the candidate was "sound", *i.e.* that his claims were valid and that he had passed all the necessary tests, *e.g.* proved his priestly descent, etc.? We know very little of the requirements demanded in Ptolemaic times, but for the first and second centuries A.D. a detailed picture of the strict investigation of claims to the priesthood in this particular temple is to be found in the Greek papyri (Grenfell, Hunt and Goodspeed, *Tebtynis II*, 54 ff.).

9. *i.e.* December 31, 142 B.C.

10. I have little doubt in my mind that *s* is the correct reading of the last word. If so *co-n-s* follows almost automatically as the restoration of the lacuna. Some title other than "secretary" (*nt 'r n sh-w*, l. 8) is needed to explain the very important position given to Petosiris in l. 3, and "great one of the phyle (? phylae)" is obviously suitable for the man whose name heads the list of representatives and who is the only one accorded a title. Whether phylarch is the correct equivalent of *co-n-s* in this instance is perhaps questionable (Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, I, 27). For although Canopus l. 9 (dem. text=l. 33 Greek) explicitly states that each of the five phylae has (or is to have) an *co-n-s*, which is there equated with $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$, in the Merton papyrus the implication is that Petosiris was the sole phylarch for the five phylae represented.

11. The equation *Sbk-ḥb(?) = σοκονῶπις* is assumed with a query by Spiegelberg in his catalogue of the Cairo papyri, where the name occurs very frequently (see under Sokonopis in the list of personal names). Both there and here the second part of the name in demotic looks like *ḥb* and nothing like *Hꜥp*, which is, however, presumably the origin of the Greek form. [But *cf.* *Ta-Sbk-Hꜥp* in P. Cairo 30607, the mother of the first contracting party, in whose name *Hꜥp* is written out in full as we should expect it. Spiegelberg suggests the equation $\tau\alpha\sigma\upsilon\gamma\hat{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma(?)$.]

12. I cannot find any other example of this combination, but *cf.* the possible

¹ Griffith, *op. cit.*, 226, n. 5 suggests that in this passage *'ry wꜥb* might have the special sense "qualify as priest", which would suit very well in P. Merton.


Sokonoppmois in l. 6, which certainly does exist—if not here, in P. Cairo 30613 (first party to contract), etc. (Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, index of proper names, *s.v.*).

13. Though very faint and slightly damaged by a worm-hole there can be little doubt that this is the same name as occurs three times in the list of priests, P. Cairo 30605, 2. 3 and 6, and 3. 1. In the first two instances the affiliation is the same as in our papyrus, but the former is distinguished as “the elder”. Spiegelberg suggests *Hm-r* as the first element of the name (there is no doubt as to *hwv*) but Thompson points out that the curious sign is really a det., and that *Hm-hwv* is probably the reading of the name.

14. The word occurs again, much more clearly written, in the next line, where *tme* seems to be the obvious reading. But there is no place for the only known word *tme*, “village”, “town”, etc., in this context. The alternatives are (1) it is an unknown title preceding “Pa-net the elder” in this case and “Pa-apis the elder” below, or (2) a phonetic variation of the ending *p-my* which (perhaps) completes the name Sokonoppmois above (see note 12). Some support is lent to this suggestion by the fact that *tme* in the only two cases where it occurs follows immediately on the only two names to which *pmy* is also (perhaps) appended; and in each case the writing with *tme* occurs after the writing with *pmy*. If, however, *Pmy* is a separate name in both cases (as seems most likely) this hypothesis is put out of court.

The only other possibility, and the one adopted here, is that the word is another proper name, namely one that is found (in the same affiliation: Onnophris s. T.) in P. Cairo 30605, 2. 30 and 30606, 2. 3 (Spiegelberg, *Cat.*, pls. xii and xv respectively) and read by him *Tše(?)*.

15. On this specialized use of *r sh* see Sethe, *Bürgs.*, 276.

16. A docket presumably stating the title of the document. The traces before the name are ; those that follow are too faint to copy. The document appears to have been first folded four or five times horizontally, and then not less than six times vertically.

Commentary

The general intention of this short document is quite evident. It is the record of the admission, or election, of a new member to the priesthood of a temple. As such it is the only complete example of its kind¹ among Egyptian texts of any date. Unfortunately there are important points of detail in the document the interpretation of which is uncertain.

The temple concerned is that of Suchos at Tebtynis. The lower course of this building has recently been uncovered by Signori Anti and Bagnani for the Italian Archaeological Mission,² and it is highly probable that one of the courts of the sanctuary now visible is the *wshy* mentioned in l. 2 of the Merton papyrus. A considerable number of papyri were found by the excavators, written in hieratic, demotic, and Greek. Of the last named some have already been published.³ They are all of Roman Imperial date and of no help in the present inquiry. Similarly the series of Greek papyri found by Grenfell and Hunt in the houses of the priests of Soknebtunis⁴ are confined to the first two centuries of our era. But among the large group of demotic papyri from their excavations now in the Cairo Museum, some

¹ The only other similar material is that contained in the two Cairo fragments already referred to, P. 31223 and P. 50016. Spiegelberg had guessed their essential import (*Cat.* 333), from the hint contained in *r-f wcb n Sbk-nb-Tn*, but had naturally been unable to get more out of such fragmentary remains. But if the texts were almost useless by themselves (Spiegelberg did not think them worth transcribing) they become intelligible in the light of the Merton papyrus, and are in turn helpful for its elucidation.

² C. Anti in *Aegyptus*, xi (1931), 389 ff.; *Illustrated London News*, May 30, 1931, 808 ff.

³ *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana. Papyri greci e latini*, x, fasc. 1, nos. 1129–49. (I owe the reference to Mr. T. C. Skeat.)

⁴ *Tebtnis II*, nos. 291–315.

half-dozen¹ are concerned with the organization of the priests of this temple during a period from 180 B.C. (P. Cairo 31178) to 136 B.C. (P. 30618). The present text falls inside this period of forty-four years, but towards the end of it (142 B.C.). Although none of the Cairo documents is of the same date—the closest to it are 31179 at 148/7 B.C. and 30619 at 138/7 B.C.—it might be expected that some of the persons mentioned in them—each contains a list of priests' names—should be found among the signatories to this deed. In fact, though all the individual names which occur in it are found in one combination or another in the Cairo papyri, most of them frequently, *e.g.* Sokonopis, in P. 31179, the one nearest in date to ours, yet there are only three possible equations of persons identified by name and affiliation.

Hr-wd (s) *Pa-he* in l. 5 may be the man recorded in P. Cairo 30606, 2, last line (Spiegelberg, "Haryothes son of Pachois [Paches?]") ; date 158 B.C. *Hm-hwy* (s) *Mc-Rc* (l. 6), in view of the rarity of the first name—it is not recorded elsewhere—must surely be one of the three following in P. Cairo 30605:² *Hm-hwy p co* (s) *Mc-Rc* (the superintendent of the temple **ΛΕΩΝΗΤΕ**) 2. 2; *Hm-hwy s Mc-Rc* (title illegible but *not* **ΛΕΩΝΗΤΕ**) 2. 6; or *Hm-hwy p hm* (affiliation illegible) 3. 1. The date of this text is 157/6 B.C., fifteen years before P. Merton was written, so that "*Hm-hwy* the elder" is the least likely possibility. Finally if *Wn-nfr* (s) *Tše* is the correct reading in l. 6 before *Pa-Net*³ a third equation may be found in "Onnophris son of *Tše* (?)", Cairo 30605, 2. 30, or in "Onnophris son of *Tše* the second", 30606, 2. 3. It will be seen that all these suggested equations are roughly of the same date, but there are none from the two papyri nearer in date to ours. Beyond supplying a hint for the reading of *Hm-hwy* in l. 6 and the possibility of *Tše* in ll. 6 and 7, these equations offer little help towards the understanding of the document.

On examining the text in detail, it becomes clear that, apart from difficulties of actual translation, the interpretation is often ambiguous at crucial points. Thus the key to the precise nature of the document as such is lost in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 1.⁴ If we could with certainty restore *zlc-* before *mt* there would be no doubt that the text was the official record to be filed in the temple archives.⁵ Since the restoration is not certain, the most that can be said is that the missing word must have signified an occasion or statement the sense of which would have been amplified by the rest of the text, as indicated by the introductory *z*. It might be a form of diploma actually given or sent to the new priest; or no more than a minute of proceedings in the court of the *βουλευται ἱερείς*, though the latter is unlikely in view of the docket on the *verso* and the folds already alluded to.⁶

Whatever the technical force of the introductory phrase, it is clearly implied in the words immediately following that the event reported concerned the whole body of priests of Soknebtunis and his *σύνναοι θεοί* the deceased Ptolemies. For after the protocol in the name of *n wcb-w n Sbk-nb-T³-tn*, the protagonists of the story are carefully distinguished as the *βουλευται ἱερείς* of the temple.⁷ (Even if they were not specified as such in l. 7, the unaccustomed use of *mnq mt* in l. 3 would still be sufficient to proclaim the scribe's intention to indicate these priests as the formal governing body described in the Canopus inscription.)

It is there laid down⁸ that each of the five phylae should elect five representatives⁹ who

¹ Those enumerated in n. 3, p. 36, and P. 30618 and 31179.

² See n. 13, p. 38 above.

³ See n. 14, p. 38 above.

⁴ See n. 1, p. 35 above.

⁵ Though the creases in the papyrus rather suggest that the document had been folded in the manner of a letter (see *Journal*, xiv (1928), 302). In that case, would it be the letter to a royal or other civil official giving formal notice of the admission of Pakhes? (But the traces on the *verso* contain apparently no other name than "Pakhes s. Paapis.")

⁶ See above, n. 16, p. 38.

⁷ See n. 5, p. 36.

⁸ Canopus, hierogl. text 15, 16 = demot. 8, 9 = Greek 29, 30.

⁹ Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 37, stresses the representational character of the councillors, implying a much larger number of priests in each phyle.

were to form this body of councillors. Was this number consistent for all the large temples,¹ as Blackman seems to suggest?² Even if not, we should still expect each phyle to supply the same number of representatives. Yet it is difficult to arrange the names here given so as to discover an equal representation on this occasion. (It can be no more than a coincidence that, if it is assumed that no affiliations were given (with the single exception of Petosiris s. of Petosiris, from which there is no escape in view of his designation both before and after his mention in the list of phyle priests), there are exactly twenty-five persons listed (*i.e.* the number stipulated in Canopus); for they are quite unequally divided among the phylae.) The first two phylae send two priests each; but to limit the number of the last three to two each also, it is necessary to admit that in each of these phylae one man had to be distinguished by the affiliation of his father as well as himself, and to consent to *tme(?)* in ll. 6, 7 being part of the preceding name or a title before the name that follows.³ It may be simpler to suppose that phylae 3-5 did in fact send three representatives apiece to the council. The hypothesis provokes further questions: Was this disproportion accidental? Could it have been due to the illness of some of the priests who should have been present? Was attendance at these council meetings not more compulsory than that of members of a club committee at the election of a new candidate? Is it conceivable that the full strength of the council was 20 or even 25 when only 13 at most were present?

The last and most interesting problem is the real nature of the admission to the priesthood which Pakhes received by virtue of the decision recorded in this document. It may be that it is useless to conjecture further until we know the significance of the word *wḏ* which qualifies "priest" in l. 4. If *wḏ* here implies some distinction within the priesthood, then the document is no more than the grant by the body of priests of certain privileges in their gift to one who is already of their number. But this is not the impression given by the whole text; nor would this explanation be applicable to the Cairo fragments, where there is never any qualification of *wcb* in the phrase *ʿr-f wcb* and the word *wḏ* does not occur. We are therefore thrown back on the assumption that this is the admission of a new member to the priesthood. But Blackman⁴ points out that the hieroglyphic text of Canopus (14 and again 34-5) states (as it were in parenthesis) that the *king* admitted new priests. However, neither demotic nor Greek version mentions the king, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the hieroglyphic either preserves an archaic form of words (which goes back to a time when the king as chief priest did induct new priests), or refers to a current fiction (derived from the same source as the alternative above) that the king as head of the religion of the country appointed all new members of the priesthood—a fiction which would be most appropriately expressed in the hieroglyphic account. This last procedure, however, would have been difficult in practice. The king's authority in the matter may have been delegated; and in the case of the appointment of ordinary priests the council of the temple might reasonably be entrusted with the duty. On that hypothesis the Merton papyrus would be the official record, either for filing or for transmission to some other authority, of the actual election or admission⁵ of Pakhes son of Paapis to the priesthood of the temple of Soknebtynis.

¹ That of Soknebtynis is definitely stated to belong to the most important class of temple (*ἱερά λόγμια*) in Roman times (Grenfell, Hunt, Goodspeed, *Tebtunis II*, no. 292, l. 5), and we know it was one of the most important temples of Suchos in the Fayyûm in Ptolemaic times from *Tebtunis I*, no. 60, 10 (and elsewhere), where the god is called *θεὸς μέγας μέγας*.

² Hastings, *Encycl. Religion and Ethics; Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian)*, p. 298.

³ See n. 14, p. 38.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 300.

⁵ The wording of the document suggests that Pakhes had applied for admission rather than that he was the only fortunate candidate among a number up for election. Examples of such applications are

There is no indication of the tests he would have had to pass to qualify for the post. It is likely that already by this time he would have had to prove his priestly descent,¹ though there is no evidence as to whether genealogical shortcomings could as yet be atoned for by a competence in reading hieratic.²

recorded in Roman times (*Tebtunis II*, nos. 291 ff.). For the stages of procedure necessary to gain admission to the priesthood of Soknebtynis in the second century A.D. see *op. cit.*, introduction to no. 292, p. 59.

¹ Blackman, *op. cit.*, 299.

² *Tebtunis II*, no. 291, ll. 40–3.

THE BULL STANDARDS OF EGYPT

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT





FOUR of the nomes of the Delta had standards displaying a bull accompanied by some other object. They were the Sixth Xoïs , the Tenth Athribis , the Eleventh the Cabasite , and the Twelfth Sebennytus . Newberry has already shown that the emblems on these standards are the sacred objects of their districts, and that the symbol in front of the bull in each case is not to be interpreted as an epithet, but is itself a sacred object.¹ In fact



FIG. 1.

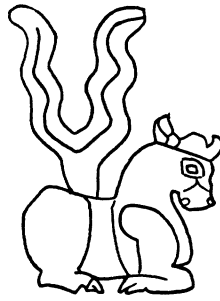


FIG. 2.

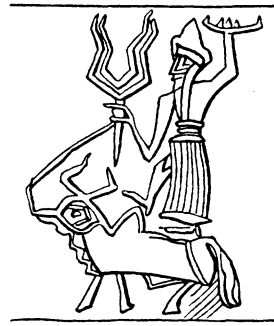








FIG. 3.

the  and  represent the capital cities of their respective nomes without the help of the bull, and a god is known whose symbol was .

The cult of the bull was, therefore, widely spread in the Delta, but Egyptology does not of itself provide enough evidence to explain the meaning of the standards. Fortunately, however, numerous parallels may be found in neighbouring lands with which to interpret such scraps of information as Egypt affords. A study of these shows that throughout the Near East the bull very commonly represents the sky- or storm-god. It is important, therefore, to realize that the  and the  which represent him elsewhere in the Near East also appear with his bull on the standards in Egypt. Moreover, the , another of the bull's associates here, gives evidence of being a meteorite, the missile of the storm-god. The bull standards of Egypt evidently show forth the majesty of the sky- and storm-god in his various manifestations.

In the first place it is necessary to establish the fact that, outside Egypt at any rate, the bull very widely represented the sky- or storm-god. In Mesopotamia from the time of Hammurabi (2100 B.C.) onwards the bull often acts as a support for the lightning flashes³ and for the storm-god himself, Figs. 1, 2, 3.⁴ Similarly in Minoan and Mycenaean art he

¹ Newberry in *Ancient Egypt*, I, 7, 8.

² E.g., Sethe, *Die altaeg. Pyramidentexte*, § 1013; Griffith, in Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, I, 26.

³ Fig. 1 is drawn from Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Ramman*, col. 27, fig. 2; W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, figs. 430, 468; again in the Kassite period, L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones, etc.*, Pl. xci, from which Fig. 2 is drawn; de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, VII, fig. 455, no. 16. For a useful catalogue see Schlobies, *Der akkadische Wettergott*, 27 ff. (*Mitt. altor. Gesells.*, 1).

⁴ As will appear in the following pages. Fig. 3 is drawn from Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 461.

supports the *labrys* or double axe (Fig. 4).¹ The weapon represented both the god and the goddess,² just as in Babylonia the lightning had originally been held by a goddess³ but later passed to the god. In Crete the god was armed and descended from the sky,⁴ there was an omphalos,⁵ and double axes were dedicated in the Dictaeon Cave⁶, a spot sacred to Zeus, the storm-god. Elsewhere, both the double (Fig. 5)⁷ and the single axe (Fig. 6)⁸ are weapons of the storm-gods. The axe is, therefore, a skeuomorphic representation of the lightning, and with reason, for both it and the lightning split whatever they strike.⁹

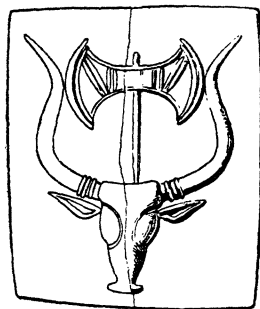


FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

In fact the connexion between the bull and the lightning and the axe became so intimate that implements have been found made in the form of a bull. In them the body of the animal forms the socket while the blade occupies the space between the legs, and on the blade itself there is in each case a tripartite figure which no doubt originated in the lightning flashes.¹⁰ The thunderbolt is the meteorite.¹¹ Hence it is significant that at Tyre Astarte

¹ Fig 4 is drawn from Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 388. For others see Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, I, Pl. xlv, nos. 353-4, of which about fifty-six examples were found, Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (Sellers' transl.), 249; A. S. Murray and others, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Fig. 67, no. 844; Evans, *op. cit.*, I, Fig. 312 c shows the *labrys* hanging above the bull's head.

² Though so common, it is only twice held by a deity, once by a winged god (from Melos?), Cook, *Zeus*, II, Fig. 419, and once in Crete by the goddess, Evans, *op. cit.*, I, Fig. 312 a. This would connect her with the meteorite goddess Artemis, to whom double axes were dedicated at Ephesus (Hogarth, *Excav. at Ephesus*, 337, 338, and Index, s.v. *Double Axe*) and who carries the single one at Laodicea ad Mare (Wroth, *Cat. Greek Coins: Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria*, Pl. xxxi, fig. 5, and p. 263, no. 113). Evans quotes other Artemis-like characteristics of hers, *op. cit.*, II, 842 ff.

³ Ward, *op. cit.*, Figs. 127, 134, and 133?.

⁴ Evans, *op. cit.*, I, Fig. 115; II, Fig. 557, and Fig. 194 e from Mycenae.

⁵ Id., *op. cit.*, II, 838 ff. and Fig. 555.

⁶ Hogarth in *B.S.A.*, VI, 108-9, 114.

⁷ Fig. 5 is drawn from Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Dolichenus*. Zeus carries the double axe on the coins of many cities in Caria, and was god of Labranda "The City of the Labrys", Cook, *Zeus*, II, 572 ff. and Figs. 492, 497. At the omphalos and meteorite city, Delphi, double axes were deposited in the foundations of the temple and near the altar of Apollo the light-god, Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, v, 120, 121, cf. also p. 1; for those of Artemis at Ephesus see n. 2 *supra*.

⁸ Fig. 6 is drawn from Koldewey, *Die hettitische Inschrift*, Pl. i (*Wiss. Veröffentlichungen d. deutsch. or. Gesells.* 1900, Heft i). Others are: von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, III, Pl. xli; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, fig. facing p. 451; Th. Danguin in *Syria*, x, Pl. xxxii (following p. 200).

⁹ Cf. also Zeus' eagle, which grasps the *labrys* instead of the usual lightning, Cook, *op. cit.*, II, 573.

¹⁰ Cook, *op. cit.*, II, Figs. 542, 543.

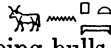
¹¹ *Journal*, XVIII, 5 ff.

set the head of a bull (*ταύρου*) upon her own before going forth to find the meteorite, the "star fallen from the sky (*ἀεροπετῆ ἀστέρα*), which she took up and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre".¹

In Babylonia Enlil was the storm-god,² and is addressed in such terms as "the Bull to his sanctuary", "a sturdy mountain bull", "a sturdy bull art thou".³ A hymn apostrophizes him as him "who lies in the lands like a mighty steer".⁴

Hadad or Ramman also has a bull, whether in Syria his original home or in Assyria his adopted home. He appears in art about the time of Hammurabi, holding his lightning flashes and riding on his bull,⁵ and may often be seen later.⁶ In many cities throughout North Syria a storm-god was worshipped in classical times whom there is every reason to identify with Hadad, and a bull, or a pair of bulls, always accompanies him. At his own city of Baalbek (Heliopolis) he was called Zeus Adados as well as Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and here his bulls are shown as very young with their horns only just beginning to sprout.⁷ At Doliche, modern Aintab, there was the famous thunder-god, who brandished the double axe and thunderbolt, and was known to the classical world as Jupiter Dolichenus. He regularly stands upon his bull (Fig. 5).⁸ For the classical age the list might be greatly lengthened, but this must suffice for the present. Finally attention should be drawn to the two Assyrian words *rīmu*, the one of which means "wild ox" and the other "thunder".⁹ These can hardly be dissociated from Hadad's other name Ramman "the Bellow", which is believed to have been derived from the Babylonian root *ramāmu*, "to roar, bellow".¹⁰

Zeus, the Greek storm-god, was intimately related to the bull. He became one in order to carry off Europa to Crete,¹¹ where later the bull-man, the Minotaur, was begotten by a bull sent by the same god.¹² The "shield" found in Zeus' most holy sanctuary, the Idaean Cave in Crete, shows the god stepping upon a bull.¹³

Thus the bull commonly represented the sky- and storm-gods all round the eastern Mediterranean. It is therefore hardly likely that so common an idea should have been absent from Egypt. As a matter of fact there had been a bull in early Egypt, who, though he soon lost his importance, was still prominent in the Pyramid Texts. He was  "The Bull of the Sky",¹⁴ who is clearly the Egyptian representative of the foregoing bulls. If confirmation of this innate probability were required, it would be found in the curious detail that the horn of the Bull of the Sky is said to "shine"¹⁵ just as in Babylonia the horn of Enlil's bull is said to do.¹⁶ In Egypt the Bull of the Sky is first met in the middle of the prehistoric period, for what must be his head is represented on a palette from Gerzah dating

¹ Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, I, x, 31.

² M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, 68, 124 *et passim*.

³ *Op. cit.*, 74, 75.

⁴ Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. 221, no. xviii, ll. 1-8.

⁵ Ward, *op. cit.*, Figs. 338, 456-61, 463, 479, 482; Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon*, Fig. 13.

⁶ de Morgan, *Déleg. en Perse*, I, Fig. 382; Th. Danguin, in *Syria*, x, Pl. xxviii; von Luschan, *op. cit.*, I, p. 18, fig. 4, and p. 23, fig. 8.

⁷ Dussaud in *Syria*, I, 3 ff. with plates. See, too, Cook, *Zeus*, I, Figs. 435-7, 441 and Pl. xxxiii.

⁸ Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, I, Figs. 478, 480, etc. and Pl. xxxiv.

⁹ Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, II, 969, 970. Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, I, 577, n. 4.

¹⁰ Dussaud, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Hadad*, col. 2158.

¹¹ Cook, *op. cit.*, I, 464.

¹² *Op. cit.*, I, 467. Another version makes Poseidon send the bull, 464, and he is only a specialized form of Zeus, *op. cit.*, II, 582 ff.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, I, Pl. xxxv (ninth or possibly eighth century).

¹⁴ Sethe, *Die Pyramidentexte*, §§ 280, 283, 293, 332, 397, 803, 1432, 2059, 2080. The last passage gives his name—*Gšwt(i)*.

¹⁵ *Pyr.*, § 283. Cf. also below, p. 52.

¹⁶ S. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. 221, no. xviii, ll. 3-8, where a Sumerian text with an Assyrian translation likens the storm-god Enlil to "a mighty steer, whose horns shine like the rays of the sun-god, like the star of heaven, the herald Venus . . .".

to s.d. 47-77.¹ His horns and ears are decorated with stars, and one is set upon his forehead (Fig. 7). A protodynastic fragment from Hierakonpolis preserves the tip of one of his horns with the star on it.² After the Pyramid times the Bull of the Sky seems to have sunk into obscurity, though the memory of him lasted on to the end. A sculpture of Nectanebo shows among other gods a bull called "The Bull of the Sky".³ A relic of him is to be found in the New Kingdom name of one of the planets "Horus, Bull of the Sky",⁴ which

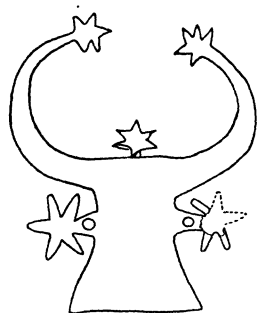


FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.

was still known in Graeco-Roman times as "Horus, the Bull".⁵ In early times a divine bull had been a synonym for Seth the storm-god,⁶ and to the end the constellation of *Mšhtyw*, our Great Bear, which the Egyptians represented as the Foreleg of the Bull, was considered to be the "Soul of Typhon".⁷ Tuthmosis III refers to "Seth, the Bull in Nubt",⁸ and the "Bull of Nubti"⁹ or the "Bull of Seth"¹⁰ is an epithet of valour. Just as Ramman "The Bellowing" is a name given to Hadad the storm-god of Syria and Assyria, so in Egypt Seth the storm-god is said to roar,¹¹ and we read that in Palestine "The Lord will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (Amos i, 2). It is evident, therefore, that originally there had been a sky-bull in Egypt and that he was related to the local god of the storm just as his relatives elsewhere were to the storm-gods of their several countries. As Seth, the storm-god, was almost certainly the patron deity of one of the Bull nomes, the Eleventh, and the gods of two of the others, the Sixth and Twelfth, fall into the same category of sky- or air-gods, it is probable that the bull displayed on these standards was the "Bull of the Sky".

A study of the symbols which accompany the bull on three of these standards, the $\overline{\text{S}}$, $\overline{\text{N}}$, and $\overline{\text{O}}$, confirms the probability, and what little can be gathered about Athribis, the Tenth nome, does nothing to contradict it. It will be well to begin with the calf of Sebennytus, the Twelfth nome of the Delta.

On Babylonian sculptures of the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B.C. a hornless calf is shown with the lightning flashes (Fig. 8),¹² and therefore represents Adad-Ramman. He is

¹ Wainwright, in Petrie and others, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh*, Pl. vi, 7, and p. 22. At that time I supposed it to be a head of Hathor.

² Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, Pl. lix, 5 and p. 48 = Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xviii, 21 and p. 8. ³ Naville, *Goshen*, Pl. iv, second register. ⁴ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 65, *Saturn*.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 67. For the fluctuation of these primitive sky-deities between Seth and Horus of historic times, see pp. 51, 52, and *Journal*, XVIII, 170, 171. ⁶ *Pyr.*, § 418. ⁷ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 21.

⁸ Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*, 68. ⁹ Rowe, *The Univ. of Pennsylvania: The Museum Journal* (1929), 96, 1. 19.





¹⁰ Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, Pl. xxxix.

¹¹ *Pyr.*, § 1150; Brugsch, *Rec. de mon. ég.*, I, Pl. xlvi a, ll. 1, 2; Lanzone, *Diz. mit. egizia*, Pl. cclxxxii, l. 11; de Rougé, *Inscr. hiérog.*, Pl. cxliv, ll. 45, 46.

¹² King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones, etc.*, Pl. xli, dating to about 1187 B.C., from which Fig. 8 is drawn; de Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. xvi, fourth register, Fig. 16 = II, Pl. xxiv. de Morgan dates to c. 1140 B.C.

shown again on another stone. Here, though the head is considerably damaged,¹ the text makes up for any deficiencies in the sculpture, for it speaks of the "mighty calf of Adad".² On the seal dedicated by Esarhaddon early in the seventh century B.C. the compound god, Marduk-Adad, is shown brandishing his lightning flashes, and at his feet lie two animals, one being the hornless calf.³ Yet again on another cylinder of Assyrian date a god is shown fighting with a griffin. He is, therefore, probably the storm-god, and between the combatants lies a calf whose horns have not yet sprouted.⁴

Yahweh himself had originally been a storm-god, who rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah "fire from the Lord out of heaven", appeared on Mount Sinai in "thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud", answered Elijah by fire on Mount Carmel, smote the offending captains of fifties for him with "fire from heaven", and finally fetched him away to heaven with a chariot of fire in a whirlwind. It is summed up magnificently in Psalm xviii, 7-15, and by Ezekiel in his vision (i, 4, 26-8). Like Adad Yahweh also had a calf, for Aaron instituted the worship of his Golden Calf by proclaiming "Tomorrow is a feast to Yahweh" (Exod. xxxii, 5). Similarly Psalm cvi, 19, 20, explains the episode: "Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass." Later on when Jeroboam wanted to keep the people from going up to Jerusalem he substituted the worship of two calves for that at the Temple (1 Kings xii, 28 ff.) Later again Jehu continued the worship of these Golden Calves, though he stamped out false gods and their cult by slaughtering all the worshippers of Baal, destroying his images, and laying waste his temples (2 Kings x, 25-9). The word used in the Old Testament is *regel*, which means not only a young bull but also a calf, just as it is translated, and in Arabic to-day the word retains both meanings. There was probably some sort of difference between the hornless calf and the full-grown bull, for yet another Babylonian stone shows both the one and what is evidently intended for the other.⁵ They represent Anu and Enlil respectively, the one the god of the heavenly expanse and father of Adad the storm-god, and the other the old storm-god himself.⁶

Having discovered that not only the bull but also the calf is liable to represent the sky-god, we find the symbolism of the standard  intelligible. Here both animals⁷ occur together just as they did in Babylonia, where they represented two different sky-gods. That the calf was an independent deity is shown by the name of the capital city ,⁸ *Tb-ntr* "The Divine Calf". This suggestion, if accepted, will be found to explain many difficulties. The title of the local high priest was *ch-wty* "The Warrior",⁹ and his cognizance was not only  a pair of arrows, but also  a star.¹⁰ The same arrows have already

¹ de Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. xv = II, Pl. xix. de Morgan dates to c. 1330 B.C.

² Scheil, *Mém. délég. en Perse*, II, p. 90, col. 4, l. 17. The word used is *bāru*, which means "child, son, offspring; the young of an animal; young wild bull", Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, I, 187.

³ Koldewey in *Mith. d. Orient-Gesells.* Nov. 1900, no. 5, p. 13, Fig. 2. Cf. Jastrow, *Bildermappe*, Fig. 15, where the essential particulars are given in the text. The inscription says it is "the Seal of the god Adad". For another, showing the calf only, see Delaporte, *Cat. des cylindres*, II, Pl. xciii, 16 and p. 180.

⁴ Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 572.

⁵ King, *op. cit.*, Pl. xix. The bull is winged, an early occurrence of this form. Date c. 1200 B.C.


⁶ As indicated by the shrines beside which the creatures lie, for they are otherwise known to belong to these gods, Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone*, 88, 96, n. 2, nos. 13, 14. A third is sometimes added which stands for Asshur.



⁷ The published drawings are uncertain in the sex, but Gauthier emphasizes the fact that the animal is a bull and not a cow, *Dict.*, VI, 74. See also Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (in Quibell, *The Ramesseum*), Pl. xxxiv, top left-hand corner.

⁸ Naville, *The Mound of the Jew, etc.*, Pls. v, vi (Samanood).

⁹ Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1368.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 1379.

been seen as the insignia of the high priest of Letopolis,¹ and this place proves to have been pre-eminently the "Thunderbolt-city" .² It is well known that arrows have been widely considered to be the weapons of the storm-god,³ whether in Babylonia, Palestine, or modern Europe and Nyassaland. Here at Sebennytus they were equivalent to a star, and the shooting star or meteorite is equally the weapon of such gods.⁴ Shooting stars, and especially the periodical fusillades of the Leonids, Perseids, and other star showers, gave rise to the idea of war in high heaven.⁵ Hence, the local god, Onuris, was called "The Good Warrior"⁶ and "Lord of the Lance".⁷ His temple was "The House of the Lance of Horus"⁸ and his sacred boat "The Warship".⁹ The equivalence of shooting stars and weapons at Sebennytus shows once again that Egypt falls into line with the other countries of the Near East.

Onuris-Shu¹⁰ was the god of the nome, and his nature was what would be expected under such conditions. Shu was the air-god who supported the sky, and his sister-wife was *Tfn-t*, whose name is derived from *tfn* "to spit".¹¹ By the time of the New Kingdom, and often later, it is stated that what she spat was fire and flame.¹² The sky of course spits not only lightning but also meteorites. She is, therefore, comparable to Cronus, who vomited forth the famous meteorite at Delphi.¹³ Like Shu, Onuris was also an air-god. His name  was written with  the sky sign, and used to be read "Bringer of the Sky" or now "He who hath brought the Distance".¹⁴ In late times it was made to refer to the myth of the Eye of Horus, but it seems not improbable that originally it may have referred to a meteorite which fell and so brought the "Distance" or the "Sky" of which it was a piece. Meteorites consist of *bit*, a substance whose name acquired many meanings, one of which was "to depart from". In any case the "Bringer of the Distance" was an air-god, for he wears the stiff feathers of such gods.¹⁵ These approximate him to the meteorite and thunderbolt gods Min and Amūn, while his high priest is related to the high priest at the thunderbolt city of Letopolis. The bull and the calf at Sebennytus clearly represented the sky-god just as they did elsewhere in the Near East.

The standard of Xoïs, the Sixth nome of the Delta, set a mountain beside the bull, and it is already known that in many countries the storm-god was also the mountain-god. In Babylonia Enlil, the Sumerian storm-god of Nippur, was addressed as "The Great Mountain" and his temple was called *E-Kur* "The Mountain House". Similarly his consort, Ninlil, "The Lady of the Storm", was also described as *Nin-Kharsag*, "The Lady of the Mountain".¹⁶ A Babylonian hymn says "The great earth mountain is Enlil, the mountain storm is he, etc."¹⁷ In Assyria Adad or Ramman is designated "The Great Mountain" just as was Enlil in Babylonia.¹⁸ Representations of Teshub as the axe- and club-god often show

¹ *Op. cit.*, 1377, and *Journal*, xviii, 160.

² *Op. cit.*, 159 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, 161, 162.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, xviii, 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, viii, 5, 6. Cf. Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.*, i, Pl. xxxv c.

⁷ Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, 57, 58; Lanzone, *Diz. mit.*, 77.

⁸ Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, iii, Pl. xxxviii, l. 6.

⁹ Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, ii, 1369.

¹⁰ Naville, *The Mound of the Jew, etc.*, Pls. v, vi.

¹¹ Roeder in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Tefenet*, col. 156.

¹² Roeder in *op. cit.*, cols. 167-9; Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, pp. 96-9.

¹³ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, Bk. x, ch. 24, § 6, and notes thereon. The stone represented Zeus the sky-god, and was therefore another Zeus Kappotas "Zeus fallen down". For Cronus as an old sky-god see Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 554-8, 601.

¹⁴ Junker, *op. cit.*, 5.


¹⁵ *Ä.Z.*, xlix, 128; *Journal*, xvii, 194. Whereas the others only wear two feathers Onuris wears four.


¹⁶ Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 124, 19, 69.

¹⁷ Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 221, no. xviii, ll. 1-8.

¹⁸ Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 120.

him striding on the mountain tops,¹ and an altar has been found dedicated "To the god Adados of the Mountain-top".² As is well known, Zeus was also intimately connected with the mountains. He dwelt on the top of Olympus, and watched the Trojan War from the top of Mount Ida. Legends assign his birth, marriage, and death to the tops of innumerable mountains.³ Greek lands are dotted over with "Thrones of Zeus" hewn on the highest peaks of the mountains.⁴ At Emesa (Homs) in Central Syria the god was called Elagabalus, whose name is a scarcely latinized form of the native Semitic *Elâh-gabal* meaning "The God of the Mountain".⁵ The description of his sacred object answers perfectly to that of a meteorite,⁶ which, as has so often been seen, is the missile of, or represents, the sky-god.

It has just been seen that Yahweh himself was one of these storm-gods, and he was as closely identified with the mountain as the others. It was on the mountain-tops that he issued his commandments and appeared to both Moses and Elijah (Exod. xix ff.; 1 Kings xix, 8 ff.). It was on Mount Carmel that he manifested his power to send fire from heaven, and after this it was "up to the top of Carmel" that Elijah went to pray for rain, the gift of the sky-god. The Psalmist says (cxxi, 1) "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help", "The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills, by righteousness" (lxxii, 3). Similarly Jeremiah and Isaiah say "Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains" (Jer. iii, 23), and "it is a day of trouble, . . . and of crying to the mountains" (Isa. xxii, 5). The Syrians said of the Hebrews "Their gods are gods of the hills" (1 Kings xx, 23; cf. 25, 28), and much else might be added in the same strain. It is evident, therefore, that all round about Egypt the mountain was symbolic of the sky- or storm-god, just as was the bull. Naturally Egypt was no different from her neighbours. She had a god *H*, whose symbol was the mountain . Very little is known of him, but he was identified with Horus and associated with Min and apparently with Amûn also (*Pyr.*, §§ 1712, 1013). These were meteorite, thunderbolt, and air-gods.

This makes it likely that the mountain and the bull  of the Xoite nome would indicate the devotion of the nome to the sky- or storm-god. Unfortunately, extremely little is known about the worship of this district, and that only from the latest times. However, there is plenty of evidence that at that date its patron god was Amen-rêr,⁷ one of the gods who may have been anciently associated with *H*, the mountain-god.⁸ The

¹ Ward, *op. cit.*, Figs. 883, 885, 887, 895?, 913, 926. Cf. Fig. 470 *a*, and also p. 387. Figs. 878 and 897 show him with the bull.

² Cook, *Zeus*, I, 551.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 148-63.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 135-48.

⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. col. 2219. He was identified with Jupiter the storm-god, but by this time the solarization of religion had become almost complete. Hence, his name Elagabalus was changed to Heliogabalus, and he was called "Invictus Sol", just as Hadad had become Zeus Adados and finally Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

⁶ ". . . its colour [is] black. They solemnly assert it to have fallen from the sky (*διοπερη*) and they point out certain small excrescences and marks . . .", Herodianus, v, 3, 5. A pitch-black surface is characteristic of the stone meteorites, and the iron ones are only less black. The surface of all is also rough and irregular in varying degrees.



















⁷ Couyat and Montet, *Hammâmât*, Pl. ix, no. 30 = p. 45; Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1367; Id., *Thesaurus*, 620, no. 6, 624, no. 6, where the names of the capital city are given instead of that of the nome. Rêr had been established there since the Twentieth Dynasty.







⁸ Curiously enough *H* is not yet known from Xoïs, but from Metelis its neighbour, Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1366. Id., *Thesaurus*, 620, no. 7, Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, Pl. lxii, no. 7?; The City of "the Mountain" is named at yet another place, Tell Mukdam, Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1026.

nome coinage tells the same tale, showing as it does either a ram, or else a figure of Hercules holding a ram in his hand.¹ The ram was Amūn's sacred animal. Again, as Amūn was derived from Min, it is perhaps significant that the bull and the mountain appear with the latter, and in very early times. They are carved on one of his archaic statues from Koptos, when the bull is shown striding on the mountain-tops (Fig. 9).² Another proto-dynastic carving shows the bull's head above the mountain.³ Hence, in early Egypt the bull and the mountain had some quite definite relationship the one to the other. Further, Amūn's presence at Xoïs shows that there, at any rate, they had the same significance as in other lands of the Near East.



FIG. 9

We now come to the Eleventh nome, the Cabasite, which in late times bore  as its standard. The bull elsewhere has proved to be symbolic of the storm- or sky-god, as have the other objects on the standards hitherto studied. A very little inquiry serves to establish the suitability of  to appear among such emblems. It stood for the word *hšb* which either replaces it or is determined by it. Thus the tribute presented by the nome on one occasion was its  ⁴ and the name of the capital city might be written     ,   etc.⁵ *Hšb* means "to break up",⁶ an action essentially characteristic of meteorites and thunderbolts, things which are not distinguished the one from the other.⁷ The meteorite itself often breaks to pieces with a loud report on approaching the ground⁸ and the thunderbolt rends and tears to pieces anything it strikes. The sign was used as a determinative of the word *bš*.⁹ Thus, there is    in the Coffin Texts,¹⁰ and    in the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹¹ *Bš* was the thunderbolt material obtained from meteorites and used magically by the priests for breaking open the mouth which was closed in death.  was therefore a sign eminently suitable to accompany the bull.

At present this form is not known earlier than the time of Piankhi,¹² and it differs from the  and the  already discussed, for while they were pictures of objects the  was only a hieroglyph representing the name of an object. Thus, "its    *hšb*" was the offering brought by the nome in one scene.¹³ This difference in expression would explain the discrepancy between the late form and the early one, which is so great that it is only by a process

¹ Feuardent, *Numismatique: Égypte ancienne*, II, 321.

² Though in our present ignorance the value of this piece of evidence may be reduced by the fact that a elephant and a hyena (?) are also shown there in similar fashion, Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. iii, iv, 3, from which our Fig. 9 is taken. Can they also be "storm"-animals? The elephant is again shown on the mountain-tops, Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xvi, 4.

⁴ Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, Pl. lxxii, no. 11.

⁵ Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, IV, 42.

⁶ *Ä.Z.*, XLIX, 116 ff.

⁷ See e.g. *Journal*, XVII, 189; XVIII, 5, 7, 8.

⁸ E.g. Nakhla near Alexandria, of which it is said "this explosion was followed by vapour and by a fall of black stones", Hume in the *Cairo Sci. Journal*, 1911, 212; Pultusk in Poland, which produced detonations and a shower of stones, G. T. Prior, *Cat. of Meteorites* (1923), 144, s.v.; Ormans in France, "after detonations a stone of about 6 kg. fell and broke into two pieces", *op. cit.*, 133, s.v.; Bath Furnace in America, of which "the noise made by the 'explosion'" and "the singing of the fragments as they hurtled through the air" are emphasized, O. C. Farrington, *Cat. of the Meteorites of N. America* (Washington, 1915), 50.

⁹ *Journal*, XVIII, 9, 10.

¹⁰ Chassinat and Palanque, *Assiout*, 74, l. 9; 104, l. 9; 151, l. 9; 201, l. 9. Cf. also Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles, etc.*, plate showing the "paroi ouest" of *Le tombeau de Horhotpou* = no. 115 in the table facing p. 144 (publ. in *Mém. miss. arch. fr. au Caire*, I).

¹¹ Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, Pl. lvii b, 6, Pl. lviii a, 3, see also Pl. lx.

¹² Schäfer, *Urk. der älteren Äthiopenkönige*, I, 11. 19, 46. 116.

¹³ Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, Pl. lxxii, no. 11.

of elimination that the two can be connected. Each of the three others is already known,¹ but a standard bearing \ominus is not to be found. Instead, the form shown in Fig. 10 is seen quite commonly. This, therefore, must be the standard of the Cabasite nome, and it is well



FIG. 10

known in the Fifth Dynasty.² The object that in later times is replaced by the hieroglyph \ominus is sickle-shaped, and has not yet been explained. It is fixed to the standard by what looks like a handle in this case but like a block in the others. It neither looks like, nor is there reason to suppose it to be, either the $\text{\textit{šdšd}}$ of Wepwawet or the feather such as that of the Third nome of the Delta. It is, therefore, a significant fact that, although meteorites are of any and every shape, a number are known which have this sickle-shape or one very like it (Fig. 11).³ More significant still, they are all iron meteorites. The reason has been much canvassed why this "jaw" or "sickle" shape should be so common,

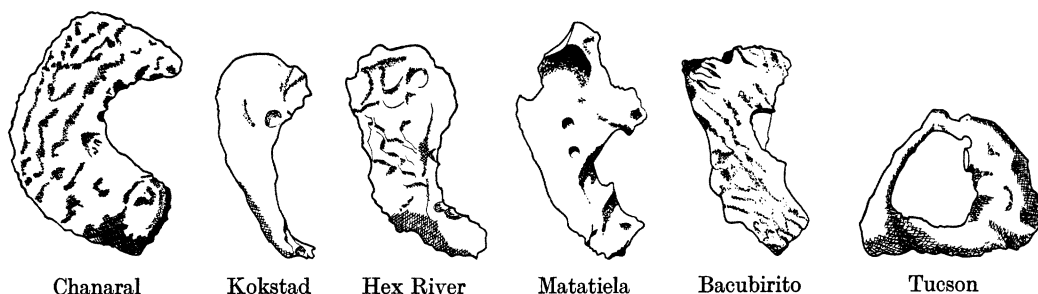


FIG. 11

and it is generally accepted that such meteorites as Tucson and Joe Wright Mountain supply the answer.⁴ The former is ring-shaped,⁵ and the latter is also pierced, but only by a small hole.⁶ Like those under discussion both are of iron. Hence, if Tucson were snapped, it would provide pieces of metal of the shape of these meteorites and of the object on the Cabasite nome-standard. Seeing, therefore, what is already known of the symbolism of this standard and the similar ones, it is extremely probable that the sacred object here represented was one of the sickle-shaped meteorites. If so, it would undoubtedly have been of iron. Iron was $\text{\textit{bš}}$, and was connected with the Cabasite standard through this word also, for the sign \ominus was common to both. The shape of this iron meteorite would make it specially acceptable to the Egyptians as the missile of the sky-god, for it is very like that

¹ Xois, Sethe, *Urk. des aeg. Altertums*, I, 1, 16 and often; Athribis, Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des K. Sahure*, II, Pl. xxxi, middle register; Davies and Griffith, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, I, Pl. vi, 79; Sebennyus, *op. cit.*, Pl. vi, 66.

² *Op. cit.*, I, Pl. vi, 77 and p. 18 = Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (in Quibell, *The Ramesseum*), Pl. xxxv, upper half, middle register; Davies and Griffith, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. x, upper register, three times, lower register, twice (= Pl. iv, lowest register), Pl. xiii, lowest register four times (= Pl. xv); Borchardt, *ibid.*, though much damaged. What is the unique standard in which a double rod sticks up in front of the bull? Quibell, *Excav. at Saqqara*, 1907-8, Pl. liv, no. 4.

³ The figures are drawn from the following publications: Chanaral, *Proc. Rochester Ac. Science*, IV (1906), Pl. xxv; Kokstad, *Schriften des Vereines zur Verbreitung nat. Kenntnisse* (Vienna, 1894), xxxiv, 269, Fig. 26; Hex River, *op. cit.*, 270, Fig. 27; Matatiela, *Anns. S. African Mus.* (Capetown), II, 11, and Pl. iv; Bacubirito, *Proc. Roch. Ac. Sci.*, IV (1902), Pl. ii.

⁴ E.g., *Verhandl. k. k. geolog. Reichsanstalt* (Vienna, 1887), 288, 289.

⁵ After *Schriften etc.*, 268, Fig. 25.

⁶ Hidden in *Am. Journal of Science*, 3rd ser., xxxi, Fig. 1, and p. 461.

of the throwing stick which they used from the earliest times (Figs. 12-14).¹ Elsewhere the simile did actually occur to them. Thus, they gave the name of "Throwing Sticks" to the divine weapons at Letopolis, the Thunderbolt city,² and used the hieroglyph of the throwing stick in spelling the word $\overline{\text{m}}\text{r}\text{g}/\text{q} \text{ } \overline{\text{m}}\text{r}\text{g} \text{ } \overline{\text{m}}\text{r}\text{g}$ *šnūt* "hail",³ a substance also cast by the sky-god.

The sacred meteorite of the Cabasite nome was clearly called *Hšb*, "The Breaker", and this is the sort of name commonly given to sky-gods and their weapons. The epithet given to the thunderbolt- and meteorite-god at Seleucia Pieria in North Syria was *κάσιος*,⁴ which probably originated in the Semitic root *kāšas*, *kāšah*, when it would mean "The Cutter, Breaker".⁵ Cronus vomited forth the meteorite of Delphi,⁶ and his name is said to be very likely derived from the same root as *κείρω*, "I cut". If so, Cronus would have been nothing but "The Cutter, Chopper".⁷ Similarly in Scandinavia Thor's thunderweapon was called *Mjölmir*, a word which only means "Crusher".⁸

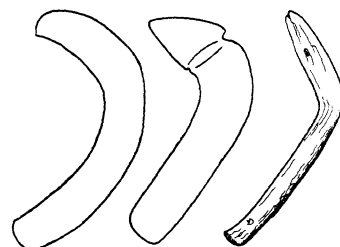


FIG. 12. FIG. 13. FIG. 14.

☉ was characteristic of the thunderbolt material *bš*, iron, "which came forth out of Setesh",⁹ or, as Plutarch puts it, "iron they call 'Bone of Typhon'".¹⁰ It was therefore reasonable for the Egyptians to use the sign ☉ in writing about Seth. In late days the Enemies of Horus, *i.e.* Seth and his Company, are sometimes written $\overline{\text{y}}\text{ } \overline{\text{y}}\text{ } \overline{\text{y}}$, employing this sign.¹¹ The ordinary "*Mštyw of Seth*"¹² is sometimes called "the *Mštyw of B* $\overline{\text{y}}\text{ } \overline{\text{y}}\text{ } \overline{\text{y}}$ ".¹³ The sign occurs again in the spelling of the name of this god, who was a form of Seth.¹⁴ It is, therefore, peculiarly suitable that Seth should seem to have been the original god of the nome, which displayed ☉ on its standard representing an iron meteorite.¹⁵ The view is founded upon the strange treatment the nome receives in the lists both at Edfu¹⁶ and at Denderah. In one of these latter, Seth's victorious enemy, Horus, is inserted, but without titles of any sort such as all the other gods have.¹⁷ In another the nome is omitted altogether.¹⁸ In yet another the name of the capital city, *Hšbt*, is replaced by that of a different city, *Šdn*,¹⁹ and the god named is not Seth but Horus. The full name of Horus "Lord of *Šdn*" was "Horus of the Two Eyes" $\overline{\text{h}}\text{ } \overline{\text{h}}\text{ } \overline{\text{h}}\text{ } \overline{\text{h}}$.²⁰ This epithet suggests that the new god was related to Horus-*hnty-irty* $\overline{\text{h}}\text{ } \overline{\text{h}}\text{ } \overline{\text{h}}\text{ } \overline{\text{h}}$, whose name likewise had reference to his eyes. Horus-*hnty-irty* was god of the thunderbolt city of Letopolis, and in some ways approximated to Seth.²¹ *Šdn* also worshipped a bull,²² who was "The Strong Bull of the Gods"²³ and

¹ Badarian, Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, Pl. xxiii, 29 = Pl. xxv, 1, 2, and p. 32, unless they are castanets; Protohistoric, Legge in *P.S.B.A.*, xxii, Pl. ii = xxxi, Pl. xlv, from which Figs. 12, 13, are drawn; Dyn. III, Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. xvii; Dyn. XII, Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, Pl. ix, 30 and p. 29, from which Fig. 14 is drawn. ² *Pyr.*, § 908. Cf. *Journal*, xviii, 162. ³ *Pyr.*, § 1150.

⁴ Wroth, *Cat. of the Greek Coins in the Brit. Mus.: Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, 272 ff., nos. 29, 30, 36-45, 47.

⁵ Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Kasios*, col. 970. ⁶ See p. 47 and n. 13. ⁷ Cook, *Zeus*, II, 549 and n. 6

⁸ Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore*, 60. Fig. 32 shows *Mjölmir* to have been shaped like the *labrys*, as does Fig. 31 to a lesser extent.

⁹ *Pyr.*, § 14. ¹⁰ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 62. ¹¹ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 6, no. 26.

¹² Champollion, *Not. descr.*, II, 646, Tomb of Ramesses, vi.

¹³ Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, Pl. lxxxii, no. 20.

¹⁴ Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 450. ¹⁵ *Id.*, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 1366-73.

¹⁶ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 620. Cf. also 747, 748.

¹⁷ Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, Pl. lxxv, ll. 15, 16.

¹⁸ *Journal*, xviii, 170, 171.

¹⁹ *Ann. Serv.*, v, 193 ff.


²⁰ Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 805.








²¹ *Id.*, *Thesaurus*, 622, no. 11.

²² Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 805.

²³ *Op. cit.*, 193.

was "shining in heaven and giving light on earth".¹ "The Bull of the Gods" is ancient, for he was known to the Pyramid Texts, where he appears in a celestial, not solar, context (§ 925). The Bull of *Šdn* was therefore a relative of the "Bull of Heaven", who, as has been seen, belonged peculiarly to Seth but sometimes to Horus (p. 45). In any case his presence made *Šdn* peculiarly suitable to become the capital of one of the Bull nomes. Apparently, therefore, in suppressing Seth in the Cabasite nome the Osiris worshippers were able to supply his place with a form of Horus who was not too unlike him in nature. In view of these sectarians' horror of Seth, these wilful suppressions make strong presumptive evidence for the worship of the storm-god in the Eleventh nome. This in its turn provides evidence that the symbols on its standard have been rightly interpreted as the bull of the Sky-god and a meteorite his weapon.

The standard of the Tenth nome, Athribis, , should be mentioned to round off the inquiry. It is, therefore, the more unfortunate that so little should be known. The fact that the other standards which displayed the bull prove to have been connected with the sky- or storm-gods suggests *a priori* that the Tenth nome will also. The god was *Hnt-hty*, and he seems to have been a bull-god. An inscription, probably of Twelfth Dynasty date, calls him "Lord of the Bull",² and Tuthmosis III calls him "Horus-*Hnt-hty*, the Bull in Athribis".³ In historic times he was identified with Horus and was, therefore, generally given the falcon's head,⁴ and to this Ramesses III twice adds his bull's horns.⁵ But once he is merely given a human head,⁶ and late pictures sometimes give him that of the crocodile,⁷ which was a Sethian creature. *Hnt-hty*, therefore, did not fit very well into the religious system of the historic period, but vacillated between Horus and Seth.⁸ In this he was like the "Horus" of Letopolis and *Šdn*, and was, therefore, no doubt one of the primitive sky-gods.

Studying the standard of the nome Newberry proposed to see in the  not the picture of the object itself but the hieroglyph for its name.⁹ In this it would be comparable to the  of the Cabasite standard, though, unlike it, it had taken this form from the beginning.¹⁰ He points out that on several occasions in the Pyramid Texts  replaces a sign which Sethe draws as a long narrow oval  (§ 252, 431), and that the latter occurs with a bull (§ 227). , therefore, seems to be reasonably connected with Athribis. As *km* is the reading of  and *ikm* is the name of a shield, Newberry suggests that the  was a narrow parrying shield, and that this was the sacred object of Athribis.¹¹ If it was, it would be suitable for a nome devoted to a sky-god, for such gods are commonly armed (pp. 43, 47, 51, above). Moreover, the young warrior-god in Mycenae is to be seen descending from the sky in the form of a shield,¹² and other such shields were known; they were the *ancilia* at Rome, the original of which had fallen from the skies to Numa.

¹ *Op. cit.*, 194, no. 7.

² *Ä.Z.*, XL, 145, but *cf. Rec. trav.*, XXIX, 53, n. 5.

³ Drioton, *Médamoud* (1926), p. 54, l. 21.

⁴ Gardiner and Peet, *The Inscr. of Sinai*, Pls. xliii, xlv, nos. 120, 122; Lanzone, *Diz. mit. eg.*, Pl. xiv, left jamb top register (= Pierret, *Rec. d'inscr. du Louvre*, I, p. 74); Wiedemann in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXIII, 272.

⁵ Champollion, *Not. descr.*, I, 416, 737.

⁶ Vyse, *Pyramids*, III, plate to p. 95.

⁷ Lanzone, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvii, 621, 988; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 747.

⁸ For Dyn. XX unifications of Horus and Seth, see Champ., *op. cit.*, I, 420, L., D., III Pl. ccxxxiv c.

⁹ *Ancient Egypt*, I, 8.

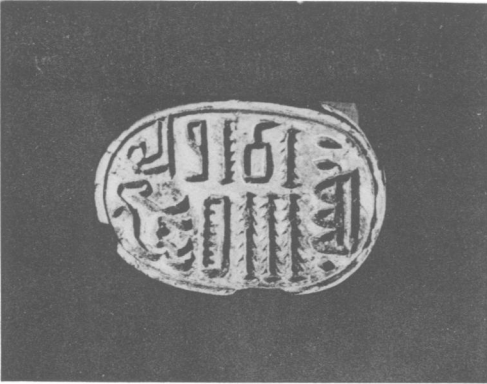
¹⁰ See p. 50, n. 1.

¹¹ Newberry in *op. cit.*, p. 7. It is similar to the early form of Neith's shield, which, however, is slightly hollow sided, e.g. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, *Frontispiece*.

¹² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 194 e.



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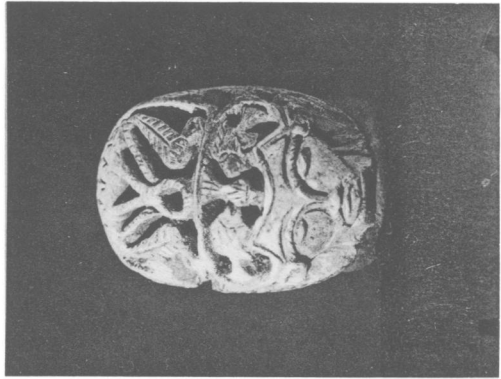
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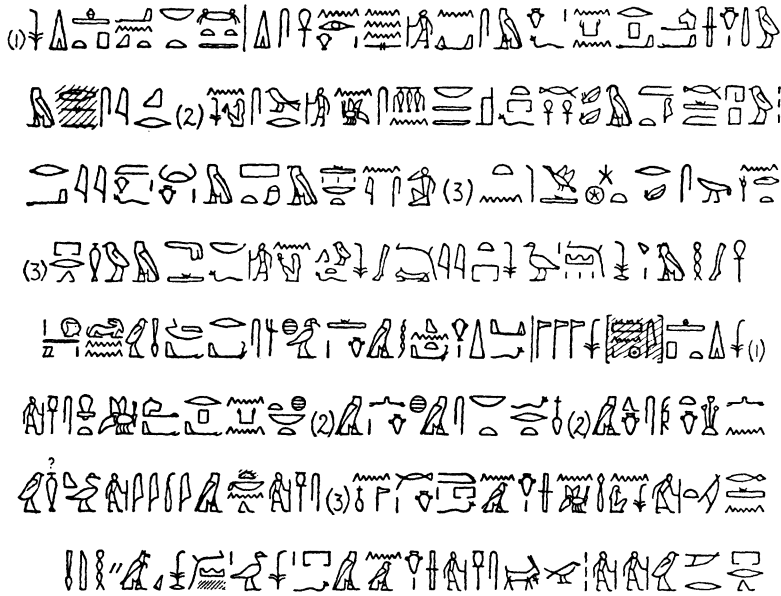
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



1. Statue of the King's-Son Nehi
2-5. Scarab-seal of Ibsh, a mayor of Byblos. *Scale 2 : 1*

Nehi wears a short wig and a loin-cloth fastened by a belt. At the back of the figure is a narrow plinth running from below the wig to the pedestal. On it is incised a vertical column of hieroglyphs:¹



On the pedestal are two incised inscriptions, each beginning in the centre of the front and continuing along its sides, reading:



In this *Journal*, xiv, 109, I published two scarab-seals of a Mayor of Byblos named  that were probably derived from the French excavations at Byblos. M. Montet has since published (*Kemi*, I, 91) a monument naming this Mayor, which he discovered at Byblos, and which fixes his date to the period of the Neferhotep group of kings in the Second Intermediate Period. The scarab-seal of another Mayor of the same city named  'Ibšmw or 'Ibš, probably from the same source, is in the Blanchard Collection at Cairo (Pl. x, figs. 2-5). It is very finely carved, and has a human face with bovine ears, a  between two fish above the face, and a  flanked by two uraei on the back. This Mayor was already known from a monument found at Byblos and published by Montet in his *Byblos et l'Égypte*, No. 653. He dates from the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty; Montet gives his name as 'Ibšmw, but it more probably reads 'Ibš and may be compared with the well-known 'Ibš of Beni Ḥasan. (*Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. xxviii; cf. Max Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, II (Leipzig, 1910), p. 2, No. 29.)

¹ I owe the original copy of these inscriptions to my student, Pahor Effendi Labib.

TWO PREHISTORIC OBJECTS

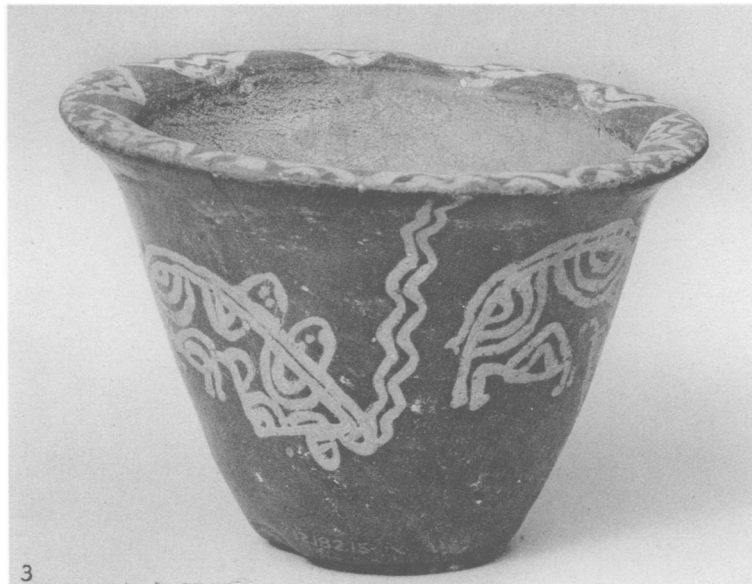
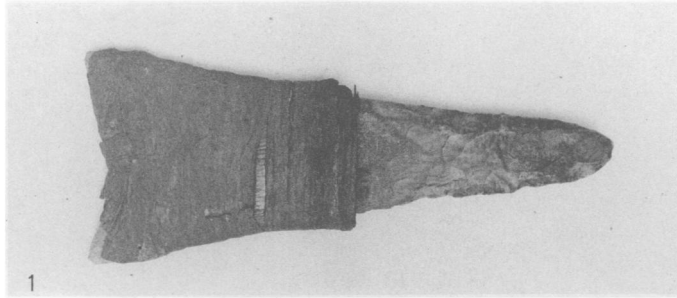
By O. H. MYERS

With Plate xi

DR. H. E. WINLOCK has kindly given me permission to publish the three photographs of objects from Predynastic Egypt, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which are shown on Pl. xi. Figs. 2 and 3 are two views of a red-polished bowl with designs in white, no. 12. 182. 15. The figures undoubtedly represent a man "standing left" and facing two hippopotami who are "standing or advancing right". The interest of this specimen lies in the behaviour of the leading hippopotamus and the man. A wavy line descends from each hand of the man to each nostril of the animal. The impression given is that of vapour rising from the nostrils of the animal and being caught by the man, but, even allowing for a magical interpretation, this seems to be an unlikely hypothesis. It might represent a man feeding the hippopotami, but in that case there is no purpose in the wavy lines ascending from the second beast. There is another possible explanation; that the ovals projecting from the animals' noses may not be nostrils—though such would appear to be probable from the style of the drawing—but rings, and that the wavy lines are ropes by which the hippopotami are being led.

Also worthy of notice is the man's tail, clearly worn in addition to and not to be confused with the cod-piece, which is apparent. In the painted house, or tomb, at Hierakonpolis men are shown wearing leopard skins with tails, but this is much later in date. Possibly the lump behind the shoulders is the beginning of the Egyptian technique of showing the upper part of the body in full view.

Fig. 1 of the plate shows one of the so-called forked lances, or *pesh-kef* instruments, the finely serrated end being enclosed in a sheath, made, apparently, of reeds and grass. Presuming the instrument to have had a handle, as we may by analogy with the specimen published in the Cairo *Catalogue of Stone Implements*, Pl. xlvii, object no. 64868, it would have been impossible to withdraw it, even if the end of the sheath were unlaced. This suggests an object of considerable importance and for occasional use only, as the sheath would have to be destroyed and a new one made each time that the instrument was used. The lance-head is 12 cm. in length.



1. Predynastic forked lancehead of flint. *Scale 7 : 12*
2-3. Predynastic bowl of red-polished ware with design
in white. *Scale c. 2 : 5*

THE ASTARTE PAPYRUS AND THE LEGEND OF THE SEA

By A. H. SAYCE

IN *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 74-85, Dr. Gardiner has an interesting article on The Astarte Papyrus of which, unfortunately, only fragments exist. They are sufficient, however, to show that the subject of the work was an epic in which the Sea appeared in a mythological form and took his place by the side of the other deities of the Egyptian Pantheon. The story at its beginning, says Dr. Gardiner, "seems cosmogonic in character", Ptah watching "over all as the supreme creator". Mention is made of "the tribute (received by) the Sea", whom Dr. Gardiner would identify with "the Ruler" who is stated to have his seat upon a "throne". To the Sea, accordingly, Astarte the daughter of Ptah was sent as intermediary between him and the gods of heaven and earth. The Sea, it appears, then demanded that Astarte should be given him as a wife along with other "tribute", the result being that he withdrew his threat "to cover the earth and the mountains" and so to fight against the gods who represented them. The papyrus was probably written at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

A very remarkable parallel exists between this Egyptian legend and a Hittite legend which also relates to the deified Sea. Like the Egyptian papyrus the Hittite tablet is unfortunately only a fragment, one paragraph alone being preserved. It is sufficient, however, to establish a relationship of some kind between the Egyptian and the Hittite stories.

Here is what remains of the Hittite text (*K.U.B.*, XII, 49):

1. [ud-da-]ar is-me na-as sa-ra-a
2. KAS-an i-ya-at na-an AN-MES-as AN UD-us [da-]a-ir
3. a-ru-ni kat-ta-an-da pa-it
4. AN Mu-ki-sa-nu-us AN Ku-mar-bi-ya-as ud-da-a-ar a-ru-ni EGIR-pa me-mi-is-ki-u-wa-an da-a-[ir].
5. e-khu khal-zi-is-sa-i-wa-at-ta AN-MES-as at-ta-as AN Ku-mar-bi-is ud-da-ni-ma-wa-at-ta . . .
6. ku-e-da-ni khal-zi-is-sa-i nu-wa ud-tar li-li-wa-an nu-wa khu-u-da-ak e-khu
7. e-khu-ma-wa-gan ID-za dag-na-za kat-ta-an ar-kha nu-wa-at-ta AN-MES-as AN UD-us
8. dag-na-as-sa AN-MES-mu-us li-e u-wa-an-zi ma-a-an sal-li-is a-ru-na-as ud-da-ar is-me
9. na-as-gan sa-ra-a khu-u-da-ak a-ra-a-is na-as-gan dag-na-as ID-as-sa KAS-an GUR-an ar-kha [i-ya-at]
10. AN-KI-ya-as sar-ra-at-ta-at na-as-gan a-na AN Ku-mar-bi sar-khu-la-az dag-na-za GIS SU-A . . .
11. kat-ta-an sa-ra-a u-it a-sa-an-na-as-si GIS SU-A-an a-ru-ni ti-i-e-ir nu-za-gan sal-li-is . . .
12. GIS SU-A-si e-sa-at GIS BANSUR-un-si u-nu-wa-an-da-an a-da-an-na [az-] zi-ik-ki-iz-zi . . .
13. AMEL QA-SU-GAB-A-as-ma-as-si ni wa-an-na bi-es-ki-iz-[zi]

14. *AN Ku-mar-bi-is-gan AN-MES-as* [at-ta-as] sal-li-is-sa a-ru-na-[as]
15. *nu-za az-zi-ig-gan-zi* [ak-kus] gan-zi
16. *AN Ku-mar-bi-is ud-da-a* [ar me-mi-is-ki-u-wa-an-da-a-is]
17. *AN Mu-ki-sa-ni AMEL É-GAL* [ku-ya me-mi-is-ki-mi]
18. *la-ga-a-an khar-ak GIS* [SU-A-ma-za SU-E-SIR-KHI A-du-us li-li-wa-an-du-us]
19. *GIS za-ak-ki-is-ma bi-es-se(?)* . . . [AN Ir-si-ir-ra-as GIM-an i-it]
20. *wa-ar-su-la-as GIM-an*
21. [nu-wa(?)-] si bu-us-bu-si-in

Translation

1. . . . the word he heard; up he [rose]
2. . . . the road he took; the Sun-gods [greeted] him;
3. . . . down to the sea he went.
4. The gods of the land of Mukis repeated the word of Kumarbis to the sea;
5. "Up!" the father gods shouted to thee, O Kumarbis, and at the word to thee
6. which they shouted, the word hastened and soon it was "Up!"
7. So it was "Up" down from river and earth away. But to thee the Sun-gods
8. and gods of earth came not. When the great sea heard the word
9. he at once rose up. Down the road to earth and river away [he went].
10. The universe was broken (in two). Then he to Kumarbis from the heart of the earth
[and his] throne . . .
11. below came up. To the sea as he sat on (his) throne they approached. So the great
[sea]
12. sat on his throne. An offering-table was furnished for him and the food he ate . . .
13. while the wine-giver gave him wine and
14. So Kumarbis, the father gods and the great sea [sat together].
15. Then they ate and drank.
16. Kumarbis [spoke] the word
17. to the god of the land of Mukis the man of the palace . . . [I say]
18. "Make a bow"; [then the strappings of the throne were dispatched]
19. and the bolt(?) . . .
20. thirsty thereupon

Notes

1. 4. Mukis adjoined the territory of Carchemish. A Hittite cosmogonic epic published by Forrer informs us that Kumarbis or Kuwarbis was the supreme god of Urkis, which Forrer identifies with Kermanshah,¹ and at the head of the gods of Urkis made war on Tessup of Qummiya "the head of all the gods of Akkad". The Hittite form of the legend, it is clear, must go back to the period when the dynasty of Gutium had conquered and were ruling over Babylonia (2550-2426 B.C.), and the names of Akkad (Uri) and Armenia (Tilla) were denoted by the same ideograph (*BUR-BUR*). Another Hittite legend, erroneously ascribed to the Hittite version of the epic of Gilgames (*K.U.B.*, VIII, 62 and 63) mentions Kumarbis in connexion with Gilgames (62, I, R. 15) as well as with Khamsas, who may possibly represent the Hittite hero of the Deluge (63, I, 4, 5: "When Khamsas had [heard] the words of Kumarbis he repeated them to his son Adram-Khasis"; so also 63, IV, R. 2, 11.)

¹ It must be remembered, however, that Urkis is coupled with Namar or Nawar (see Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 130).

l. 5. "The father gods" are mentioned in *K.U.B.*, xx, 93, R. 8, one of them being Nibina. In *K.U.B.*, xvii, 7, Col. iii, 13, *AN-MES-as addas* must be "father of the gods".

l. 8. Ehelolf has shown that *AN-MES-mus* must be read *karimmas* (*Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, 1925, p. 313.) *Karim* is evidently related to *Kiurum*, which is stated to have been the Lulubian word for "god".

l. 12. Some verb has been omitted governing the accusative *BANSUR-un*. It is possible, however, that in the following line the illegible character preceding *zi* is an erased *az* which the scribe incorrectly wrote, and that we should read *zikkizzi*, "he sets", the translation being: "a furnished table and food he places".

l. 14. Or, in view of *K.U.B.*, xvii, 7, 14, perhaps "father of the gods".

l. 18. In *K.U.B.*, viii, 36, 9, 10, we have *mân-gan antukhsas lagâri nas-mas-gan GIS-RU-az katta mâuszi*, "Again when a man stoops and down from the pole (?) he falls" (cf. *K.U.B.*, v, 7, 18, *lagan lagaittari*). In *K.U.B.*, xii, 26, 11 *laganas* appears to signify "bent".

ll. 16-19. The words in brackets are supplied from the fragmentary text described below.

l. 19. Forrer suggests "bolt" as the signification of GIS *zakkis*. In *K.U.B.*, viii, 6, R. 3, 4, however, we have: *dambu[bis] ana KUR AMEL KUR-ka zakkiyas iwar tiyazi*, "the barbarian (or vagrant) approaches the land of thy enemy like a *zakkis*". *Zakkies* "the unclean" (*K.U.B.*, xiii, 1, 25) belongs to a different root, and is connected with *zakkar*, explained by the Assyrian *zu'u* and *zinkhu*.

l. 20. *warsulas* signifies "thirsty"; "Yuzgat" Tablet l. 11 (*warsulas SE-MES paisgataru* "let them plant the thirsty seed"); *K.U.B.*, xxiv, 14, 22-3 (*warsulan awan arkha barkhun*, "I have banished (?) the thirst"); *K.U.B.*, xvii, 35, 1, 33 (*AMEL-MES ŠU-GI warsulis* [sic!] *NAK-zi*, "the thirsty elders drink"; *K.U.B.*, xx, 99, 21 (*warsuli*, "(Tessub) drinks like a thirsty man").

It is unfortunate that the Hittite story is broken off before the result of the banquet of the "Father" or primeval gods and the subsequent war of the allies against the Sun-gods of heaven and the gods of earth is made known to us. But the outlines of the Egyptian and Hittite legends are remarkably similar. *Kumarbis* corresponds with Ptah, and "the word" of the "Mukis gods" takes the place of Astarte in the Egyptian account, while in both accounts mention is made of the throne upon which "the Sea" took its place.

There seems to have been more than one version of the Hittite legend. In *K.U.B.*, xvii, no. 7, Dr. Ehelolf has published two fragments of it which present a somewhat variant text. In my transliteration and translation I have made use of one of these (ll. 16-19) and so filled up some of the missing words of the story. Elsewhere, however, there appear to be variations in the text between the copy represented by the two fragments and the copy published above.

The two fragments are as follows:

Fragment I (*Obv. col. II*)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 6. [AN-]MES-as ad-da-as e-es-zi | 6. . . . [Kumarbis] is father of the gods |
| 7. AN Ku-mar-bi-in a-us-ta | 7. . . . he saw Kumarbis |
| 8. a-ru-ni i-ya-an-ni-es | 8. . . . to the sea he made his way. |
| 9. KA-MES-ar a-ru-ni EGIR-PA | 9. . . . the word to the sea again |
| 10. [da?]a-is EN-YA-mu-gan ku-it | 10. . . . he repeated(?). Then my lord to
me what |
| 11. at nu-za-gan a-ru-na-an | 11. . . . so then the sea |

Fragment I (*Obv. col. II*)—*cont.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 12. <i>gan ša u(?)?)-wa-an-nu-un</i> | 12. I caused to come (?) |
| 13. [<i>AN Ku-</i>] <i>mar-bi-is AN-MES-as ad-da-as e-es-zi</i> | 13. [Ku]marbis is father of the gods. |
| 14. <i>ri-ya-as KA-MES-ar is-me</i> | 14. heard the word |
| 15. <i>EGIR-PA me-mi-is-ki-u-wa-an da-is</i> | 15. afterwards took up the speech |
| 16. <i>ar-ta ku-i-is</i> | 16. who |
| 17. <i>wa-an pa-ra-a</i> | 17. forward |
| 18. <i>da-as-sa-u-wa</i> | 18. strong (?) |

Fragment II (*Rev. col. III*)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. [<i>li-</i>] <i>e u-wa-an-zi</i> | 2. come not |
| 3. <i>UR-SAK-li-us SARRU-us</i> | 3. hero kings |
| 4. [<i>a-ru-na ?-</i>] <i>an a-us-zi</i> | 4. sees the sea (?) |
| 5. <i>gan-ta-as SAL-as</i> | 5. the women |
| 6. <i>GIM-an ar-kha li-e[<i>uwanzi</i>]</i> | 6. thereupon do not come away |
| 7. [<i>UDD-</i>] <i>ar me-mi-is-ki-u-wa-an da-a-is</i> | 7. the word he spoke |
| 8. <i>ku-ya me-mi-is-ki-mi</i> | 8. I say |
| 9. <i>la-ga-a-an khar-ak ŠU-A</i> | 9. make obeisance, a throne |
| 10. <i>šu(sic)-ma-za SU-E-SIR-KHIA-us li-li-wa-an-du-us</i> | 10. Then the leathers of the throne being dispatched |
| 11. <i>AN Ir-si-ir-ra-as GUR-an i-it</i> | 11. The god Irsirras went down |
| 12. <i>KA-MES-ar AN Ir-si-ra-as bi-an me-mi</i> | 12. the word I Irsirras speak out |
| 13. [<i>khalzis</i>] <i>-sa-i-wa-as-ma-as AN Ku-mar-bi-is AN-MES-as ad-da-as</i> | 13. Kumarbis shouted to them: the father gods |
| 14. <i>ku-wa-as-ma-as ku-e-da-ni khal-zi-es-sa-i</i> | 14. what he shouted |
| 15. <i>nu-wa khu-u-da-ak ku-wa-at-tin</i> | 15. so (come) soon wherever you are. |
| 16. <i>us da-an-zi TUR-an na-an a-bu-u-us</i> | 16. takes the boy: him they |
| 17. <i>i ki bi AN Ir-si-ir-ri-us-ma-gan</i> | 17. Then the belongings of the god Irsirras |
| 18. [<i>UR-</i>] <i>SAK-li-(KHI + A)-us U-UL-ma-as sal-la-ya-as</i> | 18. the heroes, but not the great ones. |

The Sea-god (*AN Arunas*) is mentioned in a ritual text (*K.U.B.*, xx, 1) together with god *Khutumas* and the city of *Tyana* (*Tûwanuwa*). As for “the Father gods”, we may perhaps find a reference to the *attas AN-MES-[as]*, which could be read *karimmiyas*, in the legend of the dream of the hero *Kissis* or *Kissiyas* (*K.U.B.*, xvii, 1, 7: *V-anna-za-gan Zaskhin austa [nu] Kissiya be (?)?) attas AN-MES-[as] pakhkhar lapnuskiiwan dâir*; “Then a fifth dream he saw: for *Kissis* the father gods kindled a fire.” *Lap-nu*, “cause to burn” or “shine”, claims relationship with the Greek *λάμπω, λαμπάς*).

A STELA OF SETI I IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By ALAN W. SHORTER

THE inscription of which a hand-copy appears in Fig. 1 is to be found upon a sandstone stela (No. 1665) acquired by the British Museum in 1930, and I am indebted to the Keeper of the Department for permission to publish it.

The object in its present condition is only a fragment of the original stela, a very considerable portion being missing. The surviving portion, which measures 68.7 cm. (27 in.)

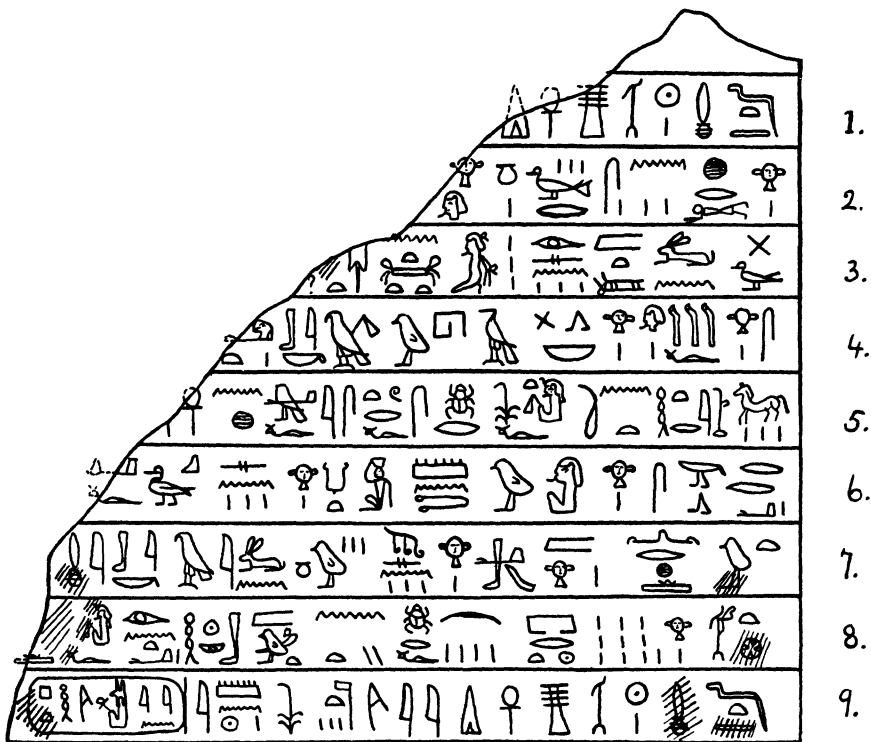


FIG. 1.

in height by 56.6 cm. (22½ in.) in breadth, contains the bottom right-hand corner of the scene and parts of all the nine lines of hieroglyphic inscription beneath, the amount of the lines preserved increasing in length as we descend. It is impossible to tell what was the nature of the scene, but presumably it was of the usual kind, showing the king in the presence of the gods. The remnant of text may be translated as follows:

- (1) given life, stability and well-being (?) like Rêr for ever
- (2) the Chief of their princes being fallen upon
- (3) of the *Sityw*, making them as that which exists not.
- (4) [be]fore the hawk, every one who escapes his fingers

- (5) life from him. Lo, His Majesty causes the charioteers to become
 (6) he causes them to enter upon the labour of Month, leading (them)
 as far as
 (7) like a hawk, their colours are mingled in the sight so that one
 knowest not
 (8) His Majesty commanded (?) that there should be performed anew the
 custom of the festival which takes place on the tenth day of the fourth month of
Prt in Thebes
 (9) Seti-mer-en-Ptah, beloved of Amen-Rē King of Gods, given life,
 stability, and well-being (?) like Rē for ever.

Notes on the text

Line 1. The missing portion of this line contained, of course, the date and the names of Seti I.

2. *hr*, Old Perfective? After *hr* restore $\overline{\text{hr}}$ or similar?

4-5. Compare the passage in the Karnak reliefs of Seti (L., D., III, 126 a); *wh nb hr-tp ḏbrw·f hr ḏḏ* etc. *cnh m·r·f* in line 5 of our stela seems to conclude the speech of the fugitives. After *hr-tp ḏbrw·f hr* restore | (5) [$\overline{\text{hr}}$] or some more likely verb. $\overline{\text{hr}}$ must be a mistake for *hm·f*.

6. The "labour of Month" is a poetic expression for "battle", "fighting".

7. The general sense of the sentence *wnw·sn hr rb* etc. must be: "the confusion into which the enemy is thrown is so great that it is impossible to distinguish the various tribes".

8. Restore [*wḏ hm*]-*f*?

As far as can be guessed from the text in its present incomplete state lines 1-7 and part of 8 consist of a eulogistic description of the Pharaoh's warlike attainments in general, without reference to a particular campaign. The main object of the inscription will then be the recording, in line 8, of the re-establishment of some festival which, at present, I cannot identify.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF EGYPTIAN POTTERY

BY T. ERIC PEET

THE moment when the Egyptologists of five countries are launching a scheme for an International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery seems a good occasion to plead once more for the adoption of a more intelligible and scientific system of classification and nomenclature than that which at present prevails, especially for the Predynastic period. Predynastic pottery is still, by most writers, classified under the headings Red Polished Ware, Black Topped Ware, Cross Line Ware, Black Incised Ware, Decorated Ware, Wavy-Handled Ware, Rough Ware, Late Ware, and Fancy Forms. These terms were for the most part evolved nearly forty years ago in camp at Ballâş, and no doubt formed convenient labels for use on the spot.¹ But they should never have got into print. The classification to which they belong is everything which a classification ought not to be. A sound classification of pottery should as a rule be based primarily on one principle, preferably that of material, and the classes so formed should be subdivided by secondary principles, such as nature of surface or decoration, after which such elements as form, or shape of handles, may be brought in to complete the task.

The classification of Predynastic pottery complained of above is based on no one principle of division. Shape, handles, material, decoration, surface, and even date are all used indiscriminately. We are told, however, that these names have been in use so long that it is too late to alter them. But surely it is never too late to put wrong right, and never will there be a better opportunity to do so than in the forthcoming Corpus. We are told, too, that the names are expressive. Why, so they may be; but they mostly express the wrong thing. To give the name "Cross Line" to a vase which bears a hippopotamus and two trees may be expressive, but it is not descriptive, and, except to him who has an intimate knowledge of the Egyptian Predynastic period, it is misleading. We want names that will help the general archaeologist, not names which are only intelligible—and that merely by association of ideas—to two Egyptologists exchanging dig memories of thirty years ago. And "Decorated". Is this expressive too? Was ever name worse chosen? Here are three classes of pottery in all of which designs are applied to the prepared surface of the vase. The first is—not unreasonably—called Black Incised; the second has designs in white paint on a polished red ground; the third has designs in reddish-brown on a buff or grey background, and we are asked to believe that the most expressive name that can be found for it is Decorated Ware. Are not all three decorated? And what claim has the last to be called Decorated *par excellence*?

But why analyse this faulty classification farther. Its defects are apparent to the

¹ In the plates of the Ballâş volume "Cross Line" ware was described as "Polished red pottery, white cross lines". Recent writers, however, seem to have dropped even the word "white". The term "Cross Line" was originally adopted because one characteristic of this pottery was the use—occasional, not invariable—of hatching to fill in the surfaces of units of the design, especially when these were animals. The adoption of this characteristic, seen only on a small proportion of these vases, as a label for the ware as a whole, was unfortunate. If a shorthand name was needed—and such names are convenient for speech and even for writing—"white-on-red" would have served the turn. Similarly "Decorated" ware might have been spoken of as "red-on-buff".

schoolboy. The mistake lies not in the fact of its coming into existence. We can see how it arose: among the first white-on-red pots found were some which showed the use of crossed lines to fill up the bodies of animals and other units of design, and the first red-on-buff vases found would naturally strike their finders as being, in contradistinction to other vases of the same body material, decorated. The names suggested themselves naturally as the excavation proceeded, and at the time and in the circumstances they were expressive and had a value. The mistake lay not in the invention of these names, but in their being allowed to pass into the literature of Egyptian archaeology. The chronological classification of which they were ultimately made to form a part, due to the genius of Sir Flinders Petrie, is one of the finest examples in the history of archaeology of the application of the typological method.¹ If any improvement could have been suggested in it it would have been the replacement of the rough useful type-names of the dig² by others more accurately descriptive and scientific. Yet can we blame Petrie for failing in this? All of us who dig know how natural it is for the jargon of the camp dinner-table, sanctified by sunshine, healthy open-air life, and good fellowship, to become fixed so firmly in our minds that it obtrudes itself into the cold severity of our reports, so that what was Cross Line in sunny Naḳādah remains Cross Line in the fog of Gower Street.

This tendency to use "expressive" rather than intelligible names for classes of pottery has unfortunately persisted in Egypt, though it has never again bloomed so luxuriantly as in the Predynastic period. Soberer counsels came into play. Reisner and Mace, for instance, in the archaic cemeteries of Nag' ed-Dêr applied to Egyptian pottery the scientific principles which outside Egypt had long been part of the training of every beginner in the art of excavation. The examples set by these pioneers have not been thrown away, and it may be said that pottery now generally receives adequate treatment in Egypt, even when found in the disparaging proximity of "pretty-pretties" of gold, carnelian, and alabaster.

Then must we still carry the burden of Cross Line, Decorated, Fancy Forms, and the rest of that monstrous brood? Must they continue to arouse the smiles of our colleagues who dig in Greece and Mesopotamia? Has Egyptology no limbo to which they can be consigned, or must we be as conservative as the ancient people who made these very pots? Can we not apply to the Predynastic period the same principles of classification which we now apply almost universally to the other periods of Egyptian history?

As long ago as 1914 Professor J. P. Droop and the writer, publishing the pottery which we had found in certain excavations at Abydos, pointed out the defects of the old classification, and, after very careful examination of our finds, suggested a new one based on more scientific principles of division,³ principles which we had both been taught on various sites outside Egypt as part of the ordinary routine of excavation. We did not suppose that our scheme was perfect, that it was incapable of being improved, or that it would not be modified by later discoveries. But, in our innocence, we did at least believe that the defects of the old system had only to be pointed out for it to be abandoned in favour either of our scheme or of another based on similar lines. But we had reckoned without the force of tradition. No one paid the slightest attention to our protest, and to-day, nearly twenty years later, white hippopotami and trees on a red polished vase are "Cross Line", pots with red designs on buff alone may rank as "Decorated", and "Fancy Forms" still have a corner to themselves in the hearts of their finders as well as in the show-cases of certain museums.

¹ Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 4 ff.

² For an amusing example of such names see J. P. Droop, *Archaeological Excavation* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 28.

³ *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, 10-13.

How much longer must this go on? How much longer shall we give outsiders the excuse for the wholly unfair charge that in Egypt we only play at archaeology?

The answer seems to the writer to lie in the hands of those responsible for the International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery referred to above. The catalogue slips sent out to contributors have been drawn up in such a way that, if properly filled in, they will provide a sound scientific description of each vase, and render a proper classification possible. We have every confidence that the classification will be worthy of the magnitude of the scheme, that the pottery of the various periods will be classified by its essential, not its accidental, characteristics, and that to the various types there will be given names which, if not "expressive", will at least be suitable and descriptive. To the dogs with expressiveness! Cross Line and Decorated and Fancy Forms are the paraphernalia of the Dark Ages. Let us have none of them.

ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE

ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, who died on February 4 of this year, was born on September 5, 1845, and thus, having studied Oriental languages when very young, formed a connecting link between the early decipherers of lost languages of the Near East and the most recent writers on the grammar and ancient history of the same region. His name appears on the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund at its first general meeting, in 1883, along with those of Sir Erasmus Wilson (President), Miss Amelia B. Edwards and Reginald Stuart Poole (Hon. Secretaries), Sir Charles Newton, and other famous people. At that time the Egypt Exploration Fund was especially devoted to the excavation of biblical sites, a field of exploration which is no longer fashionable. Indeed, as everybody knows now, the chosen people were so few and weak by the side of the great powers of the Near East that their material monuments, even in their own country of Palestine, hardly affect the general view, and their ancient presence in Egypt has left scarcely a mark of any kind, however great has been their religious and literary influence on the whole world in comparatively recent days.

Sayce was never an enthusiast for exploration of biblical sites, his orthodoxy even was questionable, but having been a member of the Revision Committee of the Old Testament (1874–81) it is not surprising to find that he served on the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund at least as early as 1890. He was also among the earliest members of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

Sayce had an amazing visual memory, so that a tablet or a page of text once read was as it were photographed on his mind, and though the photograph might fade after a few days, the leading features of it would remain. His delightful *Reminiscences*, published in 1923, show how vivid and picturesque was his memory of far-off things, and incidentally what a happy life was his, in spite of weak lungs and eyes. His health compelled him to winter in the sunny south, and he loved travel and meeting with people on his travels; and, since he possessed an adequate income, to which he added by his constant writing, in part as fellow of The Queen's College, there was nothing to prevent his indulging his love of travel to the full. In his early years he confined his wanderings to the Mediterranean shores and hinterlands. Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor he visited time after time with kindred souls, and saw all the famous ruins, and the ancient sites which were beginning to be opened up by Schliemann and a few other explorers. His first landing in Egypt appears to have been in the year 1879, and in the genial climate of Upper Egypt he tells us that he experienced for the first time a sensation of pleasure in mere existence. In the course of his long life he seems to have seen everything and everybody that was interesting, and having an unlimited capacity for assimilating knowledge, must have acquired a vast experience of men and things and places. One cannot but feel that his marvellous gifts were out of proportion to his accomplishment. His vivid imagination and insight framed pictures of events and of interpretation in which he too often mistook the sharp lines of the picture for fact, and before he could establish or subvert his discoveries by argument, he had passed to some other field of research. His was the joyful existence of a brilliant butterfly tasting the delicious flowers of a great garden but never dwelling long enough in one spot to realize wholly its sweetness. His width of knowledge and interests was amazing, and he had little liking for the laboriousness of a specialist. Thus he attacked or swept aside the fine scholarship of the Higher

Critics of the Bible by arguments which perhaps satisfied himself, but did not touch the real matter of their criticism, although the results of archaeological research could well have been utilized for improving the background of their knowledge and the detail of their discoveries. At the same time he could at a stroke open up vistas in Oriental History as by the inspiration of a Prophet, as when he recognized in 1879 that the so-called Hamathite inscriptions were to be found throughout Asia Minor and that the Hittites, their authors, had once formed a great empire in the Near East, a conclusion which has since been fully confirmed. In his early days he was more like a specialist, and did very remarkable work in deciphering the Vannic and Elamite inscriptions as well as in interpreting the religious and astronomical texts of Assyria and Babylonia. Only twenty years ago, too, he attacked the Meroitic inscriptions with marvellous acumen and considerable success. But it was fortunate that when he edited the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine, his insight and strange learning were directed and controlled by the fine judgement and scholarship of the late Sir Arthur Cowley.

Sayce's life was both laborious and joyous; his disposition was eminently kindly and on the whole optimistic. His attitude to life was that of a fastidious ascetic, almost one may say of an austere sybarite. He had no inclination for games, yet his spare figure had great powers of endurance, and he could support the hardships of travel without a murmur. In bad Oxford weather he would never drive, but preferred walking in goloshes. Quick and generous in recognition of merit in younger men, he was impatient of the claims, the pride, and the reticence of exact scholarship. He was himself quite accustomed to making mistakes, for progress in new fields is only possible by the process of trial and error. If Sayce ever had enemies, he ignored their enmity and seldom wrote a harsh word in answer to attacks. The final pages of his *Reminiscences*, however, express more doubt of his own infallibility than might perhaps have been expected, and reveal a consciousness of failings. He has left no lasting monument either in the laborious edition of a text or in any school of disciples. His true function was to break new ground, to excite public interest in exploration, to divert attention from the beaten paths of learning to its beauteous side-walks, and to keep the world informed of new developments in the archaeology of all lands. He was an ardent collector of ostraca in Egypt (at a time when their importance was as yet unrecognized), and of Chinese and Japanese works of art. Some Egyptian antiquities he presented to the Cairo Museum, when he gave up his dahabiya on the Nile. The rest of his collections, and his library, including notebooks filled with hard-won copies of inscriptions, he has given or bequeathed to his College and his University.

F. Ll. G.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

A. POPYRI (1931-1932)

The work is again divided as follows:

- § 1. Literary Texts. H. J. M. MILNE, British Museum.
- § 2. Religion, Magic, Astrology (including texts). A. D. NOCK, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- § 3. Publications of non-literary texts. H. I. BELL, British Museum.
- § 4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography and Chronology. J. G. MILNE, 20 Bardwell Road, Oxford (Ptolemaic and Graeco-Roman Periods), and N. H. BAYNES, Fitzwalters, Northwood, Middlesex (Byzantine and Arab Periods).
- § 5. Social Life, Education, Art, Economic History, Numismatics and Metrology. J. G. MILNE (Ptolemaic and Graeco-Roman), and N. H. BAYNES (Byzantine and Arab).
- § 6. Law. F. DE ZULUETA, 37 Norham Road, Oxford.
- § 7. Palaeography and Diplomatic. Miss M. E. DICKER, 21 Elm Bank Mansions, London, S.W. 13.
- § 8. Lexicography and Grammar. R. M^cKENZIE, St. John's College, Oxford.
- § 9. General Works, Bibliography, General Notes on Papyrus Texts. H. I. BELL.
- § 10. Miscellaneous, Excavations, Personal. H. I. BELL.

The authors wish jointly to express their gratitude to all those scholars who have sent them off-prints of their articles, a kindness which has greatly facilitated the work of compiling this bibliography.

The following abbreviations have been used in quoting periodicals:

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| <i>A.J.A.</i> = <i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i> | <i>Cl. Quart.</i> = <i>Classical Quarterly.</i> |
| <i>Am. Hist. Rev.</i> = <i>American Historical Review.</i> | <i>Cl. Rev.</i> = <i>Classical Review.</i> |
| <i>Am. Journ. Phil.</i> = <i>American Journal of Philology.</i> | <i>Cl. Weekly</i> = <i>Classical Weekly.</i> |
| <i>Anc. Egypt</i> = <i>Ancient Egypt.</i> | <i>C.-R. Ac. Inscr. et B.-L.</i> = <i>Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i> |
| <i>Ann. Serv.</i> = <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i> | <i>D. Lit.-Z.</i> = <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung.</i> |
| <i>Arch. f. Rel.</i> = <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</i> | <i>G.G.A.</i> = <i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.</i> |
| <i>Arch. Giurid.</i> = <i>Archivio giuridico.</i> | <i>Griffith Studies</i> = <i>Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, Egypt Exploration Society, 1932.</i> |
| <i>Archiv</i> = <i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung.</i> | <i>Hist. Z.</i> = <i>Historische Zeitschrift.</i> |
| <i>Arch. R. u. W.</i> = <i>Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie.</i> | <i>Jahrb. f. Lit.</i> = <i>Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft.</i> |
| <i>Ä.Z.</i> = <i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i> | <i>J.H.S.</i> = <i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i> |
| <i>B.C.H.</i> = <i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i> | <i>Journal</i> = <i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i> |
| <i>Boll. fil. class.</i> = <i>Bollettino di filologia classica.</i> | <i>Journ. Sav.</i> = <i>Journal des Savants.</i> |
| <i>Bull. bibl. et péd.</i> = <i>Bulletin bibliographique et pédagogique du Musée Belge.</i> | <i>J.R.S.</i> = <i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i> |
| <i>Bull. Ist. Dir. Rom.</i> = <i>Bulletino del Istituto di diritto romano.</i> | <i>K.V.G.R.</i> = <i>Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft.</i> |
| <i>Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.</i> = <i>Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie.</i> | <i>L.Q.R.</i> = <i>Law Quarterly Review.</i> |
| <i>Bursian</i> = <i>Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> | <i>N.G.G.</i> = <i>Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.</i> |
| <i>B.Z.</i> = <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i> | <i>O.L.Z.</i> = <i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i> |
| <i>Chron. d'Ég.</i> = <i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i> | <i>Phil. Woch.</i> = <i>Philologische Wochenschrift.</i> |
| <i>Cl. Phil.</i> = <i>Classical Philology.</i> | <i>Rech. sc. relig.</i> = <i>Recherches de science religieuse.</i> |
| | <i>Rev. arch.</i> = <i>Revue archéologique.</i> |
| | <i>Rev. belge</i> = <i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.</i> |
| | <i>Rev. de phil.</i> = <i>Revue de philologie.</i> |

Rev. d'hist. eccl. = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.*
Rev. ét. anc. = *Revue des études anciennes.*
Rev. ét. gr. = *Revue des études grecques.*
Rev. hist. dr. = *Revue historique de droit français et étranger.*
Rev. hist. rel. = *Revue de l'histoire des religions.*
Rhein. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*
Riv. di. fl. = *Rivista di filologia classica.*
Riv. Stor. Dir. Ital. = *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano.*
Sitzungsb. . . . = *Sitzungsberichte . . .*

Symb. Oslo. = *Symbolae Osloenses.*
Theol. Lit.-Z. = *Theologische Literaturzeitung.*
Z. f. Kirchengesch. = *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.*
Z. f. Numism. = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik.*
Z. f. vergleich. Rechtsw. = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.*
Z. neut. Wiss. = *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
Z. Sav. = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung (Romanistische Abteilung).*

I. LITERARY TEXTS.

General. First of all we must greet the new series of Rainer Papyri, *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, under the editorship of HANS GERSTINGER. The first issue promises well, and includes: Stereometry, Homer, epic and bucolic frs., Aeolic scrap, History of the Diadochi, Demosthenes, Lysias, Isaeus, Encomia, philosophy, mythology, schoolboy essay on preliminaries to the Trojan war, grammar, metrics, notes on later dithyrambs, scholia to Pindar's *Pythian* i. 87, tragic commentary, and commentary to *De Fals. Leg.* Reviewed by POWELL in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 262-3.

P.S.I. x, fasc. 2 (see § 3 below), consists of literary texts, nos. 1163-81, viz.: Job, Jonah, Acts of Apostles (xxiii. 11-29, Western Text, in hand similar to Brit. Mus. Dio Chrysostom), Apocalypse, *Iliad*, Herodotus, Aristophanes (*Nubes*, 577-635), Argonautica (i. 1195-1221, 1 cent.), Scholia to *Odyssey*, [Corinna (*Orestas*)], Old Comedy, New Comedy, Romance (Antonius Diogenes ?), Manuals of augury, Medical Receipts from Tebtunis, Odes (Bacchylides ?). Nos. in square brackets already published. The richness of Oxyrhynchus as a literary site is again upheld.

A new publication, *Études de Papyrologie*, was launched in 1932 by the Soc. Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie, forming a complement to the "Textes et Documents" of the same Society.

In *Bursian*, 236 (1932), 115-226, A. DEBRUNNER writes a "Bericht über die Literatur zum nachklass. Griechisch, 1904-29". KÖRTE continues his report on Literary Texts in *Archiv*, x, 217-37. In *Études de Papyrologie*, I (1932), 11-18, W. G. WADDELL publishes "Some Literary Papyri from Oxyrhynchus" in the Cairo collection, viz.: frs. of *Iliad*, XVII, XXIII, XXIV; *Odyssey*, XIII; Callimachus, *H. to Artemis*, 46-84 with scholia; Thucydides, I; Euripides, *Orestes*, 754-64; three texts for school use. P. COLLOMP in *Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932), 237-42, writes on *La Critique Textuelle et la Papyrologie*. *Ibid.*, 243-55, G. VON MANTEUFFEL discusses *Die Papyri als Zeugen Griech. Kleinliteratur*. POWELL has edited a *Third Series of New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 1933, with chapters by various authors on Earlier Lyric and Elegiac, Tragedy, Comedy, Later Elegy, etc., Romance, and Appendix.

Epic and Elegiac. In *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 151-5, BARBARA P. MCCARTHY writes on *Line Omissions in Homeric Papyri since 1925, i.e. since Bolling's External Evidence*.

P. COLLART discusses the papyri of the *Iliad* in *Rev. de Phil.*, 3 sér., VI (1932), 315-49, VII (1933), 33-61.

A. SEVERYNS writes on P. Ryl. 22 and the Little *Iliad* in *Serta Leodiensia*, 1930, 305-26.

WESSELY is represented in *Griffith Studies* by an article *De Callimacho Bibliothecario*, 38-41.

In the *Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein*, 1931, 23-69, E. REITZENSTEIN discusses passages from the *Aitia*.

R. PFEIFFER writes on *Berenikes Plokamos* in *Philologus*, LXXXVII (1932), 179-228. Rev. by G. COPPOLA in *Boll. di Fil. Class.*, N.S., II (1932), 272-5.

MILNE in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 250, regards *λευκάς ἡμέρας* in the *Iambi* scholia (P.S.I. 1094), l. 39, as certainly a lemma. Incidentally, is not *ἐν τῷ Ἀχέρωντι* in l. 38 simply a gloss on the unusual [*μέσον Ἀχέροντος* ?

R. KEYDELL in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 240-1, finds remains also of a *Gigantias* in the Brit. Mus. *Bassarica*.

A. WIFSTRAND edits two *Argonautica* fragments from Berlin in *Eranos*, XXX (1932), 1-6. The second consists of scholia to iii, 1075-1127, and contains interesting readings.

Tyrtaeus forms the subject of an article by F. SCHACHERMEYR in *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXI (1932), 129-42.

W. JAEGER also writes on Tyrtaeus in *Sitzungsb. Berl. Ak.*, 1932, 537-68.

T. W. ALLEN *inter alia* discusses Hesiod, fr. 96 (P. Berol. 10560) in *Cl. Quart.*, 1932, 82-7.

In *Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932), 256-7, G. MÉAUTIS writes on *Une réminiscence Homérique dans un Pap. d'Oxyrhynchus, i.e. P. Oxy. 1794*. Thinks the author a disciple of Callimachus.

SCHUBART republishes as *Posidippus Redivivus* an elegiac poem from a waxed tablet in Berlin, in *Symbolae O. A. Danielsson dicatae*, 1932, 290–8.

In *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VIII (1932), 53–62 W. PEEK restores *Griechische Epigramme aus Aegypten*, with 6 plates.

P. MAAS in *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, 60, 286, interprets *προμήθεσαι* in P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 54 as aorist imperative of *προμηθέσομαι*.

Lyric. B. SNELL identifies P. Oxy. 426 as a Paean of Bacchylides in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 1–13. MAAS, *ibid.*, 469–71, discusses the metrical aspects.

B. LAVAGNINI restores *Sappho* ε, 5 (Lobel) in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, XVI (1932), 1–5. In l. 19 *υμωνεμος = ὕμοι ἀνεμος* is nearer the traces than L.'s Ὑμήναος. L. has also published a *Nuova Antologia dei frammenti della lirica greca*, Turin, 1932.

A new scrap of *Corinna* is published by G. COPPOLA in his *Introduzione a Pindaro*, 1931, 231–42. The end of one poem and the first lines with title (*Orestas*) of a second are preserved. The new *Bacchylides* (?), *P.S.I.* 1181, consists of two fragmentary odes, the second entitled *Leucippides*. These were the wives of the Dioscuri, whose legend (or something similar) is obviously referred to in ll. 27–9 of the first ode. In ll. 13–14 read: *Δὶ μὲν ἄκα[ιρον] λιπαρῶ | κηχέταν λι[μένα,, and in l. 17 εὐανθέο[ς εἰ]ταρο[ς ἀνα]θέστας*. The end of the poem, ll. 21–37, can be restored with practical certainty. In l. 36 read *Πρ[ι]αμίδ[ε]ς ?*, and in l. 20 *εὐήρατ[ον θυ]σία[ν δ]όμων ?*

K. LATTE in *Philologus*, LXXXVII (1932), 271–2, interprets Bacchylides xvi. 112.

In *Phil. Woch.*, 52 (1932), 87–102, K. MÜNSCHER writes on the new Hymns from Epidaurus.

Drama, etc. Three new fragments of Aeschylus have been found by the Italians at Oxyrhynchus; two, from the *Niobe* and the *Dictyoulkoi*, are published by NORSA and VITELLI in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 28, 107–21.

G. VON MANTEUFFEL writes on *Drobne Gatunki Mimiczne w Świelle Papyrusów* in the *Acts of the Second Congress of Slav Classical Philologists*, Prague, 1931.

I learn from *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 145, of two studies of Menander by TSERETELI.

In *Neophilologus*, XVII (1932), 144–52, W. E. J. KNIPER makes a study of *De Verfoeide van Menander* (*Μισούμενος*).

KÖRTE in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 367–8, restores l. 397 of the *Περικειρομένη*, and assigns an iambic verse in *Vol. Hercul.*, XI, 160, 9, to the *Diktys* of Euripides.

Q. CATADELLA in *Riv. di fil.*, IX (1931), 509–11, makes restorations in the choliambics of P. Heidel. 310.

History. G. DE SANCTIS writes on the Oxyrhynchus *Hellenica* in *Atti della Reale Accad. d. Scienze di Torino*, LXVI (1931), 157–94, and A. MOMIGLIANO, *ibid.*, 29–49, argues for Androtion as the author.

A. v. PREMIERSTEIN writes on *Das Datum des Prozesses des Isidoros in den sogenannten heidnischen Märtyrerakten*, in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 174–96. He also reviews UXKULL-GYLLENBAND'S "New fragment", in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 201–6.

Oratory. The new *Favorinus* is treated at length by A. WIFSTRAND in *Eikota*, II (1932), 1–16. Also by G. M. LATTANZI, *Il proemio del περί φυγῆς*, in *Riv. di fil.*, X (1932), 499–500.

There is a long review of F. by K. PRAECHTER in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 561–72.

P. COLLART also writes on Favorinus in *Bull. Ass. Guillaume Budé*, XXXIV (1932), 23–31; B. LAVAGNINI in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, XVI (1932), 122–4.

I learn from *Cl. Rev.*, p. 145, that TSERETELI has published a papyrus of Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*.

F. SOLMSEN in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 141–3, essays *Rekonstruktionen zur antiken Rhetorik und Poetik*.

Philosophy. K. v. FRITZ reviews in detail VOGLIANO'S *Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta*, in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 65–84.

VOGLIANO in *Festschrift zu F. Polands 75. Geburtstag* (nos. 35–8 of *Phil. Woch.*), 111–14, discusses col. 13 of P. Hercul. 1005 under the title *Vox Philodemi*.

W. G. WADDELL writes *On the Oxy. Papyrus of Philo* in *Études de Papyrologie*, I (1932), 1–6, and identifies the unplaced fragments.

In *Sitzungsb. Berl. Ak.*, 1932, 23–84, HANS LEWY writes on *Neue Philontexte in der Überarbeitung des Ambrosius* with an appendix of new Greek frs.

In *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 1458–61, R. PHILIPPSON replies to criticisms of K. v. FRITZ on Book 28 of Epicurus, *περί φύσεως*.

E. ORTH in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 1315–17, proposes restorations in Philodemus.

R. CANTARELLA in *Riv. di fil.*, X (1932), 359–68, writes on *La Officina dei Papiri Ercolanesi dal 1923 al 1931*, with list of relative publications.

Romance. F. ZIMMERMANN in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 91-116, restores two columns of the *Ninos* romance.

In *Festschrift für G. Leidinger*, 1930, 102-8, A. HARTMANN publishes from a Munich papyrus of the fourth century a drawing representing a dramatic scene. Cf. § 3.

2. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY.

(Including Texts.)

General. The new volume of *Papiri greci e latini* (P.S.I. x, 1932) includes 1147, a census record of priests of the temple of Seknebtynis at Tebtunis (A.D. 202/3); 1161, a fourth-century Christian letter; 1162 (" ? 3rd cent. A.D.") a very curious oath to preserve τὰ μετὰ (rather παρα-) δ[ε]δομένα μοι μυστήρια, and mentioning a πατήρ and a ἱεροκῆρυξ, clearly the oath of a cult society of an esoteric kind, not unlike the sort of society which might have arisen in connexion with Hermetic literature (the opening formula has the Jewish tinge which we find in C.H.I.). [For some Biblical texts, see § 1 above.—Ed.]

P. JOUGUET, *Inscription de Deir-Chelouit* (*Griffith Studies*, 241-4, pl. 24a), is a re-edition of S.B. 4023, a graffito by a *stolistes* with a notable use of εἰς αἰῶνα after the Imperial names which date it 15 June 200.

G. KLAFFENBACH, *Eine Weihung an Isis* (*Archiv*, x (1932), 215-16), gives a curious text from Antinoopolis. The phrase Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων κ[αὶ Ἀ]γαθὴ Τύχη ἀξιο [. . .] τὴν κυρίαν Ἴσω is thought by K. to indicate that these deities, perhaps represented on the relief, were regarded as interceding with Isis for the dedicant. But it is just possible, if unlikely, that Ἀ.Δ. and Ἀ.Τ. are both personal names.

FR. W. VON BISSING, *Eine "pantheistische" Bronze in der ägyptischen Sammlung zu Florenz* (*Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 339-45), publishes a puzzling Ptolemaic representation of a human-headed bird, with long tail, its feet on two small rams, a uraeus crown, etc.

J. G. MILNE, *Arsinoe and Ammon* (*Griffith Studies*, 13-15), makes the interesting suggestion that the doctrine that Alexander was son of Ammon was developed into a popular romance by Lysimachus and brought to Egypt by his widow Arsinoe.

HERBERT THOMPSON, *Eponymous Priests under the Ptolemies* (*Griffith Studies*, 16-37), is an invaluable supplement to Plaumann's article *Hiereis* in *Pauly-Wissowa*.

O. MONTEVECCHI, *Γραφαὶ ἱερέων* (*Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 317-28), deals with the personal lists annually presented to the civil authority by temples.

CH. PICARD, *Les influences étrangères au tombeau de Pétoisiris: Grèce ou Perse?* (*Mélanges V. Loret; Bull. Inst. fr. arch. orient.*, XXX (1930), 201-27), confirms excellently the hypothesis of Greek influence in the relief decorating of this tomb, as against the hypothesis of Persian influence, and shows new points of contact with Hellenistic art.

L. GERNET-A. BOULANGER, *Le Génie grec dans la Religion* (Bibliothèque de synthèse historique, 11; La renaissance du livre. Paris. 1932. Pp. xlii+528. 40fr.), includes by the second of its two authors, pp. 393-517, an excellent survey of the religious history of the Hellenistic period. The warning, p. 461, against belief in the supposed Mithraeum at Eleusis will be noted.

FRITZ SAXL, *Mithras, Typologische Untersuchungen* (Verlag Heinrich Keller, Berlin. 1931. Pp. xi+125 with 43 plates), is as useful and important a book as it is beautiful. It is a very serious contribution to the study of the interplay of Greek and Eastern factors as well as to art-history. The fresco from Pniferos, which is so instructive a parallel to that from Karanis, is discussed p. 21 and figured Abb. 62.

H. MATTINGLY, *A Mithraic tessera from Verulam* (*Num. Chron.*, 5th ser., XII (1932), 54-7), publishes a queer disk showing the birth of Mithras from a rock (produced by altering the Tarpeia type on a denarius of Augustus), and on the other side ΜΙΘΡΑΣ ΩΡΟΜΑΣΔΗΣ read in a circle with ΦΡΗΝ across the circle, which indicates a curious blending of Egyptian and Persian elements.

HANS HERTER, *De Priapo* (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, xxiii (1932). Pp. 334 with 3 plates. Töpelmann, Giessen), is another admirable study, giving as it does a complete collection of the material literary and monumental, and throwing light on the general processes of Hellenistic development.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament in Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von GERHARD KITTEL (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. 1932. 7 parts published at RM 2.90 each, 64 pp. each) is an outstanding enterprise. Intended to take the place of Cremer, it is the product of intimate collaboration by a staff of specialists, and gives a unique series of monographs on words of interest for religious history; it is already indispensable to all workers in this field. In this connexion I may mention E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, *Zur Lexikographie des Neuen Testaments und seiner Umwelt* (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, CIV (1932), 238-54), which surveys recent work and

remarks, p. 240, on the notable phenomenon of the development of specific Jewish terminology between the LXX and the N.T.

J. BIDEZ, *La cité du monde et la cité du soleil* (*Bull. acad. roy. Belg.*, 5th ser. 18 (1932), nos. 7-9, pp. 244-94; also issued separately by Les Belles Lettres, Paris), is an eloquent and illuminating study of the interpretation of Greek and Eastern idea in Stoicism. B. has also produced Vol. 1, pt. 1 of his Budé edition of Julian, including the political speeches; this fulfils a long-felt need.

FR. CUMONT, *Tête de marbre figurant la Lybie* (*Mon. Piot*, xxxii (1932), 1-10 with 1 pl. and 3 figs.), incidentally explains a torso from Cyrene as Isis or an Isis priestess and remarks on a gem signed by Lycomedes as showing a princess reigning at Cyrene with the attributes of Isis. In his *L'adoration des mages et l'art triomphal de Rome* (*Mem. pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch.*, Ser. III, 3 (1932), 81-109 with 9 pls.), he proves conclusively that a group of reliefs wrongly connected with Magi comes from a triumphal arch set up to celebrate a victory over the Parthians and decorated in a traditional style, shows the effect of this tradition on later Christian representations of the adoration of Christ by the Magi, and gives a new and illuminating discussion of the custom of veiling the hands which we know in monuments illustrating Egyptian worships as practised in the Graeco-Roman world at large (not in ancient Egypt).

H. J. ROSE, *Mithra-Phaëthon chez Nonnus* (*Rev. hist. rel.*, cv (1932), 88-101), and CUMONT's postscript, *ibid.*, 102-3, are supplementary to the paper by C. on *La fin du monde* noticed in *Journal*, xviii (1932), 81.

W. W. TARN, *Alexander Helios and the Golden Age* (*J.R.S.* xxii (1932), 135-60), argues that *Orac. Sib.*, III, 350 ff. is a prophecy relating to what was expected of Cleopatra, and notes, 139 ff., parallels with the Praises of Isis. He explains the fourth Eclogue, convincingly to my mind, as a prophecy connected with the son expected from Antony and Octavia.

G. MANTEUFFEL, *In Oraculum figuli observationes* (*Eos*, xxxiii (1930/1), 391-4), supplies parallels from the Old Testament.

B. OLSSON, *Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen* (*Aegyptus*, xii (1932), 355 ff.), handles secondly an extra leaf of P. Holmiensis, a formula for seeing the Sungod.

L. R. TAYLOR, *The divinity of the Roman Emperor*, is reviewed by A. D. NOCK, *Gnomon*, viii (1932), 513-18; what is there said about Agathos Daimon should be supplemented by reference to the remarks of M. P. NILSSON, *Die Götter des Symposions* (*Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae*, Uppsala 1932, 218-30) about Zeus Philios, whom he regards with reason as little more than a *konkretisierter Begriff*, taking shape in the time of the Peloponnesian war as an outgrowth of the rise of individualism, and about the toast of Agathos Daimon himself; also G. H. MACURDY, *The grammar of drinking healths* (*Am. Journ. Phil.*, liii (1932), 168-71).

S. EITREM, *Zur Apotheose* (*Symb. Oslo.*, x (1932), 31-56; xi (1932), 11-34; to be cont.), is illuminating on the assumption of divine costume by rulers, etc., on the Gytheion inscription, on Caligula, and on "Die heilige Ehe".

K. SCOTT, *The significance of statues in precious metals in Emperor Worship* (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LXII (1931), 101-23), also bears on this topic.

G. A. S. SNLJDER, *Ein Priester der Magna Mater aus Smyrna* (*Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden; Nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi*, Nieuwe Reeks, xiii, i (1932), 1-13), deals with priestly crowns in general. His very interesting *Antique and mediaeval gems on bookcovers at Utrecht* (*Art Bulletin*, xiv (1932), 5-52) includes p. 36 remarks on Egyptian and other types of Bacchus.

O. WEINREICH's survey, *Volkskunde* (1925-31) (*Arch. f. Rel.*, xxix (1931), 44-84), should be consulted for parallels to the popular tales of the Empire, on which there are valuable observations in the brilliant paper of E. SCHWARTZ, *Unzeitgemässe Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen* (*Z. neut. Wiss.*, xxxii (1932), 151-99). On one folk-tale which comes into our period there are excellent observations by W. KROLL, *Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche* (*Pädagogisches Zentralblatt*, Heft 5 (1932), 253-6; valuable criticisms of Reitzenstein's views).

F. J. DÖLGER, *Drei Theta als Schatzsicherung u. ihre Deutung durch den Bischof Theophil von Alexandrien* (*Antike u. Christentum*, iii (1932), 189-91), treats the legend of the treasure in Alexander's tomb. In the same journal he discusses a head of an Isis priest with a cross on his forehead, and decides that it is a scar (ii (1930), 291-6).

H. KEES, *Die Himmelsreise im ägyptischen Totenglauben* (*Vorträge Bibliothek Warburg*, 1928/9, pub. 1930), 1-20, is of use to students of this period. The same volume includes R. REITZENSTEIN, *Heilige Handlung* (21-41), which sums up the *Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* of the great scholar whom we all mourn.

In the previous volume (1927-8, pub. 1930) we may note J. KROLL, *Zur Geschichte des Spieles von Christi Höllenfahrt* (257-301).

A. D. NOCK, *Cremation and burial in the Roman Empire* (*Harv. Theol. Rev.*, xxv (1932), 321-59), argues that the change from cremation to burial which took place in Italy and the West in the second century A.D. was due not to religious changes but to the fact that the sarcophagus became fashionable and thus made burial customary. He further draws conclusions as to the character of the hellenization of Egyptian and other Eastern cults in the Graeco-Roman world.

O. LASSALLY, *Amulette u. Tätowierungen in Ägypten* (*Arch. f. Rel.*, xxix (1931), 130-8), may be mentioned although not bearing directly on these times.

A. STORCH-F. HEICHELHEIM, *Zum Traumglauben u. Traumverständnis in der Antike auf Grund urkundlicher Traumberichte aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (*Zentralbl. f. Psychotherapie u. ihre Grenzgebiete*, iv (1932), 559-60), is known to me from *Aeg.* xii (1932), 417, no. 87.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I, is reviewed by FR. PFISTER, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, lvii (1932), 148-53; II by M. P. NILSSON, *D. Lit.-Z.*, 3 F., III (1932), 2065-74, which includes a reference to a stele inscribed "Ωρον found at Goritsa in Thessaly (*B.C.H.*, lv (1931), 487 ff.) near a building which may be a sanctuary.

Graeco-Jewish literature. H. LEWY, *Hekataios von Abdera περί Ἰουδαίων* (*Z. neut. Wiss.*, xxxii (1932), 116-32), gives a powerful defence of the authenticity of the excerpt in Joseph. *C. Ap.* 183.

R. MARCUS, *Divine names and attributes in Hellenistic Jewish literature* (*Proc. Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research*, 1931-2, 43-120), is a very valuable piece of lexicographical investigation.

J. S. BOUGHTON, *The idea of progress in Philo Judaeus* (New York, 1932. Distributed by the Jewish Publication Society of America; pp. 292. \$1.50), shows a close acquaintance with Philo and his modern interpreters, and emphasizes well the peculiarly Jewish element in his work and the definite point of view to which Philo adapts the concepts of popular philosophy. E. R. GOODENOUGH, *A Neopythagorean source in Philo Judaeus* (*Yale Classical Studies*, III (1932), 117-64), gives an excellent analysis of *quis rerum diuinarum heres*, 130 ff.

BAUDISSIN, *Kyrios*, is reviewed by BERTHOLET, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, lvii (1932), 52-7; G. KUHLMANN, *Theologia naturalis bei Philon und bei Paulus* (*Neut.-Forsch.*, I, 7, 1930) by H. WINDISCH, *ibid.*, 9-12; R. TRAMONTANO, *La lettera di Aristeo e Filocrate* by FÉVRIER, *Rev. ét. juives*, xcii (1932), 214-17.

Magic, etc. A. S. HUNT, *The Warren magical papyrus* (*Griffith Studies*, 233-40), is a text of the third century A.D. and has on the recto a fine amatory spell (with 20 ζ τὸ πῦρ ἀσβεστον δι' αἰῶνος παράκειται cf. P. gr. mag. iv, 3069, ζ τὸ ἀσβεστον πῦρ διὰ παντὸς αἰῶνος προσπαράκειται), and on the verso three horoscopes and a spell.

H. I. BELL-A. D. NOCK-HERBERT THOMPSON, *Magical texts from a bilingual papyrus in the British Museum* (Pp. 55 with facsimile. *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xvii and separately, Oxf. Univ. Pr. 7s. 6d.), publish a document partly in Greek and partly in Demotic, probably from the Anastasi group, with translations and commentary. Reviews by H. J. ROSE, *Cl. Rev.*, xlvi (1932), 180; W. T. P., *J.H.S.* liii (1932), 166; FR. PFISTER, *D.L.Z.*, 1932, 1165-6; N. J. REICH, *Mizraim*, I (1933), 193-4.

K. PREISENDANZ, *Amulettum ineditum* (*Phil. Woch.*, 1932, nos. 35-38, 101-8, in a number described as *Festschrift für Franz Poland*, who has deserved so well of the journal) publishes a Berlin haematite probably meant to be heart-shaped inscr. with a spell and a drawing of an anchor. P. has published also *Mumienamulett auf Papyrus* (*Études de papyrologie*, I (1932), 19-22) which is notable because ἀβλαθαναβαβα and ἀκρᾶμμαχαμαραι have passed from being *nomina* to being gods. His *Papyri graecae magicae*, I, has been reviewed by K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *G.G.A.*, cxci (1931), 441-50; II by H. J. ROSE, *Cl. Rev.*, xlvi (1932), 84-5, A. CALDERINI, *Aegyptus*, xii (1932), 80-1, FR. PFISTER, *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 916-26, M. NORSÄ, *Boll. fil. class.*, xxxviii (1932), 365 ff., TH. HOPFNER, *Gnomon*, viii (1932), 393-5.

For reviews of P. OSLO. II, see § 3.

A. JACOBY, *Zu Pap. graec. mag.*, III, 479 f. (*Arch. f. Rel.*, xxix (1931), 204-5), explains what appeared to be *nomina* as Coptic. S. EITREM emends XII, 255, XIII, 434 in his *Varia*, no. 67 (*Symb. Oslo.*, x (1932), 155). [Cf. too (*op. cit.*, xi, 112 f.), no. 70 on the lizard and frog, and (114) no. 72, partly on BELL-NOCK-THOMPSON'S *Magical Texts* and partly on HUNT'S Warren papyrus.—*Ed.*] K. PREISENDANZ discusses IV, 3024, in his article Tanit (*Pauly-Wissowa*, IV A, 2180).

A. DELATTE, *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés* (*Bibl. fac. phil. lett. Univ. Liège*, Fasc. 48. Imp. H. Vaillant-Carmanne, Liège, and E. Droz, Paris, 1932. Pp. 221 and 13 pl.), is a most important study of this method of divination, distinguishing between it and lecanomancy, and investigating fully the Oriental connexions and medieval and modern survivals. It is a thoroughly illuminating and interesting piece of

research. The same writer in his *Faba Pythagorae cognata* (*Serta Leodiensia*, in the same *Bibl.*, XLIV (1930), 33–57) has a noteworthy explanation of that well-known superstition and *rapprochements* with magical practice. His first topic is handled also by TH. HOPFNER, *Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien* (*Griffith Studies*, 218–32), with great knowledge.

CAMPBELL BONNER, *Demons of the bath* (*ibid.*, 203–8), gives an interesting collection and discussion of material bearing on this superstition.

In his *Liturgical fragments on Gnostic amulets* (*Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXV (1932), 362–7), he publishes an amulet with part of the hymn which closes *Corp. Herm.* I and another of Chnubis with the phrase ἵδωρ δαψῆ ἄπρος πεινῆ πῶρ ῥύγοι which is presumably a series of δῶνατα.

For an analogy to the usage of magical papyri cf. HEINRICH LEWY, *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Volkskunde* (*Arch. f. Rel.*, XXIX (1931), 187–99), pp. 189–93, on naming after the mother in prayers.

A. M. KROPP, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* (3 vols. Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Brussels. 1930–1) is reviewed by W. E. CRUM, *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 115; W. BAUER, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, LVII (1932), 516–17; K. PREISENDANZ, *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 571–2. On this topic reference may be made to H. LECLERQ's articles *Magie* in *Dict. arch. chrét. et de lit.*, x, 1067–1114, esp. 1100–14, and *Maléfice*, 1288–92.

S. EITREM's excellent article *Moira* (*Pauly-Wissowa*, xv, 2449–97), handles, 2473–5, the relevant passages in the magic papyri.

Outside Egypt we may note K. LATTE, *Randbemerkungen* (*Philologus*, LXXXVII (1932), 265–76), for remarks, 274–6, on the section of Hippolytus against magicians; a reference which J. TOUTAIN makes, *Rev. hist. rel.*, CII (1931), 114, to new *tabellae* produced by Audollent which were put in a spring to stop its use for a bath; VIELLEFOND's edition of *Jules Africain*; *Fragments des Cestes* (Les belles-lettres; Paris; 1932); FR. PFISTER's review of L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage* in *B.Z.*, XXXII, 82–5; and G. WALTER, *Die babylonische Gebetsbeschwörung*, reviewed by A. GUSTAVS, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, LVII (1932), 481–2.

J. FREUNDORFER, *Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie*, is reviewed by H. WINDISCH, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, LVII (1932), 81–3.

C. O. ZURETTI, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, XI, 1 (*Codices Hispanienses: pars prior, Codices Scotialenses*), published shortly after its author was taken from us, is noticed by FR. CUMONT, *Bull. (classe lettres) acad. roy. Belg.*, 5^e sér., XVIII, nos. 7–9 (1932), 241–2.

Christian. F. G. KENYON, *The Chester Beatty biblical papyri* (*Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 46–9). A. MERK, *Novi codices S. Scripturae* (*Biblica*, XIII (1932), 118–20). S. NEW, *The new Chester Beatty papyrus* (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, LI (1932), 73–4). CAMPBELL BONNER, *New biblical papyri at the University of Michigan* (*Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXV (1932), 205–6), all handle the new find, the last recording six leaves of a codex containing the latter part of Enoch and an unidentified Christian work, typological in tendency (date of writing not later than fourth century). C. SCHMIDT, *Die neuesten Bibelfunden aus Ägypten* (*Z. neut. Wiss.*, XXX (1931), 285–93), gives a very convenient survey of the contents of the find.

A. BLUDAU, *Die ägyptischen libelli u. die Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius* (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, Suppl. 27) is reviewed by K. HEUSSI, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, LVII (1932), 495. [Cf. also § 3.]

H. I. BELL, *A Christian stele from Qau el-Kebir* (*Griffith Studies*, 199–202, pl. 22), publishes an interesting text opening with the Trisagion and including the phrase διαφασύ(η)ς κυριακῆ(ς) τ(ῆ)ς ἀναστάσεως of Holy Saturday, probably in A.D. 601.

S. G. MERCATI, *Osservazioni sul testo e sulla metrica di alcuni papiri cristiani* (*Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932), 183–201).

P. G. RABEAU, *Les enseignements des papyrus; Christianisme et sociologie* (*Rev. Thomiste*, XXXVI (1931), 865–73), discusses ARANGIO-RUIZ, *Lineamenti del sistema contrattuale*, and GHEDINI, *Lettere cristiane*.

C. SCHMIDT, *Das Kloster des Apa Mena* (*Ä. Z.*, LXVIII (1932), 60–8), publishes a Coptic legal document. EV. BRECCIA, *Dans le désert de Nitrie* (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XXVII, 17–26, pls. i–vii), H. SAWYER, *The first monasteries* (*Antiquity*, IV (1930), 316–26), A. TULLI, *Ampolle inedite di S. Mena nel Museo Egizio della Città del Vaticano* (*Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 230–42), may also be noted.

HERBERT THOMPSON, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic dialect* (Cambridge, 1932) is reviewed by F. C. BURKITT, *J. Theol. Stud.*, XXXIII (1932), 441–4.

E. PETERSON, *Die Häretiker der Philippus-Akten* (*Z. neut. Wiss.*, XXXI (1932), 97–111), and *Zum Mes-salianismus der Philippus-Akten* (*Oriens Christianus*, 1932, 172–9) do not touch Egypt directly but are to be commended to the attention of all students of Christian asceticism.

3. PUBLICATIONS OF NON-LITERARY TEXTS.

(N.B. Notes on and corrections of miscellaneous documents previously published are referred to in § 9. Notes on single documents will be found here; so too all reviews, when sufficiently important for mention.)

General. I have not at the time of writing had an opportunity of seeing what is certain to prove a very important and interesting addition to the well-known Loeb series, namely a selection of the more noteworthy papyrus texts chosen and edited by HUNT and EDGAR. Apparently only the first of two volumes, by the latter, has yet appeared. *Select Papyri. With an English Translation.* By A. S. HUNT and C. C. EDGAR. 2 vols. I. Private Affairs. London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam, 1932. Pp. xx+452. Cloth, 10s. (leather, 12s. 6d.).

P. Oslo. II (*Journal*, XVIII, 83) has been reviewed by H. C. YOUTIE (*Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 86-95; rather unsympathetic); K. PREISENDANZ (*O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 554-5; *Phil. Woch.*, LII (1932), 227-34); K. FR. W. SCHMIDT (*G.G.A.*, CXCIV (1932), 279-86; detailed, many suggestions); and H. I. BELL (*Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 23-4; *Mizraim*, I (1933), 190-1).

BÜTTNER's edition of papyrus letters from the collection of the Giessen University Library (*Journal*, XVIII, 84) has been reviewed by B. OLSSON (*D. Lit.-Z.*, 1932, 879-80); F. Z[UCKER] (*B.Z.*, XXXII (1932), 158); WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 273-5); and SCHUBART (*Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 552).

During the year under review a whole new volume of *P.S.I.*, issued in two parts, has appeared, and it ranks among the most important of the series, despite the fact that, unlike several of its predecessors, it contains no texts from the Zenon archive. The second part (pp. 105-232), which included the indices and a graceful dedicatory poem in Greek elegiacs by V[ITELLI] to WILCKEN on his seventieth birthday, consists entirely of literary or theological texts, and therefore does not fall within the scope of this section; but the first is purely documentary. There are two texts of the Ptolemaic period, but the rest are Roman or Byzantine (almost entirely the former), and they include some very interesting documents, e.g. 1100, an extract from the *ὑπομηματισμοί* of the epistrategus Vedius Faustus; 1103, in which a man of over seventy asks for relief from a liturgy on that ground and also because his eyesight is weak; 1105, a petition which throws light on the position of the *nomographos*; 1119, an interesting sale of live stock [in the subscription only ταυρικά καὶ βοικά are mentioned, whereas δικά occur in l. 8; should we therefore read ll. 7 f. ταυ- | ρικά and in l. 12 (e.g.) [πάντων τῶν ταυ] ρικῶν?]; 1123, important for the *εἰθέεια* of Alexandria; 1125, a letter-book of the *procurator usiacus*; 1128, an interesting agreement for a temple oath, one party being a *ιερονείκης ἐξ ἐφηβείας*; 1132, an apprenticeship to a mat-maker [Mr. Tait, for the note on l. 1, refers to his note on Ostr. Petrie, 288]; 1146, important for the poll-tax of priests; 1149, a very interesting but unfortunately very imperfect document about priests; 1161, a moving Christian (?) letter; and 1162, a most notable oath of a probably pagan *mystes*.¹ A review of the second part of vol. IX by P. COLLART has appeared in *Rev. de phil.*, ser. 3, VI (1932), 77-8. The first part of X has been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 249-59; very important as usual) and F. ZUCKER (*B.Z.*, XXXII (1932), 408).

Ptolemaic. P. Cairo Zenon, IV (*Journal*, XVIII, 84) has been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 238-41) and P. Mich. Zenon (*Journal*, *ibid.*) by P. COLLART (*Rev. de phil.*, ser. 3, VI (1932), 411-12); W. L. WESTERMANN (*A.J.A.*, XXXVI (1932), 75-6); H. I. BELL (*Mizraim*, I (1933), 186-7) and anonymously (*J.H.S.*, LII (1932), 145). Two articles which deal with the Zenon papyri may here be mentioned. ELIZABETH GRIER (*Accounting in the Zenon Papyri*, in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 222-31) discusses the methods of account-keeping illustrated by some of the documents from the archive, and W. SCHUBART publishes translations of seven letters from it, with a general introduction and some explanatory comment (*Griechische Briefe aus Ägypten*, in *Die Antike*, VIII (1932), 113-37).

O. GUÉRAUD's masterly work, *Ἐντεύξεις* (*Journal*, XVIII, 84), has been completed by the appearance during the year of the second part, containing (pp. 129-296) the concluding portion of no. 52, nos. 53-113, an appendix containing four fragments which, though of a different character from the *ἐντεύξεις*, are of juristic interest, and the indices, additions, and corrections, etc. The whole volume is a work of the first importance, and its merits have been generally recognized. Part I has been reviewed by W. SCHUBART (*O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 106-9); P. COLLOMP (*Rev. ét. anc.*, XXXIV (1932), 83-7); K. PREISENDANZ (*Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 609-13); P. CHANTRAINE (*Rev. crit.*, LXVI (1932), 103-5); M. HOMBERT (*Rev. belge*, XI (1932), 231-2; not seen); P. COLLART (*Rev. de phil.*, ser. 3, VI (1932), 413-14); part II by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 241-8).

C. C. EDGAR, continuing his valuable studies of the Petrie Papyri, has published much improved texts

¹ In 1126, 15, qu. ὡς δὲ κατ'ἄ (or καθ') νό[θεσίαν] Ἰσιδ[ώρου]?

of four of them, viz. P. Petr. II, 4, 9 (= III, 42 C, 2); II, 4, 8 (= III, 42 C, 1); II, 4, 1 (= III, 42, C, 3); II, 4, 6 (= III, 42 C, 11). All refer to the quarrymen, and the last two were among those which were lost and only recently found again. *Four Petrie Papyri Revised*, in *Griffith Studies*, 209–13.

For WESTERMANN's *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt* see below, § 6, B. ii.

N. J. REICH comments, republishing the texts, on *U.P.Z.* 12 and 13: *The Τεεβήσος υιοί and their Quarrel with Apollonios in Mizraim*, I (1933), 147–77 (seen as this goes to press). REICH also reviews *U.P.Z.* (*ibid.*, 191–3).

Various reviews of the Loeb demotic papyri (*Journal*, XVIII, 85) have appeared. The following call for mention: by L. WENGER and E. SEIDL (*Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 430–8); E. SEIDL (*K.V.G.B.*, XXV (1932), 297–306 [see also § 6]); WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 248–9); F. LL. GRIFFITH (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 194–5); and A. CALDERINI (*Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 78–9). SEIDL has, further, published a separate article on no. 12 (see § 6 below): *Zu Pap. Strassb. dem. 12*, in *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 326–8.

A reference must here be inserted to what is evidently an important article, seen as this goes to press: N. J. REICH, *New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis*, in *Mizraim*, I (1933), 9–129 (to be continued).

ROMAN. JOHNSON and VAN HOESEN's *P. Princ. Univ.* (*Journal*, XVIII, 85) has been reviewed by H. A. SANDERS (*A.J.A.*, XXXVI (1932), 209); P. COLLOMP (*Rev. ét. anc.*, XXXIII (1931), 398–9); M. NORSA (*Boll. Fil. Cl.*, XXXVIII (1932), 190–3); M. HOMBERT (*Musée belge*, XI (1932), 140–1); and H. I. BELL (*Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 22–3, and *Mizraim*, I (1933), 189–90). COLLART's *P. Achmim* (*Journal*, XVIII, 85) has been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 261–7).

P. COLLART has found among the Reinach Papyri (now belonging to the Paris Faculté des Lettres and housed in the Institut de Papyrologie) the lost beginning of P. Ryl. 178, and publishes the complete document (A.D. 26). *Un papyrus Reinach inédit et P. Rylands 178*, in *Mélanges Glotz*, I (1932), 241–7.

Reviews of LÖSCH's *Epistula Claudiana* continue to appear. In the year under review I have noted the following: by G. HOENNICKE (*O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 310–11); G. GHEDINI (*Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 72); and P. DE LABRIOLLE (*Rev. de phil.*, ser. 3, VI (1932), 418–20).

H. JANNE in an article on the concluding section of the letter of Claudius (P. Lond. 1912) brings new arguments, by no means conclusive indeed but certainly interesting, in favour of S. Reinach's view of that passage as containing a reference to Christian propaganda at Alexandria. He differs from Reinach on one point: for him the "Jews from Syria" were not Christian missionaries but anti-Christian emissaries of the Pharisees. *Un passage controversé de la lettre de Claude aux Alexandrins*, in *Rev. Arch.*, ser. 5, XXXV (1932), 268–81. See also § 4 below.

UXKULL-GYLLENBAND's fragment of the *Acta Isidori* (*Journal*, XVII, 126) has been reviewed by A. VON PREMERSTEIN (*Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 201–6), who attacks his view that the trial occurred in A.D. 41; for a fuller statement of the same point of view by the same scholar see § 1 above and § 4 below. The fragment published by H. I. BELL (*Journal*, XVIII, 86) is the subject of an article by A. NEPI MODONA, who reprints the text: *Il nuovo frammento di una redazione variata degli "Atti di Isidoro"*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 333–8. With which fragment A. MOMIGLIANO deals in an article, not yet accessible to me, entitled *Un nuovo frammento dei cosiddetti "Atti dei martiri pagani"* (*Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch.*, VII (1932), 119 f.; see *Aegyptus*, XII, 291, no. 9711), I am unable to say.

V. MARTIN publishes a small fragment of a land-tax register (P. Genev. Inv. no. 125) which seems to date from the end of the first century and the names in which are mostly those of Romans. *Propriétaires romains en Égypte sous l'Empire*, in *Mélanges Glotz*, 551–5.

An important volume published by W. L. WESTERMANN and C. W. KEYES is to be known as *P. Columbia*, II, vol. I being Westermann's *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt*. This volume contains the texts of a group of six papyri dating from the first half and middle of the second century and all of them, according to the editors (but see WILCKEN, *Archiv*, x, 272 f.), from Theadelphia. The first three are taxation rolls, relating mostly to poll-tax and the related taxes, the fourth is a series of receipts for payments for transport service, etc., from the same roll as FRISK's *Bankakten* (Westermann on an inserted slip explains that his and Keyes's work was done independently but that on becoming acquainted with Frisk's volume he was able to make the necessary alterations in their own transcripts in proof), the fifth is a list of donkey-drivers, the sixth is an account of taxes in kind. It will be seen that there is much material of a useful if not sensational character, and it is handled with the editors' usual care and provided with an elaborate commentary. *Tax lists and transportation receipts from Theadelphia*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xi+219, 2 plates. Reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 270–3).

SANDERS's articles on birth-certificates, etc., in the American Academy's *Memoirs (Journal, xviii, 86)* have been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv, x, 276-8*).

E. KORNEMANN publishes an interesting example of an *Elterliche Teilung für den Todesfall* (*Archiv, x, 213-15*) from the Giessen collection (P. Giss. Inv. Nr. 255). It is a notarial *homologia*, with six witnesses, from Tebtunis, and is dated in A.D. 139.

H. KORTENBEUTEL, who is working in the papyrus collection at Berlin, has published from that collection an oath document of a somewhat noteworthy character. Dated in A.D. 153, it is a deposition to witnessing the scourging of a Roman citizen by order of Hierax, strategus of the Heraclides Division. It is a double deed, with six witnesses. Kortenbeutel adds a valuable commentary on the many interesting questions which it raises. *Ein Kaisereid, in Aegyptus, xii (1932), 129-40*, with facsimile.

A private letter published by VITELLI seems to prove that T. Flavius Victorinus entered Alexandria as prefect on 10 July A.D. 159. It adds a new street-name to those already known at Alexandria, *ῥύμη Ὠριγένους*, and is addressed to *γραμματεὺς γερβίων*. *Lettera di Maximos a Chairemon ed Eudaimon suoi figliuoli, in Stud. ital. di fil. cl., N.S., ix (1932), fasc. iv, 4 pages of off-print*. In a brief notice (*Archiv, x, 276*) WILCKEN agrees with Vitelli's inference.

The Vatican roll, edited by Norsa and Vitelli, which contains on one side Favorinus's *Περὶ φωνῆς* and on the other land registers from the Marmarica (*Journal, xviii, 79, 87*) has received notice from several reviewers. The following may be noted here, the first of which, as the review is not accessible to me, I take from the bibliography in *Aegyptus, xii (1932)*: C. GALLAVOTTI, *Il papiro Vaticano greco II, in Historia, v (1921; sic, l. 1931 ?), 644-7* (see p. 84, no. 9112); and A. G. AMATUCCI (*Boll. fil. cl., xxxviii (1931), 4-7*). See too § 1 above, and *Aegyptus, xii, 82, Intorno al papiro Vaticano Greco II*.

W. L. WESTERMANN, publishing a contract between a group of professional musicians and two residents of Alabastrine, appends, besides a brief discussion of the document itself, an interesting and useful appendix on "The Pleasure Clubs of Common People in Egypt". *Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt, in Journal, xviii (1932), 16-27*.

A. E. R. BOAK publishes a noteworthy appeal by an Antinoite for relief from a guardianship, which offers several points of special interest. It includes copies of judgements bearing on the case. Boak takes the date as A.D. 172-3. [I may say that I cannot believe in Boak's interpretation of ll. 35-8; HUNT's view, quoted in the note, seems much more probable.] *A petition for relief from a guardianship: P. Mich. Inv. No. 2922, in Journal, xviii (1932), 69-76*.

An important papyrus of the Geneva collection published by V. MARTIN throws new light on the arrangements for entry among the Alexandrian ephebi. It dates from about the end of the second century and appears to be an extract from the protocol of the proceedings preliminary to such entry. It consists of a series of questions addressed to the candidate. It is interesting to note what these questions are; and furthermore the text is of value as proving that, whatever the *πλάγιον* so often mentioned in connexion with ephebi may have been, it was not the detachment to which the new ephebe was assigned, for the boy here interrogated names the *πλάγιον* to which he (already) belonged. It is further interpreted, both by the editor and by WILCKEN in a review (*Archiv, x, 275-6*), as proving that enrolment in a deme preceded, and did not follow, admission to the ephebate; but I am not convinced that this is a necessary inference. It is true that the boy is here called *Σωαικόσμος ὁ [καὶ] Ζήνει[ο]ς*, but these words occur in the heading. The text is an extract, and the heading may have been no part of the original protocol and may refer to the ephebe at the time (perhaps considerably later) when the extract was made. I should therefore prefer to regard the evidence of this papyrus as neutral on the point. *Un document relatif à l'éphébie, in Chron. d'Ég., vii (1932), 300-10*, with facsimile.

S. EITREM contributes to the volume, *Griffith Studies (Two Greek Papyri, pp. 214-17)*, copies of two papyri from his own collection. The first is a second-century list of names, of no great importance, but offering some intriguing problems; the second, of the third century, is a customs receipt for *λεμένος Μέμφεως* issued at the *πύλη* of Philadelphia, and it gives Eitrem occasion for an interesting excursus on such receipts, on the "harbour of Memphis", and on the mysterious 'Ερμῆς which occurs in certain customs registers.

L. AMUNDSEN has published from the Oslo collection a Latin military papyrus which he regards as a *brevis* or *matricula*. The unit to which it refers was probably an *ala* but is unidentified. Amundsen takes the date as probably c. A.D. 238-42. *A Latin Papyrus in the Oslo Collection, in Symb. Oslo., x (1932), 16-30*. Reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv, x, 279*), who also reviews (*ibid., 278-9*) SANDERS's *Papyrus 1804 (Journal, xviii, 87-8)*.

BLUDAU's *Die ägypt. Libelli* (*Journal*, XVIII, 88) is reviewed by E. GROAG (*Hist. Vierteljahrsschr.*, XXVII (1932), 631-3. [Cf. also § 2.]

An exceptionally interesting private letter, dating from the third century, is published by V. MARTIN from the Geneva collection. Its value lies in its pronounced literary flavour and its educational interest. The writer, after preliminary greetings, falls into a somewhat sententious reflection on the advantages of a liberal education and refers in a remarkable phrase to those τῶν Μ[ο]υσῶν τὰ μυστήρια τελο[ύ]ντες. Here unfortunately the fragment breaks off, but even what remains makes it a notable addition to the remains of ancient epistolography as revealed by the papyri. *A Greek Papyrus Letter to a Student*, in *Griffith Studies*, 245-7, plate 24b.

Roman-Byzantine. An important volume of non-literary texts comes from the University of Uppsala and illustrates the value of co-operation both between individual scholars and between institutions. During the years 1920-5 a collection of fifty-eight papyri was deposited on loan by the Staatliche Museen at Berlin in the Greek seminar at Uppsala, for the purpose of papyrological study. As explained by the general editor, T. Kalén, the original idea of publishing the whole collection in a single volume was abandoned owing to various circumstances, the literary texts in particular being reserved for later treatment. The volume now issued, which is the joint work of the seminar under the direction of Kalén (who has himself contributed very largely to the whole), contains twenty-five texts, ranging in date from the second to the fourth century. To the last century indeed (A.D. 309) only one text belongs, all the others being of the Roman period. The first four are the rolls previously published by THUNELL in his *Sitologen-Papyri*. They are published unchanged as regards the text (corrections being relegated to the commentary or the *Berichtigungen und Nachträge*) but with a new commentary (of course founded on Thunell's) by Kalén. The other texts are of various types but with a preponderance of official documents or documents of a semi-official character (returns, etc.). There are the usual indices and three excellent facsimiles. *Berliner Leihgabe griechischer Papyri*: herausgegeben vom griechischen Seminar der Universität Uppsala. I. Uppsala, A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1932. (Upps. Universitets Årsskrift 1932.) Pp. viii+363, 3 plates.

Another important publication is that of the third volume of P. ROSS-GEORG., edited by G. ZERETELI and P. JERNSTEDT, which embraces texts of the late Roman and Byzantine periods. It contains a wealth of interesting and valuable material, and the names of the editors are sufficient warrant for the merits of the commentary. The first twenty-three texts are letters, the remaining thirty-four private contracts or official documents. In the first class may be mentioned two very interesting letters to a certain Antonia, the first, from a physician named Marcus, referring to a battle (μάχη) in which the Roman army had suffered appreciable loss; and, at the other end of the series, to a letter from the well-known Arab pagarch 'Aṭīyah to the *riparius* of Arsinoe bidding him bring certain εὔποροι. In the second part may be mentioned nos. 28, a marriage contract of A.D. 343 or 358; 34, a receipt from the *defensor* of Antaeopolis to the *protometae* of Aphrodito for *συνθήκαι*; 35, another receipt from the same to the same which furnishes the editors with the occasion for a discussion of the *ordinarius*; and 46, a receipt from a *πριμικήριος τοῦ ἐνδόξου πραιτωρίου*. *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen* [P. Ross-Georg.]. III. *Spatrömische und byzantinische Texte*. Bearbeitet von G. ZERETELI und P. JERNSTEDT. Tiflis, Universitätslithographie, 1930. Pp. 300, 4 plates. Reviewed by F. ZUCKER (*B.Z.*, XXXII (1932), 85-9, and WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 259-61).

FRISK's *Bankakten* (*Journal*, XVIII, 88) has been reviewed by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 267-70); M. SAN NICOLÒ (*O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 464-6); K. FR. W. SCHMIDT (*Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 562-5); and P. COLLART (*Rev. de phil.*, ser. 3, VI (1932), 410).

G. ZERETELI publishes a list of corrections to vol. XX of WESSELY's *Studien: Berichtigung zu WESSELY, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde XX*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 372-7.

Byzantine and Arab. V. CAPOCCI publishes an interesting article on the two Melitian letters, P. Lond. 1915 and 1916, reproducing the texts, with translations, and discussing the case to which these letters refer. *Alcune osservazioni sui papiri Londinesi 1915 e 1916*, in *Rend. Pont. Rom. Arch.*, VI, 1927-9 (1930), 97-107.

B. OLSSON confirms the correctness of MANTEUFFEL's explanation of δειὸν τρουθ [. . .] μέγα as = ῥόν <σ>τρουθ[ῶν] μέγα in no. 1 of his *Epistulae privatae ineditae* (*Zwei Papyrusstellen besprochen*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 355).

W. G. WADDELL has done a useful piece of work in examining some of those papyri in P. Oxy. XVI of which the texts, because the originals were at Cairo, could not be checked when the volume was being prepared, and he publishes the results of his collation (*Some Cairo Papyri in P. Oxy. xvi*) in the new *Études de papyrologie*, I (1932), 7-9.

A fragment of papyrus at Munich bears an interesting drawing which represents a woman with a Phrygian

cap led away by a man with a staff, while a second man lays hold of her; there are slight remains of a third male figure. A. HARTMAN, who publishes the drawing in facsimile, together with what remains of a sixth-century letter on the verso, thinks the drawing may represent a scene from the Trojan cycle; he inclines to date it in the fourth century, which involves an unusually (but not unprecedentedly) long interval between the use of recto and verso. *Eine Federzeichnung auf einem Münchener Papyrus*, in *Festschrift für Georg Leiding* (1930), 103-8, Pls. xvii, xviii.

A brief reference may here be made to C. SCHMIDT's *Das Kloster des Apa Mena* (*Ä.Z.*, LXVIII (1932), 60-8), and H. I. BELL's *A Christian stele from Qau el-Kebir* (*Griffith Studies*, 199-202, pl. 22), for which see above, § 2. Reference must also be made to a volume by A. ARTHUR SCHILLER which, though it includes only Coptic documents, is of great importance to jurists and papyrologists generally: *Ten Coptic legal texts*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1932. Pp. xiii+103, 7 plates. Reviewed by W. E. CRUM (*Journal*, XXVII (1932), 196-7).

Lastly, A. GROHMANN's *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe* (*Études de papyrologie*, I (1932), 23-95, pls. i-ix), calls for attention here also because Grohmann publishes in it not only a Greek-Arabic protocol (p. 33, pl. iv) but (pp. 41-6) three Greek or bilingual papyri from the Rainer collection. The first is the famous receipt issued by the general 'Abdallāh in the year 22 of the Hegira, during the very conquest of Egypt; all three are of great interest, and Grohmann deserves hearty thanks for making them generally accessible.¹

4. POLITICAL HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, ADMINISTRATION, TOPOGRAPHY, AND CHRONOLOGY.

General. M. CARY's *History of the Greek World from 323 to 146*, London, 1932, pp. xvi+448, gives due attention to the Egyptian part of the question. It is reviewed by W. W. TARN in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 217-18.

A review of BEVAN's *History of Egypt* (see *Journal*, XVI, 128) by J. A. O. LARSEN appears in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 314-15.

As last year, reference may be made to L. WENGER's *Juristische Literaturübersicht* in *Archiv*, x (1932), 279-313, for notices of many works mentioned in this and previous Bibliographies.

Political History. RADET's *Alexandre le Grand* (see *Journal*, XVIII, 89) is reviewed by P. ROUSSEL in *Journ. Sav.*, 1932, 49-60, and by W. W. TARN in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 16-17; and WILCKEN's *Alexander der Grosse* (see *Journal*, XVIII, 89) by ROUSSEL in the article cited, by F. SCHACHERMEYR in *Hist. Vierteljahrsch.*, XXVII (1932), 208-9, by C. A. ROBINSON in *Am. Journ. Phil.*, LIII (1932), 383-5, by J. A. O. LARSEN in *Cl.*

¹ I have considerable doubts as to the correctness of some of Grohmann's readings, extensions, or interpretations, and think it well to record them here. No. 1 (p. 41) he interprets as a receipt for supplies obtained for the army, which, instead of making them an extra charge on the inhabitants, 'Abdallāh credits to their tax quota. "En d'autres termes: le général nourrit ses soldats sur le trésor public"; and Grohmann uses the text as evidence for the humanity and clemency of the conquerors. It certainly would be if his interpretation were correct, but I can see no warrant for it in the endorsement, on which it rests. Grohmann translates this: "Document concernant la remise de brebis aux Magarites et à d'autres gens qui arrivèrent, a titre d'acompte sur les impôts de la première indiction." I should myself render it: "Receipt for sheep delivered to the Magarites and others who came up to collect the taxes of the first indiction", and explain the transaction as an instance of the use of troops (common even under Byzantine rule) to collect the taxes, their maintenance being charged on the taxpayers. The Arab invaders had taken the precaution to secure the taxes due to the government against which they were fighting.

In no. 2 (p. 44), l. 2, for Grohmann's οὐσί(ας) read presumably οὔσι: not "de mon train" but "accompanying me".

In no. 3 (p. 45) Grohmann finds evidence for the rule (agreed to by the Copts in their treaty with the Arab conquerors) by which troops passing through a district were entitled to three days' maintenance. This view rests on his reading in l. 3, δ]απ[άν]ην τριῶν παιλικ(ῶν) ἐκάστω, which he renders "un [re]pas de trois plats" (he has to admit in another document "des repas de 4 plats chacun", which weakens the case for his version here). In the absence of a facsimile it would be rash to be dogmatic, but I feel fairly certain that the true reading is παλλικ(ῶν), for which see P. Lond. 1447, 13, note. In the endorsement I suggest for Grohmann's κωμι(τικ)ός either κωμι(τῶν) ("villagers") or (more probably) κωμι(τικῶν) ("village dues") the first ι being in either case for η; in l. 3 read ἀρτ(άβην), in l. 2 φυλ(ῆς) and, possibly, for ἐκ(άσ)τ(ου), ἐκ(άσ)τ(ου) or ἐκ(οὔ νομίμαρος) followed by ἀρού(ρας). The meaning of l. 2 is not entirely clear to me, but I suggest as the probable rendering of the whole: "Sell to 'Āmir b. Asla' of the tribe Kouta [or is it possible to read Κουρα and explain as "of the Ḳuraish" ?] for three solidi hay at the rate of two arourae per solidus and stabling (?) and maintenance of three attendants at the rate of one artaba of bread per month to each." The endorsement may be rendered "By the people of Sophthis for village dues three solidi and (maintenance of) three attendants".

Phil., XXVII (1932), 97–9, and by T. LENSCHAU in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 13, 365–70. An English translation of WILCKEN's book, by G. C. RICHARDS, has been published by Chatto and Windus (London, 1932, pp. ix+337, frontispiece and map): it is reviewed by W. W. TARN in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 216–17. Further contributions to the discussion on Alexander's action in Egypt are made by J. A. O. LARSEN, *Alexander at the oracle of Ammon*, in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 70–5, and *An additional note on Alexander at the oracle of Ammon*, *ibid.*, 274–5, and by D. COHEN, *Alexander de Grootte en Egypte*, in *Tijdschr. voor Geschiedenis*, XLVI (1931), 226–34.

FR. HEICHELHEIM has discussed *Strukturprobleme des Alexanderreiches und des Reiches der ersten Kalifen*, *Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932), 172–82. He draws a parallel, and at the same time points out contrasts, between the two empires, finding the essential unity between them in the conception of a maritime empire round the Mediterranean and a maritime empire round the Indian Ocean connected by a land-bridge through Nearer Asia. The Khalifs can be regarded as in a sense executing the political and to some extent also the cultural testament of Alexander.

G. OLIVERIO's *La stele di Tolomeo Neoteros, re di Cirene*, Bergamo, 1932, is reviewed by E. BICKERMANN in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 424–30, by E. BRECCIA in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.*, VIII (1932), 88–90, by C. BUZIO in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 271–2, and by F. CUMONT in *Journ. Sav.*, 1932, 168–71. The subject of the inscription is also treated by G. DE SANCTIS, *Il primo testamento regio a favore dei Romani*, in *Riv. Fil. Cl.*, LX (1932), 59 f., by S. FERRI, *Evergete II promise l'Egitto ai Romani?* in *Historia*, VI (1932), 422–4, by A. GITTI, *Sul rescritto tolemaico di Cirene*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 145–60, by W. SCHUBART, *Ein Testament Evergetes' II*, in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 283, and by U. WILCKEN, *Das Testament des Ptolemaios von Kyrene vom Jahre 155 v. Chr.*, in *Sitzungsb. Preuss. Ak., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1932, 317–36.

Contributions to Ptolemaic history will be found in O. NEPPI MODONA, *Studi Diadochei, I. Chi fu il primo vero "reggente" dopo la morte di Alessandro Magno?* in *Athenaeum* (Pavia), N.S., X (1932), 22–36; B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Iterum de Cleomene Naucratica*, in *Mnemosyne*, LIX (1931), 366–8; G. DE SANCTIS, *Una lettera a Demetrio Poliorcete*, in *Riv. fil. cl.*, LIX (1931), 330 f.; J. G. MILNE, *Arsinoe and Ammon*, in *Griffith Studies*, 13–15 [see also § 2]; CL. PRÉAUX, *La valeur historique des papyrus de Zénon*, in *Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932), 291–9; A. PRIDIK, *Weiteres zum Mitregenten des Ptolemaios II Philadelphos*, in *Klio*, XXV (1932), 72–85; and A. MOMIGLIANO, *Per la data e la caratteristica della lettera di Aristete*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 161–72.

GRAINDOR's *La guerre d'Alexandrie* (see *Journal*, XVIII, 89) is reviewed by T. LENSCHAU in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 17, 479–82.

In the Roman period, the chief matters of interest have been the Alexandrian Senate and the Jewish question. The former is discussed by M. NORSA and G. VITELLI, *Sul papiro della BOYAH d'Alessandria*, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.*, VIII (1932), 1–16; by H. I. BELL, *The problem of the Alexandrian Senate*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 173–84; by G. DE SANCTIS in *Riv. fil. cl.*, LX (1932), 126 f.; by P. VIERECK, *Noch einmal die BOYAH von Alexandria*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 210–16; and by A. MOMIGLIANO, *L'opera dell'imperatore Claudio* (Firenze, 1932), which is reviewed by E. GROAG in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 610–12, by H. LAST in *J.R.S.*, XXII (1932), 230–3, and by E. HOHL in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 48, 1487–90. Both subjects are noticed by P. M. MEYER in *Z. Sav.*, LI (1932), 370–1. Contributions to the literature on the latter are H. JANNE, *Un passage controversé de la lettre de Claude aux Alexandrins*, in *Rev. Arch.*, 5, XXXV (1932), 268–81; A. NEPPI MODONA, *Il nuovo frammento berlinese degli "Atti dei Martiri Alessandrini"* in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 17–24, and *Il nuovo frammento di una redazione variata degli "Atti di Isidoro"*, *ibid.*, 333–8; J. C. NABER, *De Judaea Agrippa et Judaea Salome*, *ibid.*, 329–32; A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *Das Datum des Prozesses des Isidoros in den sogenannten heidnischen Märtyrakten*, in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 174–96; and S. R[EINACH], *A propos de la lettre de Claude*, and *Encore la lettre de Claude*, in *Rev. Arch.*, 5, XXXV (1932), 152–3.

P. JOUGUER's paper entitled *Inscription de Deir-Chelouit in Griffith Studies*, 241–4, is historically useful for the reign of Septimius Severus. [See also § 2.]

Biography. More than half of GRACE H. MACURDY's *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore, 1932, is taken up with the Ptolemaic Queens. It is reviewed by W. W. TARN in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 167, and J. A. O. LARSEN in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 315–16.

Administration. A. CALDERINI has published *Le schede di censimento dell'Egitto romano secondo le scoperte più recenti*, Roma, 1932, pp. 26; and *Nuove schede del censimento romano d'Egitto*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 346–54.

W. SCHUBART discusses *Παρακαταθήσθαι in der hellenistischen Amtssprache in Festschrift für Franz Poland*, 133–40.

O. W. REINMUTH, of the University of Nebraska, has written a *Thesis on the Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*.

Further reviews of works already noticed in the *Journal* are: of JOUGUET's *Politique intérieure* (see XVIII, 89), by P. COLLART in *Rev. de phil.*, 3. VI (1932), 415; and of GOODENOUGH's *Jewish Courts* (see XVIII, 89), by M. SAN NICOLÒ in *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 116-18, and by E. SEIDL in *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 428-30. [See also § 6.]

E. R. HARDY, JR., *The large estates of Byzantine Egypt* (*Journal*, XVIII, 90) has been reviewed by H. I. BELL in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 236.

G. ROUILLARD, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* has been reviewed by [J. G. MILNE] in *J.H.S.*, LII (1932), 161-2.

A. GROHMANN, *Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini im arabischen Aegypten* in *Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932) 275-84, traces the survival of several administrative technical terms in Arabic. Two of the most noteworthy are *dímúsiya* (δημόσια) and *úsiya* (apparently οὐσία). The last is particularly interesting, as it seems to indicate the survival of the great domains into the Arab period, and *Úsiya* 'Abd al-Malik may, as Grohmann remarks, be compared with (e.g.) οὐσία Τίρων.

A. GROHMANN, *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe, Études de papyrologie*, I (1932), 23-75, pls. i-ix, contains much matter of historical importance; for this see § 3.

Topography. For reviews of BOAK and PETERSON's *Karanis* (see *Journal*, XVIII, 89), see § 10.

The second part has appeared of the publication of the results of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Egyptian Expedition to *The Monasteries of the Wádi 'n Natrún: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* by H. G. EVELYN WHITE edited by WALTER HAUSER, New York, 1932. Pp. xlv, 495, 8 plates. Section I. The Roman period, A.D. 315-451. (i) The origins of monasticism; (ii) The topography of the mount of Nitria and Scetis; (iii) The foundation of the monastic settlement at the mount of Nitria; (iv) The foundation and early history of Scetis; (v) The mount of Nitria and Scetis in the Arian period; (vi) The mount of Nitria during the last quarter of the fourth century; (vii) The rise of the four monasteries of Scetis and the close of the fourth century; (viii) The Origenist and the anthropomorphic strife at the mount of Nitria and in Scetis; (ix) The mount of Nitria during the first half of the fifth century; (x) Scetis in the first half of the fifth century; (xi) The monastic system during the fourth and early fifth centuries. Section II. The Byzantine period: A.D. 451-641. (i) The Monophysite schism and the monasteries; (ii) The Gaianite heresy and the rise of the Theotokos monasteries; (iii) Scetis as the metropolis of the Monophysite church; (iv) The life and times of Daniel the Hegumen; (v) The Heraclian persecution (A.D. 631-41); (vi) The mount of Nitria, Cellia and Scetis in the Byzantine period. Section III. The early Arab period A.D. 641-880 etc. This citation of chapter headings will give some idea of the scope of this important work so far as this bibliography is concerned.

Chronology. H. THOMPSON has collected the evidence supplementary to previous lists of *Eponymous priests under the Ptolemies* in *Griffith Studies*, 16-37. [See also § 2.]

Reference may be made here to W. REUSCH, *Zur datierung des papyrus Giessensis 40. I*, in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 473-7.

SCOTT's *Honoric Months* (see *Journal*, XVIII, 89) is reviewed by G. CORRADI in *Boll. fil. cl.*, XXXVIII (1932), 218-20.

G. VITELLI's *Lettera di Maximos a Chairemon ed Eudaimon suoi figliuoli*, in *Stud. it. di fil. cl.*, N.S., IX (1932), fasc. iv, is of value for the chronology of the reign of Antoninus Pius. It is reviewed by U. WILCKEN in *Archiv*, x, 276. [See also § 3.]

5. SOCIAL LIFE, EDUCATION, ART, ECONOMIC HISTORY, NUMISMATICS, AND METROLOGY.

General. ROSTOVITZEFF's *Social and Economic History* (see *Journal*, XVII, 129) has been published in a German translation by L. WICKERT under the title *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit*: the translation is reviewed by E. HOHL in *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1932, 4, 179-80.

M. GUIDI has published a useful *Bollettino Bizantino-Arabico* in *Byzantion*, VII (1932), 396-432, and P. COLLINET a *Chronique du droit byzantin*, *ibid.*, 489-94. It is serviceable to have all the papyrological articles which have appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies* collected s. vv. *Papyrus* and *Oxyrhynchus Sayings* in the *Index to the J.T.S. vols. I-XXX* published in October 1932. 21s.

Social Life. Under this head reference may be made to W. F. EDGERTON, *Notes on Egyptian marriage, chiefly in the Ptolemaic period*, Chicago, 1931 (see *Journal*, XVIII, 95, § 6): it is reviewed by J. A. O. LARSEN in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 110.

A. CAMERON, writing on *The exposure of children and Greek ethics* in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 105-14, uses some papyrus evidence.

W. L. WESTERMANN deals with *Entertainment in the villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt* in *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 16–27. [See § 3.]

C. GINI, *La pigmentazione degli abitanti dell'Egitto nell'età greco-romana*, may be noted in this connexion.

A. TULLI, *Ampolle inedite di S. Mena nel Museo Egizio della Città del Vaticano*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 230–42 publishes these “Ampolle” with photographs: they are of the “Kleiner Typ” of Kaufmann’s classification save one which is of larger dimensions than any yet found. T. considers that the mysterious animals represented on the “ampolle” are to be interpreted as an attempt to reproduce the “animali orribili dal collo alto e lungo con una testa simile a quella dei camelli” of the legend “che dopo essersi inchinati davanti al Santo ripresero la loro via” (see Chaine, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1909, 71 ff.). On one ampulla S. Menas is shown as a negro—“the representative of the black race” (Kaufmann).

A. STEINWENTER, *Byzantinische Mönchstestamente*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 55–64, is a very interesting paper read at the International Byzantine Congress (1930). Particularly suggestive is the treatment of the wills of Hegumenoi of monasteries which in the form of a private testament devise the monastery as a whole, and thereby appoint a successor to the headship of the monastery. [See also § 6, B, vi.] With these wills BRUCK (*Totenteil und Seelgerät im griech. Recht*, 330 f.) has compared the wills of the heads of Greek schools of philosophy. His paper on *Das Erbrecht der byzantinischen Kirche* (brief résumé in *Actes du III^e Congrès international d'Études byzantines*, ed. A. C. ORLANDOS, Athens, Imprimerie Hestia, 1932, 191–2) will appear in the *Studi Riccobono*. S. stresses the need for co-operation between students of history and papyrology in conjunction with jurists and canonists: only so can a new history of the Institutions of Byzantine law be constructed.

For monasticism in Egypt see also § 4, *Topography*.

Finance, Agriculture, Industry. M. ROSTOVZEFF has an article on *Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt* in *Journ. of Econ. and Business Hist.*, IV (1932), 728–69: it is reviewed by J. G. M[ILNE] in *J.R.S.*, XXII (1932), 246–7.

W. PEREMANS writes on *De Handelsbetrekkingen van Egypte met het Middellandsche-zeegebied in de 3^e eeuw v. C. De verhandelde waren*, in *Philologische Studien*, II (1931–2), 3–21, 81–94.

Reference may further be made here to H. KORTENBEUTEL’S study *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser*, Hoffmann, Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1931, pp. 80, which covers the whole period of the Roman Empire down to the Arab conquest of Egypt, and to a useful bibliographical summary of recent criticism of *Les travaux de M. Henri Pirenne sur la fin du monde antique et les débuts du moyen âge*, in *Byzantion*, VII (1932), 495–509 compiled by H. LAURENT: this is important for the consideration of the extent of Egyptian trade connexions.

Other articles which have reference to Egyptian trade are M. ROSTOVZEFF, *Seleucid Babylonia. Bullae and seals of clay with Greek inscriptions*, in *Yale Class. Studies*, III (1932), 1–114 (with discussion of Ptolemaic parallels); R. ENGELBACH, *Myos Hormos and the Imperial porphyry quarries*, in *Ann. Serv.*, XXXI (1931), 137–43; and A. LUCAS, *The occurrence of natron in ancient Egypt*, in *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 62–6.

ELIZABETH GRIER discusses *Accounting in the Zenon papyri*, in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 222–31. [See also § 3.]

G. MICKWITZ has published a monograph on *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum iv. 2. Akademische Buchhandlung, Helsingfors, 1932, pp. xv+232. It may be useful to cite the headings of the chapters: (i) Das Münzwesen bis zu Diokletians Höchstpreisedikt; (ii) Die Entwicklung des Diokletianisch-Konstantinischen Münzsystems; (iii) Der Geldwert in Ägypten nach 301 n. Chr.; (iv) Die Wirkungen der Währungskrisen in Ägypten; (v) Die Privatwirtschaft ausser Ägypten; (vi) Die staatliche Naturalwirtschaft und ihre Folgen. Beilage: Zusammenstellung der Angaben über Bodenpacht, Mieten, Anleihen und Löhne in den Papyri.

With this study should be compared the article by G. OSTROGORSKY on *Löhne und Preise in Byzanz*, *B.Z.*, XXXII (1932) 293–333: the titles of the sections of this article are (i) Arbeitslöhne; (ii) Beamten- und Offiziersgehälter; (iii) Geldstrafen. Ämter- und Titelkauf. Der Zinsfuß; (iv) Bodenpreise (Acker-, Wein- und Ölland); (v) Getreidepreise; (vi) Verschiedene Preisangaben; (vii) Preise für Haustiere.

Further reviews of works already noticed in the *Journal* are: of HEICHELHEIM’S *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen* (see XVIII, 90) by T. FRANK in *Am. Journ. Phil.*, LIII (1932), 181–3, and by K. REGLING in *Z. f. Numism.*, XLI (1931), 117–20; of FRISK’S *Bankakten* (see XVIII, 88) by K. F. W. SCHMIDT in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 20/21, 562–5, by U. WILCKEN in *Archiv*, X (1932), 267–70, and by P. COLLART in *Rev. de phil.*, 3. VI (1932), 410; and of JOUQUET’S *Dédicace de Médamoud* (see XVIII, 90) by P. COLLART in *Rev. de phil.*, 3. VI (1932), 415–16.

For the administration of the great estates of Byzantine Egypt and other matters bearing on economics see § 4, *Administration*.

Education, Science, and Art. Here may be noted G. VON MANTEUFFEL's *Die Papyri als Zeugen griechischer Kleinliteratur* in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 1932, 243-55. [See also § 1.]

Numismatics and Metrology. W. GIESECKE discusses *Il "trichryson" egiziano* in *Rass. Numism.*, xxvii (1931), 289-96.

E. CAVAIGNAC deals with *L'argent et le cuivre sous les derniers Ptolémées* in *Chron. d'Ég.*, vii (1932), 288-90.

J. G. MILNE writes on *The nome coins of Egypt* in *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, 73-8, and on *Coin-moulds for Egyptian Feudal currency*, *ibid.*, 1931, 73-4.

W. GIESECKE's *Ptolemäergeld* (see *Journal*, xviii, 90) is reviewed by F. HEICHELHEIM in *D. Lit. Z.*, 1932, 20, 942-5; by E. S. G. ROBINSON in *Cl. Rev.*, xlvi (1932), 87; by S. COHEN in *Riv. Numism.*, xxviii (1931), 393; by W. SCHWABACHER in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 291-5; and by V. T[OURNEUR] in *Rev. Belge de Numism.*, lxxxii (1930), 285-6.

A. SEGRÈ has articles on *Nuove misure nel P. Zen. Cairo IV* in *Stud. it. fil. cl.*, N.S. ix (1932), 337-9, and *Su alcune misure degli ostraka di Taït*, *ibid.*, 111-15.

6. LAW.

A. General.

i. *Bibliography.* P. M. MEYER, *Juristische Papyrusbericht, VII (Okt. 1929-Okt. 1931)*, *Z. Sav.*, lii (1932), 356-411. U. WILCKEN, *Urkunden-Referat, Archiv*, x (1931-2), 237-79. L. WENGER, *Juristische Literaturübersicht IV (1914-32)*, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 279-313. F. OLIVIER-MARTIN and R. BESNIER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, xi (1932), suppl. with fasc. 3, *Bibliographie courante—1930*, 38 pp., especially pp. 5*-13*. S. ROMANO, *Bull. Ist. Dir. Rom.*, xl (1932), 253-378 (especially 302-38), completes the bibliography of Roman law, 1924-30, begun last year; very comprehensive. A. CALDERINI, *Testi recentemente pubblicati, Aegyptus*, xi (1930-1), 399-405, 497-500; xii (1932), 65-70, 256-69, 365-9. *Aggiunte, correzioni, riedizioni di papiri e di ostraka*, xi, 406-7; xii, 71, 270, 370-7, *Bibliografia metodica*, xi, 418-31 (especially 424-5), 517-21; xii, 83-110, 282-306, 408-25 (especially 99-101, 296-7, 416-17). *B.Z.*, xxxii (1932), 146-256, 395-480 (especially 157-9, 242-50, 406-9, 471-6). *Byz. neugr. Jahrb.*, viii (1931), 387-480 (especially 408-14, 462 ff.). *Ἀρχαίων Βυζαντινοῦ Δίκαιου*, i, 441-67: bibliography by G. PETROPOULOS: Roman law, 441-56; Greek, papyrological and Byzantine law, with Greek economic history, 457-67. (This new periodical, edited by I. CHR. TORNARITES, is devoted to Greek legal history from the earliest times to the present day. Foreign subscription *per vol.*: £1.) M. HOMBERT, *Bulletin pap.*, v (1930), in *Byzantion*, vi (1931), 722-36 (especially 730-3); vi (1931-2), *ibid.*, vii (1932), 433-56 (especially 446-9). P. COLLINET, *Chronique du droit byz.*, in *Byzantion*, vii (1932), 489-94. E. SACHERS has issued an elaborate Index-Volume covering *Z. Sav.*, i-L.

M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.*, Nos. 13-14 (1932), 227-36, announces the project of a general bibliography of Egyptian papyrology widely understood. He is also responsible for a very comprehensive current card-index, which has been in circulation for about a year. *Cf.* L. WENGER, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 293-4.

E. ALBERTARIO, *Arch. Giurid.*, cvii (1932), 88-95, at the end of a necrology of S. PEROZZI, gives his bibliography.

ii. *Miscellaneous reviews.* In *Z. Sav.*, lii (1932), 523-9, E. LEVY gives an appreciative account of FERRINI's work as contained in the five volumes of *Opere di Contardo Ferrini (Journal)*, xvii (1931), 130). *Studi P. Bonfante* (†) (*Journal, ibid.*): in *Rev. hist. dr.*, xi (1932), 516-38, J.-B. PARIS gives short summaries of the four volumes; vols. II, III, and IV are reviewed in *Arch. Giurid.*, cvi (1931), 245-56, cvii (1932), 96-111, cviii (1932), 131-45, by G. SCHERILLO, G. GROSSO, and S. ROMANO respectively.

iii. *Legal history of antiquity.* An admirable general orientation continues to be given by L. WENGER in his above-mentioned *Literaturübersicht*. The problems of method and scientific aim are discussed by M. SAN NICOLÒ in a reply to W. EILERS' criticism (*Journal*, xviii (1932), 91-2), *Z. Sav.*, lii (1932), 328-33, and also in a *Rektorsrede* of 23 Nov. 1931 (*cf. Forschungen u. Fortschritten*, 1931, 140 ff.). He insists on the necessity of studying as a whole the legal history, as well as the other aspects, of the cultural unity which we call antiquity. See also J. G. LAUTNER, *Die methoden einer antikechtlichen Forschung, Z. f. vergleich. Rechtsw.*, xlvi (1932), 27-76.

Cuneiform law. It would be out of place to repeat here what can be found in the general reviews of L. WENGER, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 283-5, and P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, lii (1932), 379-81. The latter announces that the *Z. Sav.* will in future provide a regular *Bericht* on the literature of this department. A clear, brief and thoroughly readable account of problems and results so far reached is given by G. BOYER, *Les études*

d'assyriologie juridique, *Rev. hist. dr.*, XI (1932), 501-15. A very interesting beginning of the study of Hittite private law has been made by V. KOROŠEC, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 156-69; *Beitr. z. hehritischen Privatrecht*.

Jewish law. We note A. GULAK, *Rechtsvergleich. Stud. zu Talmud u. Papyri*, *Ét. de pap.*, I (1932), 97-104 (not seen), and reviews of E. R. GOODENOUGH, *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt* (*Journal*, XVII (1931), 131; XVIII, 94) by E. SEIDL, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 428-30 and by M. SAN NICOLÒ, *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 116-18. The former, though appreciative, thinks that the author goes too far in the view that Philo reflects the law of the contemporary Jewish courts in Alexandria; such reflection as there is, is unconscious.

Greek law. What is evidently an important book (not seen), U. E. PAOLI's *Studi di diritto attico* (Florence, 1930), containing studies of the Attic maritime loan, *ὑποθήκη-ἀποτίμημα*, and citizenship, is highly praised by E. WEISS, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 441-7. The reviewer, who has himself published a short characterization of Greek law in the *Encycl. of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1931-), considers PAOLI's separate treatment of Attic law to be justifiable, provided that, like him, one relates it to the laws of the other cities. V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, *Arch. Giurid.*, CVII (1932), 245-53, is equally laudatory, especially of the third study, in which a new view of Attic marriage is proposed, but differs from the author as to *ὑποθήκη* and *ἀποτίμημα*. The next volume of the *Arch. Giurid.*, 161-78, however, publishes a remarkable answer by PAOLI.

Demotic law. E. SEIDL, *K.V.G.R.*, XXV (1931-2), 219-49, continues his *Sammelbericht* (*Journal*, XVII (1931), 131), the first part of which has been welcomed by L. WENGER, *ibid.*, 285-6, and P. M. MEYER, *ibid.*, 360. Here he completes and brings up to date his previous article, and then deals with public law and administration. He considers that M. SAN NICOLÒ's *Beiträge* (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 91-2) have opened up to Egyptologists the best comparative material, but takes exception to his chronological table, in which the column Egypt ought to begin not with 1400 or even 710, but with the Fourth Dynasty (2720-2560). In *Zu Pap. Strassb. dem. 12*, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 326-8, E. SEIDL disagrees with W. KUNKEL's interpretation of this papyrus (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 93, 99). L. WENGER and E. SEIDL, *Z. Sav.*, LII, 430-8, and E. SEIDL alone, *K.V.G.R.*, XXV (1931-2), 297-306, review W. SPIEGELBERG's *Die dem. Papyri Loeb* (cf. F. LL. GRIFFITH, *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 194-5). In both reviews attention is drawn to Pap. 43 as throwing light on the Ptolemaic *συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου*; both in fact lay stress on points of demotic law elucidating the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and this is *ex professo* the aim of E. SEIDL's *Die dem. Zivilprozessordnung und die griech. Rechtsurkunden*, *Chron. d'Ég.*, Nos. 13-14 (1932), 210-26, to which, space forbidding details, the attention of students of the Greek Ptolemaic texts is strongly recommended. Cf. L. WENGER, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 286; U. WILCKEN, *ibid.*, 248-9.

Coptic law. A. A. SCHILLER, *K.V.G.R.*, XXV (1931-2), 250-96, begins a general survey of the sources and literature for Coptic law (sixth to tenth centuries). He treats of the general problems, legal sources, documents, and the law of persons, property, succession, and obligations, reserving for a future article civil procedure and criminal law and procedure. Cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 93; W. E. CRUM, *ibid.*, 196-7, and L. WENGER, *ibid.*, 287-8.

Eastern Hellenistic law. P. KOSCHAKER's important book (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 93, 94, 96-7) is reviewed by M. SAN NICOLÒ, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 460-6 (cf. *O.L.Z.*, XXXIV (1931), 1015-18), by F. DE ZULUETA, *Law Quart. Rev.*, XLVII (1932), 275-6, and by L. WENGER, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 289-90. The fundamental question raised by the Avroman and Dura finds, namely how far Hellenistic law took effect in the interior of Asia, which is touched on by SAN NICOLÒ in his review, is the subject of P. KOSCHAKER's Leyden address: *Die rechtsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der griech. Pergamenturkunden aus Dura*, *Chron. d'Ég.*, Nos. 13-14 (1932), 202-9. There is a gap of about 200 years between the earliest Greek texts and the latest cuneiform. The private law of a Greek *πόλις* like Dura was doubtless at first Greek (cf. P. Dura 5, *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 98), but how long did it remain pure, and how far was it received by the mixed native population of the district? In P. Dura 10 and in the Avroman parchments we find, as in Egypt, Greek documentation extended to non-Greeks, but is this only form? The question is difficult, because we do not know the contemporary native law and because Greek law has not the specific, easily distinguishable quality of Roman law. From P. Dura 10 the natural conclusion is that Greek law is applied to oriental parties, but antichrestic self-pledge is also found in cuneiform sources from 2000 B.C., and probably the native institution persisted. Thus we cannot infer reception of Greek law; still, Greek juristic thought and form are dominant. But in *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 340-2, *Zu P. Dura 10*, E. SCHÖNBAUER denies the cogency of the oriental parallels, earlier by centuries, and maintains that P. Dura 10 exhibits pure Greek law, antichrestic debtor-bondage, which is a common Indo-Germanic institution, and the best parallel to which is the Roman *mancipii causa*, etc. He develops this view further in an article in *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 201-10, to which we shall return (below B ii and C); L. WENGER is not unfavourable, *Archiv*, x, 289. E. BICKERMANN, reviewing *Yale Class. Stud.*, II (1931), in *Gnomon*, VIII

(1932), 572-7, regards P. Dura 10 as a diplomatic hybrid, in form neither Greek nor Babylonian, but Parthian, like the two other Greek documents from Parthia. The witnesses are to the transaction, not to the document, which therefore, unlike the cuneiform document, is simply evidentiary. The combination with the sealed double form is due to reception. Cf. Jeremiah, xxxii, 9 f. It is suggested that the borrower, since he retains property of his own, is to be the lender's military retainer, *more Parthico*, rather than his serf.

The Berytus question. Byzantine law. The Milan Conferenze (*Journal*, xviii (1932), 92) are reviewed by F. DE ZULUETA, *Law Quart. Rev.*, XLVII (1932), 272-4. See also L. WENGER, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 291 and A. LEVET, *Rev. hist. dr.*, xi (1932), 539-43. H. F. JOLOWICZ, *Academic Elements in Roman Law*, *Law Quart. Rev.*, XLVII, 171-90, maintains that till after the end of the classical period academic influence is negligible, but that in the later period it is a factor, the results of which have in a number of points been demonstrated. F. PRINGSHEIM, *Bonum et aequum*, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 78-155, argues that the phrase was hardly ever used by the classical jurists save with reference to the *formulae* in which it occurred, whereas in interpolated texts of Justinian it appears almost always in the form *ex bono et aequo*, as an expression of the new Byzantine equity. E. LEVY, *Zur Infamie im röm. Strafrecht, Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono*, II, 79-100 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), shows the effect on the classical edictal principle, which made *infamia* an automatic consequence of condemnation in certain cases, first of the extension of the *cognitio* and secondly of the late imperial tendency to remove the penalty from the discretion of the judge. Incidentally he reveals a poignant page in the life of Papinian and a characteristic piece of Byzantine scholasticism. F. DÖLGER, *B.Z.*, XXXII (1932), 245-6, announces the publication (Athens, 1931, edd. J. and P. ZEPOS) of eight volumes which are mainly a reprint of ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL'S scarce *Ius graeco-romanum*, but contain interesting additions. Although DÖLGER does not praise the execution of the work highly, he considers it useful, as does L. WENGER, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 292. In fasc. 2 (1931) of the new 'Apx. B.d. (above i), 437-40, I. C. TORNARITES, reviewing G. FERRARI, *Diritto Bizantino, Encicl. Ital.*, VII (1930), 141-8 (not seen), contends that in spite of its Roman skeleton the spirit and social character of the Byzantine law is Greek. Apart from this dissent, the review is favourable. There is a discussion of the meaning of ἐπιτέλεια in medieval texts.

iv. *Juristic texts.* J. C. NABER, *Scholia ad Pandectas Graecas in integrum restituta tria, Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, I, 21-3 (Padua, 1932, offprint), after announcing a forthcoming demonstration that certain fragments published by SEYMOUR DE RICCI in *Ét. Girard*, I, 273 ff. (1913) give a text from the first edition of the *Cod. Just.*, attempts, by the aid of *scholia* on the *Basilica*, a conjectural restoration of other fragments published in the same place. They are Greek *scholia* on D. 19, 2, 54, 1; 55, 1.3, written later than Nov. 120 (544). The discovery of a *scholium* on L. 55, 3 is of interest, because this text is omitted by the Florentine MS. of the Digest, though its existence has been inferred from Greek sources.

v. *Diplomatic.* B. KÜBLER, *Pariculum exemplum, St. Riccobono*, I, 437-53 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), finds the clue to the enigmatic word *periculum* in the rubric *De sententiis ex periculo recitandis* of *C. Theod.* 4, 17 and *C. Just.* 7, 44, and in *Cic. II in Verrem*, III, 183. It is a mistake for *pariculum* and should properly mean duplicate (*ισότυπον* of the Novels, *ισον* of the papyri), but in the slang of the chanceries, which was inherited by the Middle Ages, it meant the final draft *sententia* drawn up by the *scribae*, which was corrected and subscribed by the magistrate and, when read to the parties, became unalterable. Parties were provided with a duplicate, *mundum*, which also was an authentic original, a duplicate as opposed to a mere copy (*exemplum, αντίγραφον*). The question of duplicate originals is further considered in relation, *inter alia*, to imperial enactments and to wills. It is unfortunate that in this fascinating study the printing of the Greek text on p. 439 seems to have gone awry.

At the very last moment W. KUNDEL kindly sends *Zur Gräko-ägyptischen Doppelurkunde, St. Riccobono*, I, 415-33 (Palermo, 1932, offprint).

B. Law of persons.

i. *Juristic persons.* New documents: P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 363. G. BESELER, *ibid.*, 284-7, *Zu dem Briefe Hadrians an Plotina vom Jahre 121*, returns to a subject recently treated of by A. STEINWENTER (*Journal*, xviii (1932), 94). He interprets Hadrian's letter as a permission to a Roman citizen, Theotimus, to make a will in Greek and according to Greek law, and thereby to regulate the succession to the headship of the Epicurean School, which was corporative owner of the School property, and as an Athenian corporation was subject to Greek law. Hadrian may or may not have doubted the capacity of a *diadochus*, who happened to be a Roman citizen, to act under Athenian law; at any rate, he removed all doubt in the present case. See below, vi.

ii. *Slavery and bondage*. E. SEIDL, *K.V.G.R.*, xxv (1931–2), 306–13, reviewing V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, *Persone e famiglia*, etc. (*Journal*, xvii (1931), 135, 136) adduces in confirmation of the author's conception of Graeco-Egyptian slavery (possibility of half-freedom) E. WEISS, *Communio pro indiviso und pro diviso*, *Archiv*, iv (1908), 330 ff. and P. dem. Loeb 41 and 47. He also states that Egyptian law permitted sale of self and sale of one's children into slavery, a point on which P. KOSCHAKER had expressed doubt. As noted here last year (p. 94), there is a difference of opinion with regard to the effect on this question of P. Colomb. 480, published by W. L. WESTERMANN, *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt* (summarized by P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, lII (1932), 367–8, and reviewed, chiefly with reference to its fiscal side, by F. OERTEL, *Gnomon*, viii (1932), 647–56). E. SCHÖNBAUER, *Archiv*, x (1931–2), 182–5, produces very strong confirmation of KOSCHAKER's interpretation, which is that ll. 23 ff. of the papyrus are not concerned with bondage or enslavement of free persons, but with slaves given as security. The contrast between *ὑπόχρεα σώματα* and *ἐλεύθερα* is between slaves already pledged and those clear of encumbrance (*ἀνεπαφά*). This involves that the editorial completion is wrong, and another is proposed. The royal ordinance as a whole thus dealt with the acquisition of slaves by private purchase (ll. 1–14), with auction-sales by the State and its organs (ll. 15–22), and with hypothecation and forfeiture (ll. 23 ff.). On the other hand, as noted above (A. iii. *Eastern Hellenistic law*), SCHÖNBAUER in the same article differs from KOSCHAKER with regard to P. Dura 10. See also below, C.

Colonate. F. ZUCKER, *B.Z.*, xxxii (1932), 85–9, reviewing P. *Ross. Georg. III*, draws attention to the importance of Pap. 8 for the history of *patrocinium*.

iii. *Civitas*. See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, lII (1932), 368–70; U. E. PAOLI, *Studi di diritto attico*, no. 3 (above, A iii, *Greek law*).

iv. *Family*. E. SEIDL, in the review of V. ARANGIO-RUIZ just mentioned (ii), while approving of the author's conception of the proprietary organization of the Egyptian family (children have expectant *iura ad rem*), observes that this conclusion rests on particular marriage-contracts, and that we do not know the common law. He thinks that there is demotic evidence of a far-reaching *patria potestas* (P. Louvre E. 7832 = Corp. Pap. I, 8).

With reference to the Karanis diptych published by H. A. SANDERS, *A.J.A.*, xxxii, 309–29 (*Journal*, xvi (1930), 135; xvii, 136), U. WILCKEN, *Archiv*, x (1931–2), 276–7, withdraws his own expansion of *de ereebts* in favour of DITTMANN'S.

R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *Ἔνομος Ἠλικία nel diritto papyri, Aegyptus*, xii (1932), 141–4, inquires into the age of majority in Graeco-Egyptian law, which, as A. BERGER in his important recent article *Minores in Pauly-Wissowa* (cols. 1883–4) observes, is uncertain. TAUBENSCHLAG shows that the evidence has greatly increased since his article *Die patria potestas im Recht der Papyri*, *Z. Sav.*, xxxvii (1916), 177–230, where he had concluded that the age was 18, though for *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* it was probably 20. P. Oxy. 2134 (A.D. 170) with B.G.U. 1068 (A.D. 101) perhaps reduces the former figure to 14. For Romans the 25 years of the *l. Plaetoria* were kept to: P. Oxy. 2111 (A.D. 135), but after the *Const. Antoniniana* there is trace of persistence for a time of the Graeco-Egyptian age; the Byzantine P. Lond. 1, 113 (p. 201), however, shows that ultimately the official law here won the day. To the recently published documents concerning guardianship and minority recorded by P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, lII (1932), 373–4, should now be added P. Mich. Inv. 2922 (c. A.D. 172/3) published by A. E. R. BOAK, *Journal*, xviii (1932), 69–76. It is a petition for *excusatio tutelae*, on which some further slight juristic commentary might be desirable; but the most interesting point, the citation of precedents (*cf. e.g. M., Chr. 85*), is obvious.

R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *Die Alimentationspflicht im Rechte der Papyri, Studi Riccobono*, i, 507–18 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), contributes a systematic study of the papyri in which any sort of duty of maintenance appears. As between parents there seems to have been no such duty apart from contract in national Egyptian law, but only a social duty. After the *Const. Antoniniana* the case was altered: *e.g.* P. Lond. 1708 (A.D. 567), from which it may further be inferred that the law of Justinian imposed no duty as between brother and sister. There may have been one in respect of a wife divorced when pregnant: P. Fay. 22 (M., *Chr.* 291, first century B.C.) and P. Flor. 93 (A.D. 567). But the most frequent source of the duty is contract, either as an incident of service-contracts of all kinds, including *παράμωγή*, or as a principal term in family-contracts on marriage or adoption, or parental divisions of property. We find, in particular, cases in which a parent parting with property to a child imposes a duty of *γηροβοσκεία*. Reservations of life-rents for maintenance are also common in wills. A curious case is seen in B.G.U. 1024 (fourth century): the mother of a murdered girl is awarded one-tenth of the murderer's property in lieu of her lost right to maintenance, an idea which recurs in late Byzantine law. With this study may usefully be compared *Un contratto vitalizio del tempo di Dario I, Aegyptus*, xii (1932), 35–47, in which M. SAN NICOLÒ expounds a neo-Babylonian gift of a temple-

prebend made in consideration of a defined aliment to be rendered periodically. Such agreements are common in Babylonian documents of all periods, and recall both the *γηροβοσκεία* of the Greek papyri and the demotic papyri published by W. SPIEGELBERG, *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg*, 1923, 6.

v. *Marriage*. A condensed summary of W. F. EDGERTON's *Notes on Egyptian Marriage chiefly in the Ptol. Period* (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 95) is given by P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 374-5, and 420-8, E. SEIDL reviews the work. The principal question is of the interpretation of the demotic marriage-contracts, which EDGERTON regards as purely patrimonial, the marriage itself being in Egyptian law simply consensual. SEIDL, on the other hand, thinks that they at any rate strengthened the marriage by securing almost penal advantages for the wife in the event of undeserved divorce, and that they perhaps even indicated marriage as against concubinage. There are parallels in Hammurapi and the *Syro-Roman Lawbook*. But he does not regard these patrimonial contracts as essential to marriage, so that he is prepared to admit that the *γάμος ἄγραφος* of Roman times may be a survival of national custom. At any rate the distinction *ἐγγραφός* and *ἄγραφος* does not occur in Egyptian documents, and there is there no sure trace of grades of marriage. SEIDL ends by discussing the reading and interpretation of P. Tor. 18 (*U.P.Z.* 118). In his review of V. ARANGIO-RUIZ (above, B ii) he is of opinion that this writer's discussion of Egyptian marriage is superseded by EDGERTON's.

F. ZUCKER, in his already mentioned (B ii) review of *P. Ross. Georg. III*, comments on Pap. 28, which is the first fourth-century marriage-contract to come to light.

vi. *Monks*. P. COLLINET, *La règle de saint Benoît et la législation de Justinien*, *Rev. hist. rel.*, CIV (1931), 272-8, draws attention to ch. 2 of Abbot CHAPMAN's *Saint Benedict and the sixth century* (London, 1929), in which the relation of the Rule to Justinian's legislation was first observed and the conclusion drawn that the Rule must precede C. 1, 3, 46 (A.D. 530). Justinian, a western Christian like Justin, was in close relations with the Pope even before the reconquest of Italy; he may have obtained the Rule from the Pope or from St. Benedict; as for jurisprudence, so for the reform of eastern monasticism, the indefatigable legislator turned to the West.

A. STEINWENTER, *Byz. Mönchstestamente, Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 55-64, develops in greater detail one of the topics of his *Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen u. Klöster nach den Papyri*, *Z. Sav. (Kan. Abt.)*, XIX (1930), 1-50 (*Journal*, XVII (1931), 135; XVIII, 94, 96). Byzantine legislation did not entirely deprive monks of power to dispose of their property *mortis causa*, and in any case only applied to regular coenobites in the full sense. It is clear that monks did make wills, for there are precedents in the Byzantine formularies, though examples of actual practice are few. The Egyptian examples are not against the law, because they are either anterior to Justinian or made by hermits; seldom by coenobites. In the twelfth to fourteenth centuries there are many Byzantine wills of monks, but nearly all in favour of the monastery. The wills of Superiors show a patrimonial conception of their rights over the monastery, but they may also be regarded, like the philosopher's wills, as exhibiting the birth-struggle of juristic personality (see above, B i).

C. *Law of property*. See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 391-4.

Conveyance. The most important work for papyrologists is E. SCHÖNBAUER's *Rechtshistorische Urkundenstudien*, *Archiv*, X (1931-2), 177-210; cf. *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 340-2. Its accessibility justifies brevity here. The four sections deal respectively with P. Colomb. 480, P. Freib. III, 36/7, P. Ent. 14 and 15, and P. Dura 10, the connecting thread, apart from incidental excursus (B ii above), being the explanation of the problematic *ἀνανέωσις* by the doctrine of *καταγραφή* which was propounded by the author in his *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Liegenschaftsrechtes im Altertum* (1924). *Καταγραφή* is based on the Greek principle that for the sale of certain kinds of property, regarded as of special social importance, the co-operation of the community through its organs was necessary. It was therefore not a mere registration of a private act, written or oral, but a registration of the seller's declarations to which the State gives its co-operation. The form is derived from the *ὁμολογία* of a party to a dispute made before the magistrate, which put an end to contentious procedure, but which, as P. Ent. I shows, were enforceable by execution. Compare (and contrast) *in iure cessio*. This requirement of public co-operation applied equally to hypothecation of catagraphable property, and hypothecation was at the date of P. Ent. I, 15 (P. Magd. 31) only allowed for a fixed term, probably one year. The creditor, if unpaid on the due date, could claim the thing as forfeit (*ἐπικαταβολή*) without regard to excess-value, if any. But if he failed to exercise his right, the property would be freed, and he would be remitted to the ordinary process of execution of debt. Thus, if both creditor and debtor wished to adjourn the due date, either or both might have an interest in renewing the hypothec. Renewal was *ἀνανέωσις*, which, like the original hypothecation, required an act of public co-operation in the nature of *καταγραφή*.

This would not be given without the *agoranomus* having satisfied himself of the existence of the antecedent hypothec between the parties and of the consent of both to renewal. P. Freib. III, 36–7 are documents of an *ἀνανέωσις*; the reason for the petition to the king in P. Ent. I, 15 is that there was no time for *ἀνανέωσις*, to which both creditor and debtor's heir were agreeable. P. Ent. I, 14 is a case in which *ἐπικαταβολή* had taken place upon property on which the petitioner's horse had happened to be quartered. In P. Dura 10 the hypothec of property is not general; it may be that it was of the debtor's *invecta et illata* (L. WENGER, *Archiv*, x (1931–2), 133). The *ἀνανέωσις* clause, which probably covered the *παραμονή* as well as the hypothec of property, can be explained quite simply by this doctrine of Ptolemaic *ἀνανέωσις*. The Egyptian papyri of the Roman period suggest that the doctrine had been modified in certain respects.

In *Zur Frage der Eigentumsübergang beim Kauf*, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 195–250, E. SCHÖNBAUER uses his publicity principle for the solution of a vexed question of Roman law. F. PRINGSHEIM, as is well known, holds that the rule, that ownership of a thing sold did not pass to the buyer unless the price had been paid, was introduced into Roman law in the early Byzantine period, by reception from Greek law. As SCHÖNBAUER remarks elsewhere, the burning question of the Roman or Graeco-oriental character of Justinian's law can only be settled by further study of Greek law. Here he denies that the rule was Greek. A seller who allowed *καταγραφή* to take place before being paid must provide himself with an actionable acknowledgement of debt in the form of a fictitious loan. *Mancipatio*, like *καταγραφή*, embodied social control of alienation, but in it the exchange of the thing against *aes* weighed out was essential. But later Roman law diverged from Greek. The 12 Tables allowed *expromissio* (probably *sponsio* of a third party) as a substitute for payment; then the creation of the consensual contract of sale made the buyer debtor of the price, and the *expromissor* came to be regarded as security; *expromissio* was then generalized as any form of *satisfactio*, and finally, not later than Diocletian, property was allowed to pass if seller chose to rely merely on buyer's personal credit (*fidem emptoris sequi*). In *Inst.* 2, 1, 41 Justinian combines various strata of texts, but substantially he adopts the latest development. The original rule of the 12 Tables and its developments appear to have been applied to *traditio*.

Still more purely Romanistic are three articles on the problem of the causal or abstract character of *traditio* (cf. *Journal*, xvii (1931), 137): J. HUPKA, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 1–30 (very conservative); F. SCHULZ, *ibid.*, 535–49 (reviewing five recent works; radical); and E. SCHÖNBAUER, *K.V.G.R.*, xxv (1931–2), 136–218 (not yet digested; seems conservative).

G. FERRARI, *La donazione nei papiri di Ravenna*, *St. Riccobono*, I, 457–83 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), reacts against some of H. STEINACKER's doctrines in *Die antiken Grundlagen der frühmittelalterlichen Privat-urkunde*. In these documents, which date from the end of the fifth century, as in P. Lond. III, p. 254 (M., Chr., 367, sixth century), even nominal reservation of usufruct rendered *traditio rei* unnecessary for conveyance; this is Theodosian and earlier law, not a Byzantine anomaly. When usufruct was not reserved, *traditio* was necessary, but in Justinian's sense there was *donatio perfecta* by mere agreement to give, which was enforceable by personal action (*Inst.* 2, 7, 2). *Traditio cartae* cannot be explained by the *absolutio* of Nov. 44, for it is found earlier. The fact that this act, put in high relief by the Ravenna documents, is not mentioned in eastern documents, does not prove that it did not take place in the East. It is a natural act in many cases, e.g. when the document is epistolary. Again, observance of the law of *insinuatio* at Ravenna and in Egypt does not prove that donation was perfected by *insinuatio* alone. Cf. *Journal*, xvi (1930), 138; xvii, 134.

P. T(ORELLI) also, in *Studi Medievali, nuova ser.*, 604–8 (offprint, n.d.), is decidedly critical of STEINACKER. The study of the function of writing in legal life is beyond the scope of diplomatic, which is merely an auxiliary discipline. So long as GNEIST's doctrine of the pure consensuality of Greek contract and BRANDILEONE's (*Riv. Stor. Dir. Ital.*, I and II) of the persistence of true stipulation in the West are unrefuted, the question of the dispositive nature of the Roman document is open. So also is that whether the *exceptio non numeratae pecuniae* is purely Roman or only a Roman formulation of a Greek idea (cf. J. C. NABER, *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 247–8). There are other criticisms, but final judgement must be deferred till we have heard STEINACKER on the medieval period.

P. S. LEICHT, *Le ultime vicende della mancipatio in Italia*, *Riv. Stor. Dir. Ital.*, v (1932), 19–27, contends that the continuance of mention of *mancipatio* in Italy, according to locality, till the Bolognese renaissance, is a pure matter of routine and ignorance, and no proof that *mancipatio* and the distinction between *res Mancipi* and *nec m.* survived after their suppression by Justinian and indeed by earlier desuetude.

Real security. M. SAN NICOLÒ, *Parerga Babylonica*, I–v, *Archiv Orientalni (Journ. Czechoslovak Oriental Inst., Prague)*, IV (1932), 34–40, 179–92. The second of these studies (38–40) offers some material for comparison; it notes the relative rarity in late Babylonian law of real security being substituted for personal

liability; real security tends, in fact, to become mere security, additional to personal liability. Further and less remote material is supplied by the second of U. E. PAOLI's studies in Attic law mentioned above (A iii, *Greek law*).

D. Law of obligations.

i. *General*. E. LEVY, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 512-23, in a review of the Freiburg collection of PARTSCH's posthumous and smaller works (*Journal*, XVIII (1931), 91), treats chiefly of the unfinished study of *Synallagma*. A very careful account of PARTSCH's views is given, and the conclusion is reached that the developed Byzantine theory of *synallagma* had only a very limited importance.

F. WEBER, *Untersuchungen zum gräko-ägyptischen Obligationenrecht. Modalitäten der Leistung im Recht der Papyri* (*Münch. Beitr.*, Heft 15, 1932), starts from the position (A. B. SCHWARZ's against A. SEGRÈ's) that in Graeco-Egyptian law performance of an obligation was a discharge of liability without further formality, and considers the question: when was performance effective? Must it be rendered to the creditor, by the debtor, and at what time and place? What was the effect of partial performance? To which of several obligations of the same debtor to the same creditor was a performance, which did not satisfy them all, to be appropriated? These *Modalitäten* form the subject of successive sections, which are preceded by a survey of sources and followed by a summary of conclusions, with excellent indexes. A cursory examination of the book makes a good impression. The conclusion is that the Gr.-Eg. law of contract was modern in character, and that the Romans found in Egypt substantially the same commercial law as their own. The solutions, for example, as to performance by a third party, or as to appropriation of payments are the same, and there is the same tendency to construe payment by a third party as purchase of the debt. In short, we have in Egypt a continuous development, to which neither the Roman conquest nor the *Const. Antoniniana* made much difference; divergences between local and imperial law are only occasional. Special attention is drawn to new conclusions in regard to *depositum* and to leases at will in late law (*Journal*, XIV (1928), 154).

The third of M. SAN NICOLÒ's above-mentioned (C, *l.c.*, 179-88) *Parerga Babylonica* illustrates from late Babylonian documents the construction of substituted performance, *datio in solutum*, as sale, a construction which is found also in Hellenistic law, though some of the papyri, which are our chief evidence, have given rise to controversy as to what the underlying transaction really was: *datio in solutum*, sale with price prepaid, or a form of usury. Cf. F. WEBER, *op. cit.*, 14 and R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *St. Bonfante*, I, 420. The construction as sale was ultimately admitted by Justinian, and the importance of the late Babylonian documents is that they suggest a persistence in nearer Asia of Babylonian ideas even through Roman times. Hellenization was probably superficial and temporary. Cf. above, A iii, *Eastern Hellenistic law*.

ii. *Sale*. See above, C. *Conveyance*; also P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 386-8, noting new documents.

M. SAN NICOLÒ. *Parerga Bab.*, I (above, C, *l.c.*, 34-8) announces the discovery in one or two Cappadocian documents (*Eisser-Lewy*) of a word, used in connexion with pledge, related to the Hebraic 'erabon, which, in spite of the traditionally Semitic origin of ἀρραβών (*arrha*), has up to the present been the only parallel. It is suggested that the term may have been specially western Semitic.

F. WIEACKER, *Lex Commissoria. Erfüllungszwang u. Widerruf im röm. Kaufrecht* (*Freib. Rechtsgesch. Abh.*, III, Berlin, 1932). This book, treating of the very difficult subject of reservation by seller of right to call the sale off, if not paid by a certain date, has not yet been reviewed, but certainly it shows real talent and thorough training in modern critical methods. The conclusions with regard to the main lines of the Roman evolution do not appear to be revolutionary, but the handling of the embarrassing collection of texts in the *Corpus Iuris* is original. What most concerns us here is that the ultimate state of Roman law is explained as a result of Hellenistic influence (79-115). Hence a considerable treatment of Greek sale (89-103), which is mainly papyrological, but is too technically expressed for rapid summarization. The author follows PRINGSHEIM's doctrine as to the introduction of the rule in *Inst.* 2, 1, 41, but unfortunately he could not join issue with E. SCHÖNBAUER's article in *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 195-250 (above, C. *Conveyance*).

No papyri appear to be cited by H. SCHEUER, *Die Laesio enormis im röm. u. im modernen Recht*, I, *Z. f. vergleich. Rechtsw.*, XLVII (1932), 77-117.

iii. *Societas*. Two important articles are to be noted: R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *Die societas negotiationis im Rechte der Papyri*, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 64-77, and A. STEINWENTER, *Aus dem Gesellschaftsrechte der Papyri*, *St. Riccobono*, I, 487-504 (Palermo, 1932, offprint). The first is a systematic survey of the sources, the second raises special points. Both deal with partnership for the farming of public taxes and land, for farming private land, and for trade and handicraft. STEINWENTER differs from M. ROSTOVTZEFF, *Gesch. der Staatspacht* (*Philologus*, Suppl. IX, 1902) as to the relation of the μέτοχοι of the ἀρχώνης to the Ptolemaic State,

holding that they were directly liable to the State and distinct from the *εγγυοι*. He also draws attention to a group of cases in which it is difficult to say whether there was partnership, *colonia partiaria*, or both. In the Byzantine partnerships between artisans he notes the express mention of *affectus societatis* and the fact that the standard of care is *culpa in abstracto*.

iv. *Depositum*. In *Phil. Woch.*, LII (1932), 1078–84 (*Festschr. Poland*, 133–40), W. SCHUBART summons the use of *παρκατατίθεσθαι* and related terms in the papyri to the aid of the interpretation of the will of Ptolemy the Younger of Cyrene (below, H). C. SPICQ, *Rev. bibl.*, XL (1931), 481–502, adopts the same course in regard to the *παρθήκη* of 1 Tim. vi, 20; 2 Tim. i, 12, 14, but carries his point too far.

v. *Dialysis*. A. STEINWENTER, *Das byz. Dialysis-Formular, St. Albertoni*, I, 73–94 (Padua, 1932, offprint), applies the diplomatic method recommended by H. STEINACKER to *dialysis*, which for his purpose he understands with PARTSCH primarily in the sense of contract for ending or avoiding a lawsuit. Such contracts, in sixth–seventh century papyri, agree in external form with early (Justinian) and later Byzantine law. They agree also in style with the Byzantine literary formularies (*scholia* of *Basilica*), but the coincidence does not extend equally to the substantive law. What is the source of the documentary unity? Hardly imitation by the eastern Empire generally of the practice in Egypt, as supposed by A. SEGRÈ in sale, nor yet imperial constitutions, but rather the influence of the law schools, which is seen, for example, in the Byzantine formulary of the *stipulatio Aquiliana* (cf. P. Lond. 2017). We must omit many interesting details.

vi. *Delict*. E. RABEL, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 466–81, in the course of a dissenting but appreciative review of F. DE VISSCHER's *Études de droit romain* (*Journal*, XVII (1931), 138; XVIII, 98), differs from him both as to the interpretation of P. Hal. I and as to the development of the *actio iniuriarum noxalis*. The book is favourably reviewed by B. BIONDI, *Bull. Ist. Dir. Rom.*, XL (1932), 225–41 (see 236 ff.), and by R. MONIER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, XI (1932), 161–3. The connexion between the *δίκη αικίας* and the *actio iniuriarum* (*aestimatio in bonum et aequum*) is considered by F. PRINGSHEIM, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 86 ff.

E. Law of succession.

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 375–7, especially for new documents; also above, B i and vi.

E. KORNEMANN, *Elterliche Teilung f. d. Todesfall, Archiv*, X (1931–2), 213–15, publishes P. Giss. Inv. 255 in advance of P. Giss. II. Of the reign of Hadrian, it is a division of property (*μερίτια*; cf. H. KRELLER, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 242; M., *Chr.*, 306) made by a mother between her two sons, with effect *post mortem*. F. DE ZULUETA, *Reichsrecht ou Volksrecht dans le P.S.I. 1027?*, *Rev. hist. dr.*, XI (1932), 491–501, accepts H. A. SANDERS's view that the tablet is the first of a diptych (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 98), and contends that the *testatio* in question is a record of proceedings which can be explained by pure Roman law. His chief point is that very young children were allowed to make *cretio*, of course with *auctoritas*, as soon as they could speak, before they could understand (D. 29, 2, 9).

M. DAVID, *Über die Form des ordentlichen, schriftlich abgefassten Privattestaments zur Zeit des Dominates*, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 314–25, deals with a neglected subject. In the legal texts of the period we find civil and praetorian wills distinguished. It is explicable by classical law that the former require 5 and the latter 7 witnesses, but what was the determining difference? Not the solemnization of the *mancipatio familiae*, which was quite dead, but possibly that the civil will was holograph and the praetorian allograph. The papyrological evidence is assembled p. 318, n. 1. The same writer's *Studien zur heredis institutio ex re certa* (Leipzig, 1930) are briefly summarized by R. MONIER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, XI (1932), 163–4, and papyrological points in them are picked out by P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 377.

F. Lawcourts and procedure.

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 395–407, where a full account is given of E. BERNEKER's and E. SEIDL's books (both *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 99). Attention has been drawn (A iii, *Demotic law*) above to the latter's *Die demotische Zivilprozessordnung*, etc. A point of procedural terminology is cleared up by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv*, X (1931–2), 246–7, in his *Referat* of P. Ent. II, 64 (*δίκην γράψασθαι*) and 74 (*δίκην λέγειν*).

R. DÜLL, *Der Gütegedanke im röm. Zivilprozessrecht* (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 99), has been reviewed shortly by E. GRUPE, *Phil. Woch.*, LII (1932), 843–5, and F. J. KLEIN, *Archiv R. u. W.*, XXV (1931–2), 567–8. H. LEVY-BRUHL, *Rev. hist. dr.*, XI (1932), 777–81, is more critical; indeed the conception of the praetor's function advanced by him in various well-known studies is diametrically opposed to DÜLL's. E. SCHÖNBAUER's article, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 251–81, bears the same title as this book, and is in part a review of it. While agreeing that the original role played by the State in private suits was not that of the *brachium saeculare* of the private interest and that cases were more often than not settled *in iure*, SCHÖNBAUER holds that the State's purpose was not conciliation (*Gütegedanke?*), but order. DÜLL carries WŁASSAK's doctrine of the

original nature of the *exceptio* too far and too late. There is no parallel between the intermediate arbitral sentence of the *iudex* in an *actio arbitraria* (which is the peculiar feature of such actions) and the decision of the Greek *δαιτητής*, which was final, though subject to *ἔφεσις*.

R. DÜLL, *Über die Bedeutung des Verfahrens de plano im röm. Zivilprozess*, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 170-94, combats the idea that *de plano* means simply not *pro tribunali*, and that *de plano* and *in transitu* (Gaius, I, 20) are interchangeable. The sources show that *de plano* is connected with minor matters delegated to the court-staff; it developed ultimately into the institution of *iudices pedanei* (*χαμαιδικασταί, χαμάθεν, de plano*).

P. COLLINET, *La procédure par libelle, Ét. hist. sur le droit de Justinien*, IV, Paris, 1932. This substantial volume, which is the first detailed study of the libellary procedure as a whole since BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, requires a special review. We note here the emphasis laid on the new evidence, especially the documents of P. Oxy. XVI and P. Lips. 33 and 38. The conclusions are not lacking in originality and will provoke discussion; they are the fruit of much reflexion and meticulous study of the texts. Undoubtedly the book fills a long-felt want.

G. Criminal law.

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 394-5, and M. SAN NICOLÒ, *ibid.*, 295-6, noting P. Oslo. II, 17 (A.D. 136) as new evidence of the application of flogging even to free persons in criminal procedure; cf. P. Oxy. 1186 (fourth century B.C.).

E. CUQ, *Le rescrit d'Auguste sur les violations de sépultures*, *Rev. hist. dr.*, XI (1932), 109-26, maintains his interpretation of the Nazareth (?) inscription against L. WENGER's (*Journal*, XVIII (1932), 100, etc.); see now the mainly summarizing article (two textual suggestions; full literature) of F. DE ZULUETA, *J.R.S.*, XXII (1932), 184-97.

H. Public law.

That the organization of the Macedonian army throws light on the early Ptolemaic constitution was maintained by E. SCHÖNBAUER, *Z. Sav.*, XLIX (1929), 345 ff. (*Journal*, XVI (1930), 134). F. GRANIER's *Die Makedonische Heeresversammlung* (*Münch. Beitr.*, Heft 15, 1931, not seen) has had several short reviews. P. TREVES, *Riv. di fil.*, LX (1932), 397-402, does not accept the contention that the original constitution survived in the orientalized monarchies of the *Diadochi*. U. KAHRSTEDT, *G.G.A.*, CXCIV (1932), 208-11, makes the same criticism, but regards the collection of materials as valuable, as does W. W. T[ARN], *J.H.S.*, LI (1931), 307.

C. OLIVERIO, *La Stele di Tolomeo Neoterò re di Cirene* (*Documenti antichi dell'Africa italiana*, I, *Cirenaica*, I, Bergamo, 1932). The interest of this inscription is political: cf. § 4, but because of its form it has an accidental legal interest. On this aspect see L. WENGER, *Zum Testamente des Ptolemaios Neoterò von Kyrene*, *St. Riccobono*, I (?), 529-48 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), E. BICKERMANN's review in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 424-30, and U. RATTI (†), *Note sul testamento di Tolomeo Neoterò*, *Riv. di fil.*, LX (1932), 375-7. Cf. above D iii. The only substantial question is whether the *παρακαθήκη* was meant to and did take effect in Ptolemy's lifetime. The legal answer can only be negative: so WENGER, though U. RATTI, in a very sensible argument, dissents. But this is a political gesture, not a legal act.

On the *βουλή*-papyrus, *P.S.I.*, x, 1160, see § 4.

J. STROUX and L. WENGER's book on the Augustan Cyrenean inscription (*Journal*, XVIII (1930), 100, etc.) is the subject of a learned review by A. FLINIAUX, *Rev. hist. dr.*, x (1931), 715-24.

E. LEVY, *Zwei Inschriften auf den Jurist Maecianus*, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 352-5, draws attention to C.I.L., XIV, 5347, 5348, which confirm the fact, already practically proved by papyri, that the jurist L. Volusius Maecianus was prefect of Egypt at the end of Pius' reign and at the beginning of the next. His interesting career is commented on.

P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, LII (1932), 381, cites new documents and literature (including EHRENBURG, *Hermes*, LXV, 337 ff., not seen) on the Ptolemaic terms *διάγραμμα* and *πρόσταγμα*. Cf. E. SCHÖNBAUER, *Archiv*, x (1931-2), 199.

7. PALAEOGRAPHY AND DIPLOMATIC.

F. G. KENYON's *Books and readers in ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932, pp. vii+136) is the outcome of three lectures delivered at King's College in 1932. He deals with the use of books in Greece and Rome, the history of the roll and codex, and the use of papyrus and vellum as materials. There are several good photographs.

W. WEINBERGER in *Bursian*, 236 (1932), 85–113, *Bericht über Paläographie u. Hskunde 1926–1930*, gives a detailed review of contributions to the palaeography of papyri which have been made during this period. He discusses particularly the various studies of tachygraphy. From this article I learn for the first time of C. JOHNEN, *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Kurzschrift* (Berlin, 1928), which apparently contains a section on Greek stenography.

K. OHLY's *Stichometrische Untersuchungen* is reviewed by F. ZUCKER in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 383–8. I have not yet been able to see this.

A. BÖMER, *Die Schrift und ihre Entwicklung* (*Handb. d. Bibliothekswiss.*, I (1931), cap. II, 27–149) is also inaccessible to me.

8. LEXICOGRAPHY AND GRAMMAR.

PREISIGKE's *Wörterbuch* is reviewed by C. J. KRAEMER in *Cl. Weekly*, XXIV (1931), 149 f. (not accessible to me). LIDDELL AND SCOTT Part VI, λ–οι, pp. 1021–1200, has appeared; Parts V and VI are reviewed by P. MAAS in *J.H.S.*, LII (1932), 150–2, Part V by P. SHOREY in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 177–8. GRADENWITZ's *Heidelberger Konträrindex der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* is reviewed by W. SCHUBART in *O.L.Z.*, 1932, 770–1; by H. I. BELL in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 44; by G. COPPOLA in *Boll. fil. class.*, XXXVIII (1932), 193 f.; by K. F. W. SCHMIDT in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 322–5; by P. COLLART in *Rev. de phil.*, ser. 3, VI (1932), 405–6; and by W. BAUER in *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, LVII (1932), 73. H. WUTHNOW's *Semitische Menschennamen* is reviewed by M. ENGERS in *Museum*, XXXIX (1931), 59–60. E. MAYSER's *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri I* and II I is reviewed by G. N. HATZIDAKIS in *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, IX (1932), 203–4.

A. GROHMANN's article, *Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini im arabischen Aegypten*, in *Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932), 275–84, is not accessible to me (see § 4). D'ARCY W. THOMPSON has contributed an essay *On Some Greco-Egyptian Bird and Beast Names to Griffith Studies*, 249–53. W. SCHUBART's article, *Παρακαταίθεσθαι in der hellenistischen Amtssprache*, in the *Festschrift für Franz Poland = Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 35(8), 133–40, is a discussion of the meaning of this word in the testament of Ptolemy Euergetes II and of the purport of the whole document (see also §§ 4, 6, D iv). In *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 12, W. B. SEDGWICK discusses the phrase *πολλὰ πολλῶν* (*Pap. Oxy.* 744) without being aware that his conclusions were anticipated by EINAR HEIKEL in *Eranos*, XVII (1917), 91–6.

The complete title of the dissertation by H. GLITSCH which was mentioned in *Journal*, XVII (1931), 141 is *De Ptolemaei et Apollonii, Glaucliae filiorum, chartis quaestiones linguisticae*, and it is a study of papyri contained in WILCKEN's *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, vol. I. F. ZUCKER has reviewed it in *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 577–84.

H. LJUNGVIK, *Beiträge zur Syntax der Spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (Skrifter utg. av K. Humanist. Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, 27: 3), Uppsala and Leipzig, 1932, is not yet accessible to me. It is favourably reviewed by G. GHEDINI in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 381–2; by R. M. DAWKINS in *Cl. Rev.*, XLVI (1932), 236; by P. S. COSTAS in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 293–4, and by A. DEBRUNNER in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, L (1932), 255.

E. C. COLWELL, *The Greek of the Fourth Gospel*, Chicago, 1931, is devoted to proving that the idioms of this gospel which have been claimed as Aramaisms are found in papyri which are free from Aramaic influence and must be admitted to be genuine Greek. The book is favourably reviewed by P. S. COSTAS in *Cl. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), 193–5.

G. GHEDINI reviews, in *Scuola Cattolica*, LVIII (1930), 81–90, LIX (1931), 315–24, several works on the Greek of the N.T. or on similar subjects.

In *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, VIII (1931), 317–26 the late CARL WESSELY has given a sketch of the language of the Zenon Papyri, with the object of showing that the beginnings of many modern Greek developments can be observed in them.

K. F. W. SCHMIDT mentions in *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, 323, footnote, that he has long been engaged on a *Konträrindex der griechischen Sprache* arranged on the same plan as PAPE's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, i.e. by grammatical categories, and within these by alphabetical order beginning from the end of the word.

9. GENERAL WORKS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON PAPYRUS TEXTS.

W. G. WADDELL has published a very pleasant paper on *The lighter side of the Greek papyri: A talk to the St. Andrew's Society, Cairo, Egypt* (C. F. Cutter, Low Fell, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1932. Pp. 21, 1 plate). J. MANTEUFFEL publishes, in Polish, another article of a general character: *Rozwój i potrzekz papyrologji*, in

Nauki Polskiej, xv (1932), 287-90. For an article by P. G. RABEAU on *Les enseignements des papyrus: Christianisme et sociologie* see § 2, *Christian*.

Reviews of the *Konträrindex* are referred to in § 8 above.

M. HOMBERT has continued his excellent *Bulletin papyrologique* in *Byzantion*, vi (1931), 722-36 (part v, for 1930) and vii (1932), 433-56 (part vi, for 1931-2). The bibliography in *B.Z.*, xxxii (1932), 146-251, 395-477, is valuable as usual; papyri are dealt with on pp. 157-9 and 406-9. K. PREISANDANZ's *Zur Papyruskunde (Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, ed. FRITZ MILKAU, I (1931), cap. v, pp. 300-31) will be found useful not only as a general survey but in particular from a bibliographical point of view. M. HOMBERT in his *Projets de bibliographie papyrologique (Chron. d'Ég.*, vii (1932), 227-36), read to the Section of Papyrology at the Leyden Congress of Orientalists, sketches the plans formed by himself and VAN HOESEN, with the collaboration of S. DE RICCI, for the projected international bibliography on slips, which, I am glad to be able to record, has now become a reality. See too *Bibliographie papyrologique sur fiches* in *Rev. belge*, xi (1932), 393-4 (not accessible to me).

BILABEL's *Berichtigungslisten*, II, I, and *Sammelbuch*, IV, are reviewed together by E. KIESSLING in *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1932, 1499-1503.

In his *Varia (Symb. Oslo.*, x (1932), 153-6) S. EITREM deals with the following documentary papyri: 63. S.B. 6944; 64. B.G.U. 372; 65. P.S.I. 1055; 68. P. Oxy. 119; 72. P. Oxy. 44 = W. Chrest. 275. J. C. NABER proposes new readings for several of the Cairo Zenon papyri in *Ad papyros quosdam Cairo-Zenonianos (Aegyptus*, xii (1932), 48-54, 243-9); but EDGAR, on the strength of an examination of the originals by GUÉRAUD, points out (*ibid.*, 371) that many of these suggestions are irreconcilable with the papyrus evidence.

10. MISCELLANEOUS, EXCAVATIONS, PERSONAL.

In *Z. Sav.*, lii (1932), 552-5, E. SEIDL publishes a *Bericht über den 18. internationalen Orientalistenkongress zu Leiden (7-12 Sept. 1931)*, following this with the *Entschiessung über die Edition koptischer Papyri und Ostraka*. The papers read in the papyrological section are published in *Chron. d'Ég.*, vii (1932), and several of them have already been referred to in their proper place. The following general surveys of work done or in contemplation call for mention here: N. HOHLWEIN, *Notes sur quelques papyrus inédits du Caire*, 317-23; H. I. BELL, *Papyrology in England*, 134-6; K. KALBFLEISCH, *Die Fortschritte der Arbeit an den Giessener Papyri*, 151-2; FR. BILABEL, *Über den Fortschritt der Arbeiten an neuen Heidelberger Papyrus-Unternehmungen*, 311-16; L. WENGER, *Mitteilung über den Stand der Münchner Papyrussammlungen*, 335-48; L. AMUNDSEN, *Papyri and papyrology in the Scandinavian countries*, 324-31; A. CALDERINI, *Proposta per la compilazione di un censimento delle persone nominate nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano*, 258-61; FR. HEICHELHEIM, *Bericht über ein Papyrusverzeichnis nach Gauen, Archiven und Jahrhunderterten geordnet*, 137-50; A. STEINWENTER, *Ein Vorschlag zur Publikation koptischer Rechtsurkunden*, 153-6. With these articles may be classed, though it appeared elsewhere, a survey by M. HOMBERT of papyrology in the United States of America: *Les Études papyrologiques aux États-Unis*, in *Bull. des Alumni*, iii (1932), 229-34.

The same number of *Chron. d'Ég.* contained (262-9) B. A. VAN GRONINGEN's *Projet d'unification des systèmes de signes critiques*, in which, following up the brochure of BIDEZ and DRACHMANN on the unification of editorial usage in the matter of critical signs and *apparatus criticus*, he outlines a scheme suitable for use alike in papyri, inscriptions and literary texts. Elsewhere in the number H. I. BELL (*Note on methods of publication*, 270-1) accepts VAN GRONINGEN's scheme and pleads for greater uniformity in certain other matters of editorial usage; and A. S. HUNT (*A note on the transliteration of papyri*, 272-4) unfavourably (and, in the present writer's opinion, very justly) criticizes the practices of (a) dotting letters within square brackets, (b) underlining broken letters. On pp. 285-7 (*Essai d'unification des méthodes employées dans les éditions de papyrus*) are stated the conclusions arrived at by the Congress. WILCKEN in *Archiv*, x, 211-12, *Das Leydener Klammersystem*, accepts the new system, and so does A. CALDERINI in *Aegyptus*, xii (1932), 276-9 (*Unificazione dei metodi usati nell'edizione dei papiri*). The proposals are also stated by VAN GRONINGEN in *Mnemosyne*, lix (1931), 362-5 (*De signis criticis in edendo adhibendis*).

EV. BRECCIA has published a very useful survey of the museum over which he presides: *Le musée gréco-romain 1925-1931* (Municipalité d'Alexandrie, Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, Bergamo, 1932, pp. 102, 62 plates).

BOAK and PETERSON's *Karanis (Journal*, xviii, 103) has been reviewed by J. A. O. LARSEN (*Cl. Phil.*, xxvii (1932), 420); EV. BRECCIA (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 27, 78-83); D. ZUNTZ (*Gnomon*, viii (1932), 107-9); D. M. ROBINSON (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, lii (1932), 63-5); and H. I. BELL (*Mizraim*, i (1933), 187-8).

Ev. BRECCIA has published (*Ann. Serv.*, XXXI (1931), 19-24) a *Rapport sur les fouilles de la "Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini" à Oxyrhynchos et à Tebtynis (1928-1930)*.

Several obituaries have been mentioned in § 6 above. The following call for mention here: On WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF by WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 314); on WESSELY by H. GERSTINGER (*Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 250-5), WILCKEN (*Archiv*, x, 314-15), and J. CAPART (*Chron. d'Ég.*, VII (1932), 115-16); on SPIEGELBERG by J. CAPART (*ibid.*, 116-17) and CL. P[RÉAUX] (*ibid.*, 117-18); and on DESSAU by A. STEIN (*Klio*, XXV (1932), 226-44).

NOTES AND NEWS

THE year 1932 brought the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Egypt Exploration Fund, which was the parent of the present Society. To mark this occasion, by the courtesy of the Trustees, an impressive exhibition was arranged in the British Museum to display the objects which have been added to the National Collections by the Society's excavations, and the many visitors found convincing evidence in the exhibits of the good work wrought by the Society during the first half-century of its career.

In addition to this, a special Jubilee Meeting was held in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House on October 31, 1932. The proceedings were designed to provide a brief reminder of the Society's history and of its achievements as a whole. The President, Sir Robert Mond, who took the Chair, recalled the many generous benefactors on whom the Society had largely depended, and paid special tributes to some of the most outstanding. The various branches of the Society's activities were surveyed in greater detail by three special papers offered by Professor F. Ll. Griffith on the Excavations, by Professor P. E. Newberry (in whose absence his contribution was read by Sir H. G. Lyons) on the Archaeological Survey, and by Professor A. S. Hunt on the work of the Graeco-Roman Branch.

Work began at El-'Amarnah on December 1, 1932, and continued until January 25, 1933. Though a very short season, it was a most successful one, and the results and finds exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

Throughout the season the main work was concentrated on the Great Temple of the Aten, and the store-houses to the north of Hat-Aten. In spite of the exceedingly difficult nature of the work, a work which was rendered all the more difficult by the fact that the original destroyers of the Temple had sealed in the whole area with a layer of concrete, the plan and a reconstruction of the greater part of the temple area have been obtained. The excavated area consists mainly of two high, pillared platforms leading to a series of sunken courts, which were open to the sky, and were surrounded and traversed by promenades at a higher level. The courts themselves were originally filled with a very large number of stone bases for offerings. The names of these two sections of the Temple appear to be "The House of Rejoicing of the Aten" and "Gem-Aten". The actual finds were somewhat disappointing, but included two magnificent trial pieces. Next season it is hoped to undertake the final clearance of the Sanctuary, which lies at the eastern end of the temenos.

The most profitable part of the season's work was the outcome of a chance discovery in the course of the survey linking up the previous work of the Society with that of the German expedition. In the grounds of a house excavated by Petrie, which had themselves been partially cleared by the Germans, a plaster mask of Nefretiti was found lying quite uncovered on the top of a wall. As the complete plan of the house and grounds was necessary for the survey a small party of men was set to work. The result was the discovery of another sculptor's workshop, and a large number of objects which do not compare at all unfavourably with the best that have ever been found at El-'Amarnah. Among the most notable pieces were plaster masks of the king and queen, an exquisitely modelled sandstone inlay head of Akhenaten, and a magnificent but incomplete portrait head of Nefretiti.

Photographs, plans, reconstructions, and casts of all the objects will be shown at the

Summer Exhibition. In addition it is hoped to arrange for a special Exhibition illustrating the architecture of El-'Amarnah, to be held in June at the Architectural Association.

The first of the winter lectures was given on December 14 by Mr. Alan W. Shorter on "Egyptian religion at the end of the New Kingdom". The lecturer traced briefly the gradual development and expansion of religious beliefs down to the time of Akhenaten. On January 25 Mr. S. R. K. Glanville gave an interesting description of "The beginning of building in Ancient Egypt", illustrating how the Egyptians had begun to build with wattle and daub, and though discovering new materials in which they could work, yet carried on the traditions of the earlier material, imitating features of the older buildings even when they had become structurally unnecessary. He also pointed out that some of these traditions are still traceable in the stone buildings being erected to-day. The next lecture was on March 29 by Mr. R. W. Sloley entitled "Thoth, the Great Magician". He explained that Thoth was originally a moon-god and hence the measurer of time; he was represented by a dog-headed ape—a particularly astute animal—as the patron deity of learning, and by the ibis suggestive of research and wisdom. Knowledge is power, and hence he came to be regarded as the Master of Magic, and the books of Thoth were supposed to contain all learning and magic.

Once again, by the courtesy of the Council of the Royal Society, the lectures were all held in its Meeting Room at Burlington House. All were illustrated by lantern slides.

The present year, in which the Society enters on the second half-century of its existence, will be marked by a change in its address. The lease of the premises in Tavistock Square which have been its home since 1918 is due to expire in June; and, as the library has long outgrown the available accommodation, the Committee decided to seek more suitable headquarters without delay. Fortunately, it has proved possible to secure a lease of the first floor and front basement of No. 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, a house which belongs to the Palestine Exploration Fund and contains its offices and library. This will be the Society's address from June 25, 1933. It is the hope of the Committee that the presence under a single roof of the large and growing libraries of the two Societies will provide a useful centre in London at which students of the history and antiquities of the Nearer East may carry on their work.

The fifth and not improbably last memoir of the Theban Tombs Series will have been published before this number of the *Journal* appears. It deals with four tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, two of them belonging to the High Priest of Amūn Menkheperasonb, and the other two belonging to less well-known personages. The line plates and the coloured frontispiece are from the skilful hand of Mrs. Davies, the explanatory text being by Norman de Garis Davies, whose editions of other Theban tombs are famous. Of altogether exceptional interest are the scenes of foreigners in the upper tomb of Menkheperasonb, here reproduced with complete fidelity for the first time. The tomb of Amenmose is remarkable for the unique picture of a castle in the Lebanon, while the anonymous owner of the much destroyed but beautifully painted tomb No. 226 was the tutor of four royal princes, quaintly depicted sitting on his lap. They were probably four sons of Amenophis III, who is shown seated in a magnificently decorated baldachin. As with other volumes of this series, this one is offered for a limited period to members and associates of our Society at the special price of 28s. The price to the public generally will be two guineas.

The Editor regrets that this number is late in appearing. The delay has been caused by a change in the arrangements for the printing of the *Journal*, which will in future be done by the Oxford University Press.

Beginning with this number there will be a return to the custom of giving a certain number of free offprints to authors of articles. Each author will receive twenty free copies of his contribution; an offprint of four pages or less will be issued without cover, and the grey cover issued with a longer article will bear not the title of the separate article but merely the title and date of the number of the *Journal* in which it appeared.

The hope expressed in Notes and News of *Journal*, xvii, 108, that the financial stringency would not cause any very serious reduction in the size of the *Journal* has been partly realized. It has been found possible to reduce costs so considerably that the quantity and quality of the *Journal* will both remain practically unaltered. Part of the saving is due to the kind response of contributors to the appeal made to them to reduce corrections and additions in proof to a minimum. The Editor thanks them for this response and hopes for their continued collaboration in this matter.

In *Journal*, xvii, 254, we wrote of a circular letter sent out by Mr. O. H. Myers, the Society's Director of Excavations at Armant, to all excavators in Egypt, calling attention to the need for a Corpus of Graeco-Roman pottery in Egypt. The scheme then envisaged by Mr. Myers is now in being. Two meetings were held in Cairo, one on November 11, 1931, and the other on March 2, 1932, and at these the formation of an International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery was decided on. A Committee consisting of Messrs. Brunton, Gauthier, Junker, and Myers was appointed on November 11, 1931, to consider the details of the scheme, and the report made by it was accepted by the full meeting on March 2, 1932.

The material for the Corpus is to be collected by asking all excavators to provide drawings to certain specified scales of their pottery finds, both future and, so far as possible, past. Printed cards have been issued on which the drawings are to be made and the required information about the size, material, provenance, &c., of each pot filled in. Mr. Lankester Harding has undertaken to act as Honorary Editor of the Corpus. Several of the institutions which conduct excavations in Egypt have already agreed to collaborate, each paying a share of the cost proportionate to the material it provides, and it is hoped that others will eventually find themselves able to come into line.

Publication will be made from time to time according as the Editor considers that he has sufficient material from a particular period to justify it.

Some such scheme for the classification of Egyptian pottery has long been needed. The one now promulgated promises to be adequate in scope and sound in detail.

The following is the distribution of the tomb-groups found at Armant in the season 1930-1; see *Journal*, xvii, 223 ff.

B = Chadwick Museum, Bolton; *Br* = Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brussels; *C* = Egyptian Museum, Cairo; *L* = Free Public Museums, Liverpool; *M* = Manchester Museum, University, Manchester; *T* = Toronto University Museum; *W* = Welcome Historical Medical Museum, London.

103, 110, 112, textiles, *B*. 200, bronze stylus, ear-rings, and bangles, *W*. 201, Kohl pot and beads, *L*; flint mauls, *W*. 202, beads, flint mauls, *M*; flint mauls, *T*. 203, limestone bull's-head, beads, amulet, *T*. 204, bronze ring, beads, *L*. 205, necklace with bull's-head amulets, *C*; clay figurines, beads, amulets, *W*. 206, Sekhmet and Taurt, beads, *L*. 207, bronze armour scales, iron nails, *T*. 208, bronze armour scales, seals, weight, bangles, rings,

amulets, *W.* 214, glass bottle, weight, alab. foot, beads, rings, *L.* 216, beads, *L.* 404, textiles, *B*; beads, *T.* 501, bronze and bone pins, *Br.* 600, shells and beads, *T.* 609, beads, *M.* 700, bronze rings, bangle, amulets, *W*; bronze pin, silver ring, amulets, *T.* 720, beads, *W.* 729, silver ring, *L.* 755, alabaster pot, *L.* 760, amulet, *W.* 770, silver ring, *M.* 771, archaic terra-cotta coffin, *W.* 799, Phrygian terra-cotta horseman, *M.* 819, amulet and beads, *W.* 823, bronze and iron bangle, *L.* 856, bead, *W.* 880, beads, *T.* 890, silver ear-rings, *T.* 900, glass bangles, bronze ear-rings, *W.*

The death of Professor Sayce deprives the Society of one of its oldest and most valued members, and Egyptology of one whose acquaintance with Egypt covers the whole period of systematic excavation there. He had become so much a part of Egypt that it is difficult to believe that we can never again happen upon him in the Cataracts Hotel, on the shore at Ramleh, or in some desolate tomb in Upper Egypt. We publish in this number an appreciation of his work and scholarship by a friend and colleague of his, Professor F. Ll. Griffith, who is an Honorary Fellow of the same college of which Sayce was a Fellow for no less than sixty-two years.

We learn from Professor Griffith that Mattha Efendi, who has been studying Demotic under him at Oxford for some time past, now has two years extension of his Mission from the Egyptian Government to enable him to read for the degree of D.Phil. It is hoped that this will give him opportunity to publish a large monograph on Demotic ostraca, more particularly on the good collections of these in Oxford made by Sayce, Petrie, and others.

Professor F. Ll. Griffith writes:

“It might interest some of your readers to know that the Dodgson Demotic Papyrus is now in the Ashmolean Museum, having been presented by the family of its former owner, Mr. Aquila Dodgson.”

We learn that the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale will dedicate a volume of its *Mémoires* to the memory of Gaston Maspero and of his son Jean Maspero, who was killed at Vauquois in 1915. The volume is to appear in 1934 and will bear the title *Mélanges Maspero*.

The post of Assistant Keeper in charge of the Egyptian collections in the Manchester Museum, left vacant by the death of Miss Crompton, has been filled by Miss Mary Shaw. Miss Shaw was granted her M.A. some time ago at Manchester University for a thesis dealing with an Egyptological subject. Since then she has been engaged in Egyptological research in Oxford and in Liverpool.

Among books which have been sent to us and which we are glad to be able to notice here, though their content is not sufficiently Egyptological to enable us, with our limited space, to give them a full review, are the following:

A History of Israel. Vol. I, from the Exodus to the Fall of Jerusalem, by T. H. Robinson; vol. II, from the Fall of Jerusalem to the Bar-Kokhba revolt, by W. O. E. Oesterley. Oxford, 1932.


Caravan Cities. By M. Rostovtzeff. Translated by D. and T. Talbot Rice. Oxford, 1932.

The Lighter Side of the Greek Papyri. A Talk to the St. Andrew's Society, Cairo. By W. G. Waddell. Low Fell, 1932. See above, p. 91.

Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, No. xvii. Manchester, 1932.

A. Lucas's valuable book, *Antiques, their Restoration and Preservation*, has reached a second (revised) edition bearing the date 1932.

Professor A. H. Gardiner writes:

“It may be remembered that I recently sought to interpret the so-called Astarte papyrus as a story about the inexorable demands of the Sea (*Griffith Studies*, 74 ff.). Towards the end of the tale the name of Seth appears for the first time, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the gods, at a loss for any other remedy, may have called upon the strongest amongst themselves to put an end to the intolerable tyranny. This possibility was suggested in a letter from Professor Sethe, who reminded me of the well-known scene of Seth spearing a human-headed monster with a wave-like body on a Leyden stela republished not long ago by M. Nagel (*Bulletin*, xxviii, 38). I am not at all certain that the curves of the body represent a wave, for they might be a rather clumsy depiction of the coils of the serpent Apōpis; this is, indeed, the usual explanation. However, the conjecture was interesting enough to send me on a search for confirmation, and I was fortunate enough to light upon a passage in the Hearst Medical Papyrus where a conflict between Seth and the Sea is explicitly mentioned. This occurs in a spell directed against a malady called the Asiatic malady, which reads as follows (*Hearst Pap.*, 11. 12–14): ‘*Who is knowing like Rēc? Who is knowing like Rēc? Blacken the body with charcoal so as to capture the god on high.*  *Even as Seth contended with the Sea, so doth Seth contend with thee, thou Asiatic one, so that thou shalt not pervade the limbs of X, the son of Y.*’ Speculation about so damaged a papyrus as the Astarte Papyrus is naturally very problematic, but it cannot be gainsaid that Professor Sethe’s suggestion obtains considerable plausibility from the passage above quoted.”

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt. By EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR., Ph.D., *Studies in history, economics, and public law*, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, No. 354. New York, Columbia University Press, 1931. 8vo. 162 pp., 1 pl.

Unter der Fülle neuer Anschaulichkeit, durch die uns die Papyri bereits bekannte Erscheinungen lebendig gemacht haben, waren von vornherein besonders eindrucksvoll die Bilder, die uns eine ständig wachsende Anzahl von Urkunden aus den Verwaltungen ägyptischer Grossgrundbesitzer byzantinischer Zeit vor Augen geführt hat. Vor allem lernten wir in den Apionen mehrere Generationen einer Familie kennen mit einem sich auf mindestens drei Gaue erstreckenden, zu einem erheblichen Teil von hörigen Kolonen bewirtschafteten Landbesitz von imponierendem Ausmass, mit einer Lebenshaltung in grösstem Stil, mit einem grossen Apparat von Verwaltungsbeamten, mit eigener Schnellpost, eigener Transportflotte, eigener bewaffneter Truppe, mit dem Recht der *αὐτοπραγία*, die sich am deutlichsten in der selbständigen Erhebung und Entrichtung der Steuern äussert—kurz eine Art Staat im Staate trat uns da entgegen.

Der Eindruck dieser Bilder war so stark, dass die Beurteilung der Gesamterscheinung und dieses und jenes einzelnen Zuges der Gefahr der Einseitigkeit und Übertreibung nicht immer ganz entging. Daher war es ein treffender Gedanke von E. R. Hardy, eine Darstellung zu geben mit dem Hauptzweck "to collect material on which may be based a judgment as to the nature of these estates" (p. 17).

Kap. I "Byzantine Egypt" skizziert in knappster Form die Verwaltungsorganisation, die Bedeutung des erstarkten nationalägyptischen Elements und als entscheidende Faktoren der sozialen Ordnung, Kolonat und Patrocinium. Es sei hier bemerkt, dass Verf. mit dem Ausdruck "Byzantine Egypt" die Zeit zwischen dem Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts und der arabischen Eroberung im Auge hat.

In Kap. II "The Apion family" hat Verf. die Geschichte der Apionen unter Zugrundelegung der zu P. Oxy. xvi, 1829 von den Herausgebern gemachten Feststellungen durch Heranziehung der literarischen Quellen ausgebaut, die über das Wirken einzelner Familienmitglieder im Reichsdienst unterrichten. Wenn ihm dies nur möglich war unter Verzicht auf die Zurückhaltung, die die Herausgeber von Oxy. 1829 in zwei Fällen hinsichtlich von Identifikationen geübt haben, so glaube ich ihm nicht unrecht geben zu sollen. Auf Grund der somit wesentlich bereicherten Familiengeschichte werden die Apionen in ihren Beziehungen zu Staat und Kirche zusammenfassend gewürdigt (pp. 36 ff.).¹

Kap. III "Other proprietors of the period" schliesst eine Aufzählung von Grossgrundbesitzern an, die wir ausser den Apionen kennen; ich werde nachher einige Persönlichkeiten aufführen, die, wie mir scheint, der Liste hinzuzufügen sind. Verf. spricht hierauf über den Grossgrundbesitz des Kaisers, der Kirche und der Klöster. Auf den Exkurs "the *οἰκοί* at Oxyrhynchus" werde ich unter Modifikation der darin vortragenen Ansicht ebenfalls nachher eingehen.

Kap. IV "Feudalism and serfdom" umfasst, wie die Überschrift andeutet, zwei Abschnitte. Im ersten wird dargelegt, inwiefern die Grossgrundbesitzer Funktionen ausüben und Einrichtungen durchführen, die ihrer Natur nach dem Staat zustehen und die der Staat jedenfalls nur teilweise unter ausdrücklicher Sanktion preisgegeben hat. Verf. beginnt, wie natürlich, mit der *αὐτοπραγία*. Diesen Ausdruck übersetzt er unrichtig mit "self-collection" (p. 51) und operiert infolgedessen auch nicht korrekt mit ihm, obwohl die angeführten Einzeltatsachen richtig sind. Das Entscheidende ist nicht das selbständige Eintreiben, sondern das selbständige Bezahlen der Steuern als Ausdruck des "Zustandes, in dem man selbständig handelt". Das Richtige bei Gelzer, *Archiv*, iv, 188 ff. (übrigens von H. 54, n. 5 selbst zitiert) und Wilcken, *ibid.* 283 ff.² Wichtig ist H.s Darlegung, dass nicht alle Grossgrundbesitzer autoprakt waren.

Nach einem Hinweis auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass im Bereich der Bewässerungsarbeiten Aufgaben der Regierung von den Verwaltungen der grossen Güter übernommen worden sind, wird die Verwendung der famosen bucellarii geschildert; ich benutze die Gelegenheit an die Vermutungen zu erinnern, die ich *B. Z.*,

¹ Ich möchte nicht versäumen, auf das Konsulardiptychon des Apion II v. J. 539 aufmerksam zu machen, dessen schöne Abbildung als frontispiece beigegeben ist.

² Belege für *αὐτοπραγία* = *free, independent action* bei Liddell-Scott aus philosophischer Literatur.

xxviii, 178 zu *P. S. I.*, VIII, 953 vorgetragen habe. Sodann folgt die Behandlung einer besonders charakteristischen Erscheinung, der von den Gutsverwaltungen eingerichteten Gefängnisse; über ihre Verwendung lässt das Material nur unzureichende Vorstellungen gewinnen. In gewissem Umfang wurde von den grossen Herren ausseramtliche Polizeigewalt ausgeübt und in kriminellen Angelegenheiten und in privatrechtlichen Streitfällen eine Art friedensrichterlicher Tätigkeit entfaltet; auch hier ist uns genauere Information vorläufig versagt. Hinweise auf den Gebrauch eigener Masse und Gewichte im Bereich der grossen Gutsverwaltungen schliessen den ersten Teil des Kap.

In dem weit kürzeren zweiten Teil wird die Stellung der *ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί* = coloni adscripticii beleuchtet, insbesondere durch die aus Oxyrhynchus vorliegenden Bürgerschaftsurkunden—den Rechtsbüchern etwas Unbekanntes—und durch Berichte über Flucht von der Scholle.

Kap. V "Estate management" beschreibt, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Apionen-Dokumente, eingehend den grossen Apparat an höheren und niederen Beamten und Angestellten; die Organisation der Finanzen und die Verwaltung des Natureinkommens, wobei Verf. p. 52 und 100 die bedeutsame Feststellung macht dass die Apionen auf Überschuss an Korn wenig Wert legen und die Geldeinkünfte bevorzugen; die Einrichtung der Transportdienste und der Schnellpost.

Kap. VI "The estates in the social and economic life of Egypt" teilt sich wieder in zwei Abschnitte. Der erste untersucht das Verhältnis der grossen Gutsverwaltungen zum Betrieb der einzelnen Wirtschaftszweige; zunächst also die unmittelbare Betätigung im Betrieb der verschiedenen Zweige der Bodenkultur und der Viehwirtschaft. Was die Beziehungen zum Handwerk betrifft, so tritt uns einerseits das Vorhandensein ständiger Lohnangestellter der Gutsverwaltungen entgegen, andererseits die Heranziehung unabhängiger Handwerker, und zwar dieses letztere, wie H. p. 129 als interessantes Ergebnis findet, im allgemeinen für qualifizierte Arbeit, wie wir sagen würden. Bäder, Ölpresen, Mühlen und Bäckereien werden teils in eigener Regie betrieben, teils verpachtet.

Der zweite Abschnitt handelt von dem Verhältnis der Gutsländereien zu den Dorfländereien und der Gutsverwaltungen zu den Dorfverwaltungen sowie zu den Verwaltungen der Gaue und Provinzen. Von der einen Seite her wirkt sich die wirtschaftliche und soziale Präponderanz der Grossgrundbesitzer aus, von der andern her wird das Verhältnis dadurch bestimmt, dass eben diese "Feudalherren"¹ häufig die Ämter eines Pagarchen oder Tribunen oder Provinzialstatthalters bekleiden. In vielfachen Beziehungen zur Kirche finden wir in den Urkunden die Grossgrundbesitzer, die Beurteilung der überaus häufigen Zuwendungen an Kirchen und Klöster unterliegt aber noch manchen Zweifeln.

Das ganz kurze Kap. VII "Epilogue" enthält den Hinweis auf das Verschwinden der grossen Güter des 6. Jahrh.s nach der arabischen Eroberung und einige Bemerkungen zur Gesamtbeurteilung der so interessanten Erscheinung aus der Geschichte des beginnenden Mittelalters.

Der Verf. hat mit gründlicher Ausnutzung des Materials gearbeitet und bietet eine detaillierte, aber alle Umständlichkeit vermeidende Einführung in den weiten Tatsachenkomplex. Im Einzelnen und im Ganzen bewahrt er eine nüchtern kritische Haltung. Treffend warnt er (S. 50 und 79) vor Angleichung an das Feudalsystem des Mittelalters, treffend wendet er sich (S. 145) gegen die Anschauung von der wirtschaftlichen Autarkie der grossen Güter. Die Einzelerkenntnis ist vielfach gefördert; einige erhebliche Momente habe ich bereits in der Inhaltsübersicht bezeichnet.

So berechtigt nun die eingangs zitierte Formulierung des Hauptzwecks der Schrift ist, so notwendig scheint mir energisch eindringende Detailforschung und statistische Aufarbeitung als nächste Aufgabe, und auch dafür bildet H.s zuverlässige Zusammenfassung einen brauchbaren Ausgangspunkt. Der Verf. hat übrigens selbst wiederholt auf die Unsicherheiten und Unklarheiten unserer bisherigen Erkenntnis hingewiesen. Darüber hinausgehend möchte ich im Folgenden einige m. E. vordringliche Aufgaben kenntlich machen. Ich versuche Grundsätzliches herauszuheben und durch Beispiele zu beleuchten, wobei mir Hinweise auf die Arbeitsmethode besonders wichtig sind. An den Schluss meiner Besprechung werde ich einige Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen stellen,² die vorher keinen Platz gefunden haben.

Zunächst einiges von dem, was ich "statistische Aufarbeitung" genannt habe. Wir brauchen eine Tabelle der *κτήματα* der Apionen und der übrigen *γεωχοί* (die *ἀμπελώνες* der Apionen hat Verf. p. 318 zusammengestellt) sowie der zu den grossen *οἴκοι* irgendwie in Beziehung stehenden, aber nicht zu ihnen gehörenden Dörfer; ferner eine Prosopographie der Beamten und Angestellten—bei der häufigen Namensgleichheit umso

¹ Ich gebrauche den Ausdruck nur mit Vorbehalt.

² Druckfehler, deren mir mehrere aufgefallen sind, und Unrichtigkeiten untergeordneter Art wie in der Wiedergabe von Eigennamen erwähne ich nicht im Einzelnen.

notwendiger; sodann eine Klassifikation der Verwaltungsdokumente, insbesondere der grossen Rechnungsaufstellungen und eine Übersicht über deren Anlage.

Grundsätzlich wichtig scheint mir die Feststellung der Terminologie, die freilich infolge vielfachen Schwankens starke Schwierigkeiten macht. Wann kommt γεοῦχος in der Bedeutung "Grossgrundbesitzer"¹ auf? Das Wort, schon in ptolemäischer Zeit belegend, bezeichnet den Eigenbauern im Gegensatz zum Pächter, und γεουχεῖν kann noch im 4. und 5. Jahrh. mit Bezug auf einen beliebigen Eigenbauer gebraucht werden. Einstweilen weise ich auf *P.S.I.*, VIII, 948 v. J. 345–6 hin, eine Abrechnung über Weintransporte, die von κτήματα in verschiedenen Dorfbezirken des Arsinoites ausgehen. Ich habe diese Abrechnung schon früher auf einen Grossgrundbesitz zurückgeführt (*B. Z.*, xxviii, 177), da bei jedem Transport ein γεουχικὸν πλοῖον, einmal ein γεουχικός ναύτης erscheint. Trifft meine Ansicht zu, so wäre die Urkunde für die Vorstufen der byzantinischen οἶκοι zu verwerten. Nebenbei: Wilckens Bemerkung zu *Chrest.* 383, 27, dass der γεουχικός λόγος das Pendant zum κυριακός λόγος ist, hätte der Verf. um der Anschaulichkeit willen ebenso erwähnen müssen wie sonstige Parallelismen der Terminologie der staatlichen und "feudalen" Einrichtungen (z. B. ἐντάγρια, Wilcken, *ibid.*, Einl.).²

Zur Bezeichnung des Gesamtbesitzes eines γεοῦχος und seiner Verwaltung dient οἶκος "Haushalt",³ und zwar scheint ὁ ἐνδοξος οἶκος der nicht nur in der Korrespondenz des οἶκος selbst angewendete offizielle Titel zu sein;⁴ z. B. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 471, bitten die priores Transtigitanorum um Zurückweisung der bucellarii (l. 8) τοῦ ἐνδοξοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρι[κίου]—Name; nochmals l. 13. Auf Grund dieses Titels rechne ich *P. Oxy.*, I, 127 (spätes 6. Jahrh.), eine Aufstellung über Getreidelieferungen ὑπὲρ ἐμβολῆς und über Geldzahlungen, zu den Dokumenten der Apionen: συντελεῖ ὁ ἐνδοξ(ος) οἶκ(ος) Ὁξυρύνχ(ου)⁵ resp. τῆς Κυνῶ[ν] (l. 1 resp. 7). Die Ortsbezeichnung bedeutet "im Bereich von O. resp. Kynopolis" oder "für den Bereich". Ich kann es nicht für richtig halten, mit den Herausgebern οἶκος für πόλις zu nehmen (Zehetmair, *l.c.*, 55 "curia Oxyrhynchi"); denn es kommt noch hinzu, dass Μηνᾶς νοτάρ(ιος) κ(αι) παραπομπ(ός), der die Geldbeträge nach Alexandria bringt, doch wohl nicht ein Staatsbeamter oder Kurialbeamter ist. Es handelt sich also um Natural- und Geldsteuern aus den in Oxyrhynchites und Kynopolites gelegenen Teilen der Besitzungen der Apionen und um einen ihrer Beamten.

Die οἶκοι von Oxyrhynchus, die der Verf. in dem Exkurs, p. 47–9 behandelt, erklärt er für Unterbezirke des Gaus; wie kommen sie aber zu ihren Namen? In Modifikation der von den Herausgebern zu *P. Oxy.*, 1887 vorgetragenen Auffassungen halte ich Theon und Timagenes für γεοῦχοι, deren οἶκοι nach ihrem Tod in Staatsbesitz übergingen. Des Verf. Bemerkung zu ἐπιμελητῆς οἴκου Θέωνος ist nicht richtig.

Ausser οἶκος wird auch noch οὐσία gebraucht wie für die grossen Güter der Zeit der römischen Herrschaft, die meist kaiserlicher Besitz geworden waren. *Stud. Pal.*, xx, 129 (497 n. Chr.) παραλή[μπτου] οὐσίας Ἀπίωνος, *ibid.* 209 v. J. 625 (?) ἐπικειμένου οὐσίας Στρατηγίου. *P. Oxy.*, 1931 (5. Jahrh.) l. 2 τρ[α]πεζίτης—τοῦ χρυσίου τῆς οὐσίας [τ]οῦ μακαρίου[ν] Ἰ[α]κούβου, wo dann weiter von προνοηταί die Rede ist.⁶

Zu der häufigen Formel διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ (Artikel fehlt vereinzelt) ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχλὴν ist Folgendes zu bemerken: 1. Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, 262 ff. (in dem Abschnitt: Vertragsabschluss durch Sklaven); Mitteis, *Grdz.*, 263; P. M. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.*, p. 167 (Einl. zu Nr. 51) fassen mit aller Entschiedenheit οἰκέτης als "Sklave" auf; ich wüsste nicht, was dagegen mit Erfolg geltend gemacht werden könnte. Es ist höchst beachtenswert, dass ein Sklave sozusagen General-Procura für die grossen Besitzungen der Apionen in den Gauen von Oxyrhynchus und Kynopolis hat und dass Angehörige einer Sklavenfamilie etwa 100 Jahre lang diese Vertrauensstellung innehaben. Der Verf. musste, pp. 84 und 112, entweder die Tatsache des Sklavenstandes gebührend hervorheben oder etwaige Zweifel oder eine gegenteilige Ansicht kenntlich machen.⁷ 2. Die Übersetzung der Formel, wie sie zuerst im I. Bd. der *P. Oxy.*, erscheint, ist von den Herausgebern des xvi. Bdes und so auch von H. beibehalten worden, obwohl schon Wenger die präzise juristische Bedeutung der einzelnen termini klar

¹ Hardy, p. 40: "the title is that regularly used for estate owners."

² Merkwürdig *ibid.* l. 20 ff. der δημόσιος ναύτης τοῦ ἐνδοξοῦ οἴκου. Man denkt an einen mit der Verschiffung der δημόσια Beauftragten.

³ Vg.. οἶκος πόλεως, — Ἀντινόων, θείος —.

⁴ Zehetmair, *De appellationibus honorificis*, 33: domus Apionum semper ἐνδοξος in papyris designata est.

⁵ Herausgeber: Ὁξυρύνχ(ιτῶν). Sachlich kein Unterschied.

⁶ Auch κτήσις scheint statt οἶκος oder οὐσία zu stehen: *P. Oxy.*, 1902 (frühes 6. Jahrh.) l. 2, 3 ὑπὲρ κτήσιος τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεοῦχοῦ (sc. Φλατίου Ἀθανασίου).

⁷ Der Verf. erwähnt selbst, p. 112, a slave of the patrician Athanasius in the Thebaid holding a government position!—Die Übersetzung von οἰκέτης, die Preisigke, *WB*, s.v., 2 gibt "Gutsverwalter etc. im Dienst des Grundherrn", ist offenbar *ad hoc* ausgedacht.

herausgestellt und (p. 262, n. 3) die verallgemeinernde englische Übersetzung als nicht befriedigend bezeichnet hat. Ich möchte für das Recht der auch von P. M. Meyer übernommenen und durch Parallelen erläuterten (*l.c.* Einl. und n. *ad l.* 6 ff.) juristischen Interpretation umsomehr eintreten, als die in Preisigkes *WB.* gebotenen Erklärungen wenig glücklich sind.

Die besonderen Interpretationsschwierigkeiten des einschlägigen Urkundenmaterials werden deutlich, wenn man dem Verhältnis zwischen *οἶκος* und *κώμη* genauer nachgeht. Ich wähle diese Aufgabe an zweiter Stelle, um Andeutungen für die weitere Detailforschung zu machen. Grundsätzlich sind drei Möglichkeiten ins Auge zu fassen: ein Dorf kann als Ganzes oder teilweise zu den Ländereien eines *οἶκος* gehören oder es kann dem Haupt eines *οἶκος* in seiner Eigenschaft als Pagarch unterstehen. Der Wortlaut der Wendungen, durch die die Stellung des Dorfes bezeichnet wird, ist nun vielfach nicht eindeutig, und zwar muss man sich oft gerade davor hüten, ohne weiteres den dem Wortlaut nach nächstliegenden Sachverhalt anzunehmen.

1. P. Oxy. 2027 (6. Jahrh.), Recto I, 1–6 *ὑποδοχ(ή) χρυσ(ικῶν) . . . ἐποικ(ίου) Κτήσεως . . . κώμης Δωσιθέου . . . ἐποικίου Μάρτου . . .*: ist die Stellung des Dorfes, wie es dem Wortlaut nach scheinen könnte, in seiner Gesamtheit die gleiche wie die der beiden *ἐποίκια* oder erstreckt sich die *ὑποδοχὴ χρυσικῶν* in diesem Fall nur auf innerhalb der Dorfländereien gelegene Besitzstücke des *οἶκος*? Da als Betrag für das Dorf nur etwa $\frac{1}{3}$ des Betrages für das *ἐποικ.* *Κτ.* und nur etwa $\frac{2}{5}$ desjenigen für das *ἐποικ.* *Μ.* angegeben ist, so wird man das Letztere annehmen;¹ der Ausweg, dass es sich um Teilzahlungen handeln könnte, wird durch die nachfolgende Abrechnung über die Ausgaben verschlossen.

2. P. Oxy. 1894 v. J. 573. Der Aussteller der Urkunde verpflichtet sich gegenüber einem *προνοητῆς τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας* den Posten eines Lohnhilfsbeamten für die *προνοηταί* zu übernehmen *ἐν προστασίᾳ τῆς κώμης* —Name— und alle Natural- und Geldabgaben abzuliefern, die er empfängt *παρὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν θαυμασιότητα ἐν τῇ εἰρημ(ένῃ) κώμῃ*. Der Wortlaut weist gewiss, um mit den Herausgebern zu reden, auf “the management of a whole village, evidently included in the domain of the church”. Werden wir aber im Hinblick auf Zeugnisse wie sub 1 nicht einen Vorbehalt machen müssen, da die übrigens unvollständig erhaltene Urkunde keinen Sachverhalt als Kontrolle liefert? *Möglich* ist jedenfalls dem Wortlaut nach, dass es sich nur um einen Teil der Dorfbewohner handelt.

3. P. Oxy. 1855 (6. oder 7. Jahrh.). Viktor, chartularius in der Verwaltung der Apionen, hat unter seinem Siegel eine Steuersumme dem *μειζῶν* des Dorfes Muchis übergeben. Gehörte das ganze Dorf dem *οἶκος* oder gehörten ihm nur Teile, deren Bewirtschafter unter einem *μειζῶν* standen? Oder war das Dorf *παγαρχουμένη* und trifft die vom Verf., p. 54, für unsere Urkunde aufgestellte Vermutung das Richtige, “that some member of the Apion family was pagarch at that moment and used estate officials for public business?” Notwendig ist diese Erklärung für den vorliegenden Fall nicht, den wir unentschieden lassen müssen; in anderen Fällen gibt sie die zutreffende Lösung.

4. Ein lehrreiches Problem bieten einige an Apion II und III gerichtete Schriftstücke, in denen einzelne Dörfer bezeichnet werden als *παγαρχουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητος*, —*παρὰ τοῦ . . .* . . . *οἴκου* oder —*ὑπὸ (παρὰ) τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας*. Vom öffentlichrechtlichen Standpunkt aus ist *παγαρχεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ δείνα γεούχου* eine contradictio in adiecto. Ich glaubte die Untersuchung in dieser Besprechung führen zu können, musste sie aber als zu verwickelt zurückstellen, und so kann ich nur eben auf das Problem hinweisen.

Vielleicht am wichtigsten ist genauere Aufklärung über das Verhältnis zwischen der Gutsherrschaft und den hörigen Kolonen und über die Formen, unter denen sich die Bewirtschaftung durch die letzteren vollzieht; diesen Aufgabenkomplex nenne ich an dritter Stelle. Wie sind die Bürgschaften für das Verbleiben der Kolonen auf dem *κτῆμα* zu beurteilen, die wir einstweilen mit Sicherheit nur aus dem Bereich der Apionen-Besitzungen im Oxyrhynchites kennen? Der Wortlaut zeigt, dass sie nicht etwa beim Eintritt in den Hörigkeitsstand geleistet wurden. Darf man vermuten, dass sie nach Bedarf erneuert wurden, wenn etwa der Bürge nicht mehr genügend Sicherheit zu bieten schien oder aus irgend einem Grund ausfiel? Es wird sich empfehlen auch auf die Bürgen zu achten: teils sind sie selbst Hörige, gegebenen Falls vom selben *ἐποίκιον* wie der, für den gebürgt wird, teils sind es Leute ausserhalb des Hörigkeitsverhältnisses. Interessant *P.S.I.*, I, 52 (6. Jahrh.?): dem *Pagarchen* von Oxyrhynchos bürgen zwei Leute aus einem (sonst im Besitz der Apionen erscheinenden) *κτῆμα* für ständiges Verbleiben einer Frau auf dem gleichen *κτῆμα*: weder die Bürgen noch die, für die gebürgt wird, sind als *ἐναπόγραφοι* bezeichnet.

In P. Oxy. 1896 v. J. 577 verpflichten sich 8 *coloni adscripticii* eines dem Apion II gehörenden *ἐποίκιον*

¹ Also ist H., p. 89, im Recht, wenn er die Urkunde als Beispiel dafür anführt, dass “each pronotees had under his charge one or more *κτῆματα* of the Apion family, to which would often be attached their scattered property in villages.”

unter Korrealhaftung zur Ablieferung von 3,000 Krügen Wein aus der kommenden Ernte, einschliesslich der Begleichung des Rückstandes aus der vorausgegangenen Ernte. Man fragt: inwieweit wurden die Forderungen der Gutsherrschaft an die Kolonen in *Vertragsform* festgelegt, inwieweit rein *verwaltungsmässig* in *Verordnungsform*? Bedeutet die Vertragsform nur, dass der status libertatis der Kolonen zum Ausdruck gebracht werden soll?¹ Ich darf mich mit diesen Andeutungen für die sich hier aufdrängenden Fragen begnügen und füge nur hinzu, dass in den grossen Einnahmeaufstellungen als Kontribuenten sehr viele Einzelpersonen neben *κοινὰ γεωργῶν* und kleineren Compagnons-Gesellschaften² erscheinen und dass nicht zu vergessen ist, dass ausser den Kolonen zahlreiche Vollfreie an der Bewirtschaftung der Latifundien beteiligt sind.

Den Schluss sollen, wie angekündigt, noch einige Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen bilden. Es wäre wünschenswert gewesen, auf p. 41 aus den Listen P. Oxy. 2020 und 2040³ alle Personen aufzuführen, die als *γεοῦχοι* anzusprechen sind. Ich glaube ausserdem noch folgende Personen namhaft machen zu sollen: 1. den unbekanntem Besitzer der *κτῆματα P.S.I. 948 v. J. 345/6*, s. o. meine Bemerkungen über *γεοῦχος*. 2. *Ίάκουβος* (5. Jahrh.), s. o. über *οὐσία*. Der Kassenbeamte und die *προνοηταί* sichern wohl dem, wie es scheint, sonst unbekanntem *Ίάκουβος* einen Platz unter den *γεοῦχοι*. 3. *Φλ(άουιος) Ίωάν(ν)ης λαμπρ(ότατος) P.S.J., VIII, 935* (5–6. Jahrh.) aus Aphrodito; l. 6 ausdrücklich als *γεοῦχος* bezeichnet, ein *προ(νοητής)* quittiert für ihn. Besitz in der Gemarkung des Dorfes *Φθλα* wo wir nach seinem Tod seinen Sohn noch als Besitzer finden (P. Flor. 281 v. J. 517). 4. *Φλάουιος Ίωάννης ὁ καὶ Λαμπάδιος P.S.I. 963 v. J. 581; l. 9 ff. τῶ σοφωτάτῳ καὶ ἔλλογιμ(ωτάτῳ) συμ[εια-?]φόρου (sic) ταύτης τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχί(ας) καὶ ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων . . . γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρρυχ(ιτών) πόλ(ει)*. Vgl. meine Bemerkung *B.Z., XXVIII, 178*; die Anzweiflung von *συμ[εια-?]* *φόρος* kann ich freilich nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten. Nun erscheint P. Oxy. 2020 (*ca.* 570 nach Hardy, p. 41, n. 1) l. 39 *δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) Ίωάννου σοφιστοῦ*. Ich bin sicher, dass die beiden zu identifizieren sind. Johannes ist offenbar als philosophisch gebildeter Rhetor anzusehen; beachte auch *P.S.I. 963, 18* [. . . τῇ ὕμ?] *ωγ σοφία*. Er hat Grundbesitz auch ausserhalb des Oxyrhynchites. 5. Flavius Athanasius, P. Oxy. 1902 (frühes 6. Jahrh.); ausdrücklich als *γεοῦχος* bezeichnet (l. 3); sein Vertreter ein *προνοητής* (l. 2). An Identität mit dem patricius Athanasius, dux und Augustalis der Thebais, kann wegen des Zeitunterschiedes nicht gedacht werden. Übrigens müsste der letztere doch wohl auch in der Reihe der Grossgrundbesitzer des Südens, p. 43 bei H., erscheinen; vg. pp. 111 f. und 138. Sollte die Anwesenheit des patricius und seines grossen Gefolges in Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 1920) mit dem Vorhandensein von Grundbesitz im Oxyrhynchites zusammenhängen?

Zu p. 75: bei der Erwähnung von P. Oxy. 1900 sollte es statt "the church of Oxyrhynchus" genauer heissen "the cathedral church" oder "the principal church", da im Text (l. 3, 9 f.) *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* steht, wie l. 7 *καθολικὸς οἰκονόμος* "the principal steward"; s. Übersetzung und Note ad l. – Zu p. 140: hier ist u. a. von den Zuwendungen "to the churches of the district" die Rede, die regelmässig in den Abrechnungen der *προνοηταί* erscheinen. Vielleicht wäre es nicht überflüssig hervorzuheben, dass es sich in der Regel offenbar um kleine Kapellen handelt, die die meist kleinen Zuwendungen erhalten. Und vielleicht wären da auch Bewilligungen zu erwähnen wie (P. Oxy. 1910, 4) *εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) κτή(ματος) Λεωνίδου* also die im Bereich des *κτῆμα* liegende Märtyrerbegräbnisstätte; deutlicher P. Oxy. 1911, 92, wo der hl. Serenus als Inhaber des *μαρτύριον* genannt ist. Heutzutage entspricht einem solchen *μαρτύριον* etwa ein *Šehgrāb*.

FRIEDRICH ZUCKER.

The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian. By RAYMOND O. FAULKNER. Published by the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Brussels, 1929. Pp. 70.

In this excellent book Mr. Faulkner has analysed, in great detail but with equal clarity, the various ways in which plurals and dual are found written in texts from Dyn. I to the end of the Old Kingdom, with some illustrative examples from the Coffin Texts. The Old Kingdom was indeed, as the author says, the formative period of the orthography, but its texts (outside the Pyramids) have a delusive appearance of greater consistency than they really possess. To the reviewer, who thought he knew a little about Old Egyptian, the seemingly endless variety of expedients for expressing plurals and duals set forth in this book came as a great

¹ In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch daran erinnert, dass z. B. in P. Oxy. 1982 v. J. 497 anlässlich einer Quittung über den Empfang eines Rades für eine Sâqije der Kolone Erfüllung aller Obliegenheiten verspricht.

² širke (societas) ist in primitiver Form auch heute unter den Fellachen gang und gäbe.

³ Beide Listen erfreulicherweise vom Verf., p. 41, n. 1, genauer auf etwa 570 n. Chr. datiert.

surprise, and near the end he found himself murmuring the well-known statement that there are nine-and-sixty ways of constructing tribal lays, and every single one of them is right. Nine-and-sixty would, however, be an understatement applied to Mr. Faulkner's material. One is tempted at first to think that, like the redactors of the Graeco-Roman temple texts with words in general, the Old Kingdom scribes took a pleasure in writing these grammatical forms in as many ways as possible; the truth is of course that they found or devised numerous means of expressing them, and did not, by selection, develop any consistent rule. You could gain your end by repetition of the phonetic elements (if any), or some of them, or by repetition of the ideogram, or the determinative, or by the use of one of the various forms of the specific determinatives of plurality or duality, or even (for this seems to have been less favoured) by writing out the respective endings phonetically; or by various combinations and permutations of these devices. The reviewer, originally for his own amusement, wrote out the subjoined table, putting a single plural word through as many as possible

	§ 1		§ 8, 12		16+ 18a		§ 22
	2		8		17		23
	2		9b		18c		24
	5		11		18c		26
	5, 9b		13		18c		26 +20
	6a		13a		20		26 +20
	6b		13b		20		26 +20
	7a		15		20	FURTHER, . . . MAY BE REPLACED BY OR OR OR	
	7b		15		20	RARELY ALSO BY . . . OR . . .	
	7c		16		22		


of the paces marked out by Mr. Faulkner, with references to the book. It is of course merely schematic, nearly all the writings, as regards *šrw*, being theoretical; still, it may give a not misleading idea of the extraordinary fluidity, as well as the ingenuity, of Old Kingdom orthography. And although it comprises (having regard to the various forms of the "plural determinative") 109 possibilities, it omits a number of combinations possible with words written in a different way in the singular, *e.g.*, those containing biliteral phonograms with phonetic complements.

Special studies of this sort, in which a clearly-demarcated group of phenomena in a given period is analysed exhaustively, are of much value in our science, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Faulkner will give us more of them. The form of the book leaves nothing to be desired; although autographed, the text is as clear as print, and the hieroglyphic writing is very pleasing.


The following are observations on various points in the volume which seem to call for criticism or other comment:

§ 2 a, e. The writings "administrators of the necropolis", "embalmers", should hardly have been quoted without its being pointed out that they evidently result from mechanical suppression of the determinatives in each case. Similarly, no doubt, with in 2 c. The factor of superstitious suppression of signs has hardly been given its due importance in this book.





§ 4. The use of singular nouns denoting parts of the body or the like before plurals in the genitive is found also in Semitic: Akkadian, *zumuršunu* "their body", *paḡar kurādišunu* "the corpse of their warriors"

(Ungnad, *Bab. Ass. Gramm.*, §§ 25 g, 24 i); Hebrew, e.g. דָּבָרָם “their throat”, דָּבָרָם “their tongue”, Ps. 5, 10. In the ex. from *Pyr.* 262 a, the Ennead is perhaps personified as one woman; cf. such writings as , Lacau, *Textes religieux*, iv, D. 195.









§ 9 e. It is noteworthy that when the suffix precedes the triple determinative (another ex. *Teti Cem.*, 155, n. 1) the plural ending is not written, as though the triple determinatives served to indicate the plurals *šnw-f*, *mḥrw-š* of *šn-f*, *mḥr-š*.

§ 10.  is probably ideogram.

§ 11. These exx. might have been subdivided. In the first the determinatives are replaced by the picture below; in the third and fifth there is suppression of the determinatives; the fourth has no determinative in any case.

§ 12. The word  was perhaps so written because the latter part of it, *-kzw*, was pronounced similarly to the plural of . So also with , where perhaps *-rjw* was pronounced like the plural of  “mouth”. If this surmise be correct we have in these writings interesting sporadic attempts to indicate vocalization.¹





§§ 14, 16. It seems more likely that *rwṯ 2* “2 false doors” is to be read than the dual *rwṯj*.



§ 19. I think that the one-sidedness of our material leads us to over-estimate the influence exerted by the graphic peculiarities of religious texts upon the secular script. It seems likely that the use of the “determinatives of number”, found already in Dyn. I, first became common in hieratic, in which their great convenience would very naturally secure them an extended use,² which would then have invaded hieroglyphic through hieratic drafts of inscriptions. It is indeed possible that their use in the Pyramids came from this source, and that the singular signs , , replacing harmful determinatives, were secondary creations from , , and , , and , .



§ 20. The writings of *šḥw*, *nbw*, *msw*, have had their determinatives suppressed; *špdwt* has the picture below.


§ 25. It is noteworthy that there are no determinatives in four out of the five exx. given with plural ending *w* following the singular ending *w*; without the plural ending there would be no indication that the plural was intended.



§ 27. *Gmḥw 2* “2 door-jambes” is the reading more probably than the dual, since *šyt 1* “1 offering-tablet” follows.

§§ 27, 33, 43, 47, 50, 51, 55, 56, 61, 62, 66. It is a striking feature of Old Egyptian orthography that it usually omits an ending *j* also when followed by the plural *w*—e.g. in the dual, masculine and feminine (sometimes written in the latter as the only indication of the dual), *nisba*-forms (except often in masc. pl.), *šdmtj-fj*, prospective relative form, old perfective, *šj* dependent pronoun, *tj* (later *tw*) “one”, and the suffix 1. sing. Is this because the Old Kingdom scribes felt it to be more vocalic than consonantal, or had it indeed already disappeared, the writings in Middle Egyptian (and to some extent in Old Egyptian) with , , , , indicating the final vowel rather than the consonant?

§ 30. The reading of the word for “man”, usually written , is not given by Mr. Faulkner. We have the choice between *s* and *rmṯ*; in view of the rarity in Old Egyptian of the former word (an ex. *Pyr.* 231 c), it would seem that  is usually to be read *rmṯ*, which word will then not be so rare in the singular as is asserted in § 31.

§ 32. The not infrequent association of  and , so written, may express two different constructions, *prwj nbw* “two houses of gold”, and *prḥdwj* “two white-houses”, *prḥd* having on this view become virtually one word, cf. the oft-cited *tḥd-šn* “their white-bread”.

§ 34. In writing collective nouns, grammatically singular, the scribes were faced with a dilemma; they had the alternatives either (a) of writing a triple determinative, as in the exx. quoted in this section, which made the words look like grammatical plurals, or (b) of writing one determinative only, as in , the normal writing of *tšt*, “troop” (references *Ann. du Serv.*, xxv, 248), which made the word appear to denote a single person.

§ 36.  is *ṛšw*, not *ṛšnw*, the  being taken over from the wood *ṛš*.

¹ The same is possibly the case with the writing of *šmwṯ* (*šmjwṯ*?) given in § 26, hardly, however, with that of *šmnw* there quoted.

² The plural determinative is almost the only way of expressing the plural in the hieratic documents of Dyn. VI published in *Berl. Hier. Pap.*, III.

§ 37. The writing of *nisba*-forms of feminine words as though they were feminine duals, ♂ and the like, was perhaps actuated by a similarity not only of the consonants but of the vocalization. *Njwṯj* "two towns" would, on the analogy of ♂ϣϣϣϣϣ (**wercētej*) "two legs", be vocalized *nejwētej*; and *njwṯj* "one who is of a town", would, on the analogy of ♂ϣϣϣϣϣ (**šepjētej*), *nisba* of **šepjet*, be vocalized *nejwētej* also. The data bearing on this question are unfortunately scanty.¹

§ 38. "An adjective . . . cannot be represented in hieroglyphic by a picture or an ideogram." But what of e.g. ♂ "pure", ♂ "eldest", ♂ "small"?

§§ 53, 54. "Adjectives used attributively", "participles used adjectivally", "adjectives used as nouns substantive", "participles used as nouns". For this deplorable terminology, with its implication that we could parse a given word as a participle used as an adjective used as a noun substantive, the author is not responsible, for he is but using terms and ideas which are common in general grammar, but which certainly do not suit Egyptian. When the student is told in a text-book, for example, that *nisba*-forms are adjectives,² and is then told that many examples of them are adjectives used as nouns, it is too much like telling a student of zoology that cattle are bulls, but that bulls often take the form of cows. *Mḥtj* "northern(er)" is not more "adjective" than "noun" or "substantive"; nor is *nfr* "good (one)"; nor are the participles. Our classification here clamours for reform. Excepting those the use of which is *solely* attributive (*nb* "every" is the only one I can think of), I suggest that Egyptian words now called adjectives be called nouns, or quality-nouns when it is required to distinguish them from other nouns. Such words differ from other nouns in the respect that, in addition to their independent use, they, by their nature as expressing primarily a quality or attribute, are frequently used in apposition. When used independently (*nfr* "good one") they are used substantivally; when used in apposition (*pr nfr* "house, good-one", i.e. "good house") they are used attributively, or adjectivally, the difference between the independent and attributive uses being obviously one of function, not of nature. The same point of view holds good of participles. This is not the place to inquire how far some such revision of terms would be of value in the grammar of some other languages. In Egyptian grammar, however, its introduction would have far more than theoretic importance, for it would much facilitate the learning and teaching of the language.

§ 56. ♂ — ♂ — ♂ — ♂ — ♂ *Urk.*, I, 134, 10, is, I think, not the dual. In the same inscription we have (*op. cit.*, 133, 13) ♂ — ♂ — ♂ — ♂ — ♂, and in the passage cited by the author ♂ — ♂ — ♂ — ♂ — ♂. It looks to me as if there had been in each case a faulty resolution of an *acolade* of a common type:



§ 57. The evidence seems to be all against the word ♂ being an "adjective". In all occurrences of the word known to me, other than the one quoted here, it precedes a verb in *šdm*-f, *šdm*-n-f or *šdm*-t-f; in the Pyramids it varies with ♂, and it is to me indistinguishable from the latter in meaning and function.³ I therefore take it as a negative particle, not used predicatively, and I take ♂ here as a verb in *šdm*-f.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN.

Magical Texts from a bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum, edited with translations, commentary, and facsimiles by H. I. BELL, A. D. NOCK, HERBERT THOMPSON. From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XVII. London (1932). 8vo, pp. 55, and three large folded photographic plates.

This is an extensive and somewhat surprising addition to the known magical texts, coming from the Egyptian Department of the British Museum amongst the valuable acquisitions purchased from the collection made in Egypt by the Swedish Consul Anastasi a full century ago. It appears to have been in the same group as the well-known magical papyri of Paris, London, and Leyden, and is thus datable about the third century A.D., when magic was most widely practised and creeds had become strangely mixed. Such magical

¹ See Sethe's articles (where, however, the above combination is not suggested) in *Ä.Z.*, XLIV, 93 ff.; XLVII, 42 ff.

² It need hardly be pointed out that by the etymology of the word, the grammarians' definitions, and such phrases as "adjective used as noun", the attributive use is the distinguishing feature of the "adjective".

³ Note further that the author can point to no feminine forms of the word, and has to assume that the writings of masc. sing. and masc. pl. are identical.

remains are of special value for the religious ideas and superstitions embodied in them at a time when Christianity was gradually permeating the lands of the Near East, and for the light they throw on the psychology of the peoples under the Roman Empire.

The roll contains Greek texts on the *verso*, demotic on the *recto*; the committee which has edited the roll combines the best scholarship necessary to deal with it in all its aspects. The demotic is not only admirably transcribed and translated by Sir Herbert Thompson but is also reproduced entire on the plates, while for the Greek we have to depend on a transcription by the impeccable Mr. Bell, though a small sample is seen in the photographs of the *recto*.

The magical papyri often contain vocalized transcripts of demotic words in Greek characters. Unluckily there is nothing of the kind in this papyrus, and even all the gibberish "words of power", though they comprise several hitherto unknown, have but the very slenderest Egyptological interest. On the other hand there is the usual amount of superstition in the miscellaneous spells (few of which are incomplete) to attract or repel lovers, to win favour and praise and so forth, and the pamphlet forms a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

Koptische Dialektgrammatik mit Lesestücken und Wörterbuch, von WALTER TILL. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München, 1931. Pp. 91 and 48.

Dr. Till has made his great reputation by a number of publications of texts and grammatical works on Coptic, especially concerning the less-known dialects, Faiyumic and Achmimic. He has now given us a very handy little book, a comparative grammar of all the dialects, summarized in 91 pages of print, followed by a chrestomathy on 29 pages and a glossary in 19 pages, all autographed. Such a work has long been a desideratum and will be welcomed accordingly. The variable and strange "Old Coptic" of the pagan period is not here dealt with. Readers should be warned against the impossible extension (in Bohairic) of Ⲫⲟⲓⲕ for Ⲫⲥ on p. 4. It should of course be Ⲫⲟⲓⲕ. Such a *lapsus calami* is an isolated blemish; but here and there in his desire for extreme conciseness Till allows a misleading phrase, such as on p. 7 in Ⲫⲁⲓ- "in" (seltener Ⲫⲁⲓ), which seems to imply that Ⲫⲁⲓ- was a form of the preposition Ⲫⲁⲓ-; "seltener in Ⲫⲁⲓ" would have been quite clear and not too long. On p. 84 ⲉϥϥⲟⲓⲛ is an obvious misprint for ⲉϥϥⲟⲓⲛ.

As a complement to Till's work Professor Worrell's *Coptic Sounds, Part I, The Main Currents of their History*, ought here to be mentioned. For the first time it brings a systematic treatment of Coptic phonetics to bear upon the subject of the dialects, and it reaches very valuable results.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition. By CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR. Brown University, Providence, 1932. Pp. 81, 4to, 1 map. \$3.00.

It is generally agreed that the Ephemerides (Official Journal) of Alexander were the original source of much or most of what is credible in the history of his conquests; but the extent to which each of our surviving sources has drawn upon them remains a matter for discussion. In the present volume Professor Robinson has thrown new light upon this question by tabulating in parallel columns the place-names by which various authors mark the stages of Alexander's progress. From this concordance he demonstrates that down to the summer of 327 B.C. the order and spelling of these names is almost identical, and that from the summer of 326 they are set forth in substantially the same form and sequence; but that in the intervening period the lists show considerable discrepancies. He concludes that all our extant sources derived their account of the earlier campaigns of Alexander from the court historian Callisthenes, who no doubt made systematic use of the Journal; for the interval from 327 to 326 they fell back upon a variety of other sources, because at this point Callisthenes' work came to a stop and the Journal itself was destroyed by fire (Plutarch, *Eumenes*, ch. 2); for the remaining years of Alexander's reign a new Journal was compiled and preserved, but was not thrown into historical shape by a single standard authority like Callisthenes, and therefore filtered through to our surviving sources by different channels.

The key which Professor Robinson has thus ingeniously applied might be used to resolve other problems. It might serve to explain the sudden gap in our best and fullest authority, Arrian, for the years 328-327, and the unusual wealth of detail with which that very inferior writer, Quintus Curtius, fills the gap.

Professor Robinson discusses in an appendix the chief chronological difficulty in the history of Alexander's campaigns. Putting together the time-data supplied by various ancient authors, we arrive at the conclusion that in the summer and autumn of 330 Alexander moved from the Caspian to Cabul, say 1,300 miles in 100

marching days. This feat, though not quite incredible—Lord Roberts covered 313 difficult miles from Cabul to Candahar in 22 days—appears impossible to Professor Robinson. But instead of prolonging Alexander's march into 329 (as is done by some modern scholars), he gives it an earlier start, in the spring of 330. This compels him to reject Plutarch's remark that Alexander spent four months at the beginning of 330 in Persepolis, and Arrian's statement that the death of Darius (which befell a few days after Alexander's start from the Caspian) took place in midsummer. We need not hesitate to reject Plutarch's unsupported assertion, which indeed is highly improbable on the face of it. If it can be shown that Arrian's date does not derive from Callisthenes and the Ephemerides, we need not scruple to reject this also.

Professor Robinson's monograph makes us look forward to his forthcoming larger work on the sources for the history of Alexander.

M. CARY.

Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III. Memphis (Abu Rawash to Dahshur). By BERTHA PORTER and ROSALIND L. B. MOSS, B.Sc., Oxon., Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. xxi and 254.

Those who, as makers of books, are sensitive to the verdict of those who use them would do well, unless themselves already experts in the difficult art, to study this work as a model of its kind, both for fastidious correctness, clarity of presentment, solicitude for all possible requirements of readers, yet with every valid economy of space and diagram. It is a technical as well as a bibliographical achievement in no less degree than the preceding volumes, and this in spite of the hampering condition that most of the monuments that it records are buried beyond consultation, sometimes unpublished, or described with exasperating disregard of the precision in which the authors take pride.

Miss Moss speaks of the fire of queries under which she has brought the still living archaeologists concerned with this section of the prolific valley of the Nile. She has in truth forced us to regard it as a point of military honour to acquit us valiantly under this fusillade and to silence it if we can; for our writings stand or fall at this analytical test of a practised reader.

It would be a prolonged task to probe this haystack of references for the sharp prick of an error; ten to one it would, if found, prove to be a visitation of the sins of the forefathers. It is better to give some consideration to what the volume as a whole reveals.

The mass of material which this one of several sections records for us will, I think, come even to most Egyptologists first as a surprise and then as an oppressive weight. One feels as Khufu should have felt, in anticipation of his burial under that almost incalculable number of blocks. The items still to be discovered and recorded in Egypt are not likely to prove less in bulk than those that have already been noted or adumbrated. Ought we not to resolve that this bibliography of Egyptian publications must be followed up as soon as possible by a still greater feat of compression and orderly survey? If we are not to miss the use and beauty of the wood by reason of the number of the trees in it, ought we not to set about the compilation of a Subject Catalogue, no less clearly demarcated and organized than this, of all the human thoughts, hopes, and fears, and the consequent rites and practices which Ancient Egypt reveals? It would be like the gift of an alphabet to the Chinese, and afford to the narrow, book-sodden specialist some hope of finding sufficient time and elasticity of spirit to be a humanist as well.

The coming Oriental Congress at Rome might avert all danger of futility if some such scheme could be worked out beforehand and participation in it invited. The vast utility of the present publication at least suggests the inquiry whether there is not another, or other directions in which mere organization of the material amassed up to now would be the best endowment of our science. The moment when the stream of discovery and books tends to run low under economic stress is one for taking intelligent and accurate stock of what we have.

N. DE G. DAVIES.

Ἐντεύξεις, requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au III^e siècle avant J. C. PAR OCTAVE GUÉRAUD. Fascicules 1 et 2. Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, le Caire, 1931-2. Pp. xcv + 296. Pl. xiii.

This magnificent volume, dedicated to King Fuad, forms the first publication of the Société royale égyptienne de papyrologie, lately founded by His Majesty. A preface by M. Jouguet explains the aims and projects of the society, of which he is the active president. As he was also, along with M. Lefebvre, the discoverer and to a large extent first editor of the texts here printed, we can appreciate his pleasure in seeing his own admirable work so brilliantly completed after thirty years by a member of his own school.

The texts, both the new and the old, consist of the petitions found by Jouguet and Lefebvre at Ghoran and Magdola. Fifty of the latter were published by the finders and re-edited by the late J. Lesquier in Vol. II of the *Papyrus grecs de Lille*. M. Guéraud by carefully working through the remaining material has now succeeded in completing not a few of those already published and in adding sixty new pieces, whole or fragmentary. He has also improved upon the readings of his predecessors in many passages, especially in the very difficult dockets. In many cases the papyri are badly preserved and hard to read, and I doubt if any one else could have deciphered so much as he has done; one cannot but admire the skill and scrupulous care with which the text has been established.

Apart from their legal interest the Magdola petitions are among the most attractive and picturesque of Greek papyri, and the newly recovered pieces are not inferior to the old. To give the reader a specimen I select, almost at random, the complaint of the Arab barber (no. 47) about a client called Malichos, evidently another Semite, on whom he had practised his art for several years for a fixed annual fee. A question having arisen about the last year's payment, Malichos made him swear in a temple of Athena (no doubt in this case an Egyptian goddess) that he had not received it. But though the barber took the required oath to the disagreeable surprise of his client, he failed to obtain his money; hence his request for an inquiry and, if necessary, for a trial and judgement. What an odd mixture of Greek, Egyptian, and Asiatic elements in this little problem!

M. Guéraud remarks, what is evidently true, that in the matter of commentary his edition does not aim at superseding that of Lesquier, but merely at correcting and completing it. But this modest claim scarcely prepares us for the great amount of original comment contained in the introduction and notes. In the former the author discusses (1) the formal characteristics of the petitions, (2) the method of presenting them, (3) the consequent procedure, administrative and legal, and (4) the relative positions of the various *στρατηγοί* who appear in these and other contemporary documents; and all these questions, by a careful analysis of the material, he has undoubtedly made far clearer than they were before. The notes also are full of interesting remarks and show a delicate appreciation of the language used by the scribes. Very instructive, for instance, is the way in which he brings out the implications of such common words as *συναποστειλαι* and *καταφθαρήναι*.

There is no important point on which I find it possible to dispute the views of the editor, but here are a few trivial suggestions with regard to the text. No. 6, 6: *συντε[λῶ]νται*, depending on a *ῖνα* in the writer's mind (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59351, 5, *καὶ ὦ . . . τετευχώς* without *ῖνα*), seems preferable to *συντε[λοῦ]νται* in the sense of *συντελεσθήσονται*. No. 26, 6-7: the textual note suggests that we might read *ἐργαζομένη{ι} αὐτῆ{ι}*, which seems a more natural phrase than *ἐργαζομένη αὐτῆι*. No. 48, 3: it is difficult to see how *βασιλέα Πτολεμαίων* can be attached to *συγγραφήν*, and as the letter after the lacuna is very doubtful, *[τὴν κειμένην πα]ρὰ Πτολεμαίωι* strikes one as a possible alternative. The fact that in the next line the editor does not incorporate in the text the very probable restoration which he himself suggests, *ἔω[ς τοῦ με αὐτὸν κατ]αστήσαι*, is an instance of his care to admit nothing that is at all doubtful. No. 63, 10: I should prefer *καταλελειμμένωι το τετα]γμένωι*, especially as the letter after the lacuna is said to suggest *μ*; for *καταλελειμμένος* is the correct epithet for a deputy left in temporary charge (e.g. P. Petrie, II, 13, 19, l. 11, O.G.I.S., 773, 2), whereas *τεταγμένος* is more appropriate to a permanent appointment. No. 80, 9-10: perhaps *[ἐν θήκη]ι κωνικῆι*, a conical storage-bin below the level of the floor, like those found at Karanis; it would have made a convenient hiding-place for the terrified lady. In 48, 7 *καταφρο[νῶν μου] τῆς ἀσθενείας* would be more normal than *διὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας*; so too in 26, 9.

The new documents contain a few more of the remarkable double dates which have given rise to so much discussion. The editor does not comment on these except incidentally; but he rightly notes that "Year 24, Gorpaios 22=Choiach 22" agrees very closely with the double dates of year 25 on the assumption that an intercalary month had intervened; and from other evidence it seems probable that there was an intercalation at the end of year 24 (see P. Mich. Zenon, p. 55). More disturbing and quite irreconcilable with the theories of Beloch and Ernst Meyer are "Year 26, Daisios 23=Phaophi 5" and "Panemos 7=Phaophi 2 [.]", which at first sight seem to make the chronology of Euergetes' reign more unintelligible than ever. The main difficulty would be removed if we could suppose that the year employed by the writers of the dockets was the financial year; unfortunately the datings of Philopator seem to form a decisive argument against such a supposition. But anything that I could say on this question would merely prove that it would have been wiser to follow M. Guéraud's example and say nothing.

May the succeeding volumes of this series of *Textes et Documents* come up to the high standard set by the first, and may M. Guéraud soon have another opportunity of exercising his exceptional skill as decipherer and editor.

Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia. Edited with Introductions and Notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN and CLINTON WALKER KEYES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xi, 219. 2 facsimiles.

This, the second papyrological work that has issued from the Columbia University Press, is a publication of a group of papyri acquired by the library of Columbia University in 1923. There are six rolls, all dated between the years A.D. 130 and 160, and all apparently filed together in the office of the *βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων* at Theadelphia. Although they can hardly be said to be an epoch-making contribution to our knowledge of taxation in Roman Egypt, they clear up one or two previously doubtful points.

The first four rolls deal with payments of *λαογραφία*. The editors have demonstrated that the poll-tax was itself a *μερισμός*. The poll-tax payments of 134-5 all fall within the months Phaophi and Hathyr, so Rabel's view (P. Basel, pp. 48-9) that all payments in the first five months of the year are arrears needs revision. From the summary statement of receipts of poll-tax and *μερισμοί* for half a year it appears probable that only half the normal sum was paid on behalf of men who died during the first five months of the year. This would explain the rather puzzling 125½ men in B.G.U., I, 21.

A group of receipts of wages by guards and transport men (A.D. 155) was pasted together into a roll and sent in to the *βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων*. It is interesting to observe that all the police officials who figure in it are illiterate. A new word—*ἀνδρωφύλαξ* (if indeed this is an admissible reading)—should be noted by lexicographers.

The last two documents in this group are a list of donkey-drivers and numbers of donkeys used in the state transport of grain (136-50) and sitologus-records of payment in kind, which give the relative values for official purposes of wheat, barley, and lentils.

This book has been produced with great care and accuracy. Some of the details, such as the reconstruction of the ledger from the journal entries (*recto* 1 a) might perhaps have been omitted without great loss. The two facsimiles are good.

M. E. DICKER.

Constantine the Great and the Christian Church. By NORMAN H. BAYNES, F.B.A. (The Raleigh Lecture on History.) British Academy, 1929.

Professor Baynes has a peculiar right to speak on Constantine the Great, for he has studied the man and his times with a sympathetic yet critical understanding and a fullness of knowledge which there are few who would not envy. In this lecture he deals not with Constantine's career as a whole, but with one aspect of it, his attitude to the Christian Church. He claims, and the claim seems justified, to have rid his mind as far as possible of prepossessions and to have based his study on Constantine's own letters and edicts. To this resolute refusal to be misled by *a priori* considerations as to what, from the point of view of a modern critic, Constantine ought or might be expected to have said, done, or thought is no doubt to be attributed the convincing nature of the portrait which he draws. Many modern views of Constantine, some of them presented by historians of the first rank, have erred by over-simplification. "Der Wille zur Macht", hypocrisy, an astute use of the Christian Church to forward his political ends—it is tempting for men imbued with modern rationalism to seek in such conceptions the explanation of his career. It is tempting, but, when we remember the part which religion played, with pagans and Christians alike, in that world of the early fourth century, it is very dangerous. Professor Baynes seems to the present reviewer perfectly right in refusing such facile theories and in recognizing in Constantine's religious policy an essential sincerity. Masterly soldier, forceful man of action, far-sighted statesman, Constantine was yet a man of his time, a time when religion was inextricably worked into the fabric of life, and he can never be properly explained on a merely rationalistic basis.

The lecture would be noteworthy if it did no more than state thus brilliantly and convincingly the above conception of Constantine; but its value is enormously increased by the remarkably full critical bibliography with which Professor Baynes has furnished it. This will be a mine of information for students of the period.

H. I. BELL.

Amarna in Religion und Kunst. By HEINRICH SCHÄFER. 7te Sonderschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 1931.

Between the covers of this little book Dr. Schäfer has succeeded in compressing the story of the 'Amarnah period, and in doing so has robbed the subject of none of its interest. On the contrary his account is infused with life from beginning to end, and the full significance of Akhenaten's revolution, both religious and artistic, has been brought out with great skill. The essay is complemented by 64 plates illustrating the finest works of art discovered at El-'Amarnah, each being accompanied by a short description, and reference to these plates being made throughout the text.

To the reviewer the most interesting among the questions raised by this essay is the much vexed one of Akhenaten's beliefs concerning the nature of Aten. From the over-romantic ideas of earlier writers on the subject the pendulum has swung away very far indeed, and it is now customary for us to see in the Aten an entirely materialistic conception, the physical disk of the sun and nothing more. Dr. Schäfer, however, holds to the view that the Aten was essentially a spiritual being, whose soul dwelt in the sun-disk and through this manifested his power. "Ein Mann wie Echnatôn", he says "ist kein Materialist." Without further discussion of the question, which would be out of place here, may one suggest that a careful reconsideration of the evidence may lead us to modify our opinion, at least to some extent, in favour of this view?


A. W. SHORTER.

Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza. By G. A. REISNER, Ph.D. Harvard University Press, 1931; London, Humphrey Milford. £9 16s.

This monumental work gives the results of excavations at Gizeh conducted by Dr. Reisner between 1906 and 1924 on behalf of the Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and is stated to be the first of a series of reports on this expedition's work. The present volume is concerned with the clearing of the pyramid temple of Mycerinus, the valley temple of the same king, and the temples of the three small pyramids within his precinct, and each of these sites has a chapter devoted to it describing the course of the excavations and disentangling the history of the buildings concerned, while a chapter on the building materials and the methods of construction forms a valuable contribution to the study of Egyptian architecture.

The discussion and classification of the objects found occupy the next five chapters. The most remarkable finds were the already well-known statuary groups of the king with his queen and of the king with the nome-deities, many of which are in an excellent state of preservation. A large number of stone and pottery vessels came to light and are dealt with at considerable length, besides being fully illustrated with figures in the text and photographic plates. The inscriptions found consisted mainly of the remains of five royal decrees of the type already made familiar by Weill, apart from the numerous builders' marks and gang-names written on the blocks of stone employed in the constructions. A portion of the pyramid temple had been utilized in the Roman period as a communal burial-place, whence came a large number of beads, amulets, and other small objects; these are catalogued in the second of six appendices, two others being devoted respectively to the builders' marks and to the other inscriptions.

The last chapter is occupied with a discussion of the family history of the Fourth Dynasty and the succession of its kings. On the latter point Dr. Reisner follows the order of the Abydos king-list in placing Dedefrê before Chephren, but in order to find a place for the otherwise unknown kings named by Manetho Bikheris, Thamphthis, and Seberkheres (who, as R. points out, can hardly be Shepseskaf) he conjectures that these personages belonged to a secondary branch of the family headed by Dedefrê and at feud with the direct line, and that they came to the throne as pretenders whom the later annalists did not recognize as legitimate rulers. His theory is admitted to be conjectural and is certainly a possibility, but the caution must be added that there does not seem to be a particle of real evidence pointing in that direction; in the first place, until the parentage of Dedefrê is known with certainty it is impossible to say whether he was of the full blood royal or not, and secondly, there is nothing whatever to show the connexion, if any, between this king and the three unknowns of Manetho's list.

The text is completed by six appendices. In addition to the three already mentioned, one is concerned with a discussion of the word *gs* found in the expression  *Urk.* I, 18, 11 in the inscription of Debehen. In view of his identification of the name of the Third Pyramid as *Ntr*, Reisner rejects the usual rendering "beside the pyramid *Hr*" and renders "to the works of the pyramid cemetery", regarding *gs*

as a word for "works", "administration" and the like, and *hr* as a word akin to *hrt* "tomb". He bases his rendering of *gs* on evidence afforded by quarry-marks, but the reviewer must confess to remaining unconvinced. The crux of the passage is the interpretation of *hr*. If this be no longer regarded as a name of a pyramid but either as a name of the pyramid cemetery (Reisner) or of the plateau on which the pyramids stand (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 143), then there would appear to be no difficulty in giving to *r gs* the rendering "beside", which one would normally expect it to have. Of the two appendices not yet mentioned, one consists of a "provenience-list" of the objects from the valley-temple; the other, which is supplementary to the chapter on building materials and constructions, is concerned with a discussion of the building operations on the Second Pyramid in opposition to Hölscher's reconstruction of the methods employed. The book is completed by an index and seventy-eight photographic plates, while twelve excellent plans are supplied loose in a pocket, an arrangement which adds materially to the convenience of the reader.

The full publication of these important excavations has been long awaited, and Dr. Reisner is to be congratulated on having now achieved it, but there is one respect in which his book is open to serious criticism. While all will agree that the results of excavations should be published as fully as possible, it is equally important that such publications should be produced at a price within the means of those who are likely to use them, even, at the cost, if necessary, of some condensation of matter and sacrifice of appearance. The present volume is excellently printed and produced, but its bulk is somewhat unwieldy and, what is worse, its heavy cost puts it beyond the reach of the great majority of scholars and students, the very public for which it is presumably intended, and thus to a large extent stultifies the value of the work. There can be no doubt that considerable economies in the cost of production could have been made without loss of scientific value; is there, for instance, any real gain in devoting fifteen photographs on six plates (Nos. 55-60) to the illustration of one statuary group? Is it too much to ask that this matter of cost may receive fuller consideration in any future reports on the expedition's work?

R. O. FAULKNER.

Publications of the EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

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PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-'AMARNAH, 1932-1933

BY J. D. S. PENDLEBURY

With Plates xii-xix

THE season was a short one, lasting only from December 1 to January 25. For it we have mainly to thank the Brooklyn Museum, New York, although Mrs. Hubbard by another generous donation has made possible the publication of *City of Akhenaten*, II, without which we should not have been justified in continued excavation.

The staff was the same as last year with the exception of Mrs. Pendlebury and Miss Chubb, but with the addition of Mr. P. B. Chubb, who was responsible for the photography, and Mr. C. Brasch. Mr. J. H. S. Waddington, now with the Antiquities Department of Palestine, very generously spent his leave in doing the much needed tying up of the plans of the 1924 season, while Mrs. Waddington was directly responsible for the discovery of the sculptor's workshop, to be described below.

It is again my pleasant duty to thank the whole of the staff for their untiring work, without which the solution of the many problems connected with the Temple would never have been achieved. An excavator is indeed fortunate when he is presented with the plan complete of one of the most difficult buildings at 'Amarnah.

Thanks are also due to 'Abd el-Monim Efendi Mustapha, 'omdah of Tell el-'Amarnah, now a member of the Society, for the help and support which he continues to give us.

The Great Temple

The first intention of the expedition was to clear the Sanctuary of the Great Temple, already worked by Petrie, on which Dr. Frankfort had also spent part of a season. Prior to the arrival from Armant of the light railway, however, it was decided to begin work on the west end of the vast enclosure, where, except for trial pits by Petrie, no work had been done. By the time this part was cleared the season was well advanced, and it was therefore decided to leave the Sanctuary for another year in the hopes that further study, criticisms, and suggestions would assist us to disentangle what was after all the centre of the life of the whole city. The latter part of the season was, therefore, spent in linking up the Temple with the Royal Estate to the south.

The results here given are our conclusions. The steps by which we arrived at them and the plan of the existing remains are more suitable to the final publication in *City of Akhenaten*, III. Mr. Lavers's plan shows, beyond doubt, I think, the correct restoration. We were further fortunate this year in that we were able to correct last year's plan of Hat Aten, for the deep depressions in the inner court of that building, which we had taken to indicate square piers fronted by statues, must on analogy have received the bases of offering tables in an open court; the columns of which we found traces there must then have been confined to a small colonnade preceding the inner court, as they are here.

Mr. Lavers has convincingly made out the history of the building. Before any construction was set up, before the temenos wall was built, there must have been some foundation



Lifesize head of a princess in quartzite.
Scale 2 : 5.

ceremony, perhaps out in the desert where the Sanctuary now stands. As an approach to this a temporary gateway was set up, resting on four heavy oblong bases just inside where the main entrance now lies (Pl. xiv, 1). From here an avenue of sphinxes, two deep, led eastwards. They now disappear under the walls of the westernmost building, where they can still be traced (Pl. xiv, 2). On the main axis were a number of plaster-lined "baths", receptacles perhaps for liquid offerings (Pl. xiv, 3). Fragments of small sculpture which may have decorated the gateway, as well as of a sphinx, were found west of the temenos wall. The most interesting fragment is a very battered limestone head which must certainly be that of Amenophis III, a further indication of his living on into the 'Amarnah period. The floor of trampled mud resting immediately on the desert sand can be made out all over the site in section at the side of the wall-trenches.

The construction of the temenos wall and of the Sanctuary at the east end now took place. For some reason or other the original gate was not used as the main entrance, which lay a few yards to the west. It would seem, however, that it was still undestroyed, for the new main door was approached by a ramp from outside, while inside another ramp descended to the old gate (Pl. xiv, 1). At this period, then, we have a huge enclosure with a sanctuary at the extreme east end, and nothing else but a ceremonial gate, awkwardly placed just inside the real entrance, and an avenue of sphinxes of indeterminate length.

Then came a big outburst of building resulting in the plan as it is shown in Pl. xiii. The gate and avenue were torn down and the entrance ran across on a level with the top of the ramp (Pl. xiv, 1), covering gate, avenue and plaster "baths" to a depth varying from 0·80 to 1·00 m. Fresh "baths" and circular depressions were sunk in this higher level (Pl. xiv, 3), which to north and south sloped down very gradually until it reached the old level. The westernmost buildings, the pavilion immediately inside the entrance, Per Hai and Gem Aten, were constructed, while in the temenos to the north and south were erected the hundreds of square brick piers which may have served as the bases for the offerings either of common folk who did not attain to the dignity of a stone base within the buildings, or—the more attractive suggestion of Dr. Frankfort—as the bases for the offerings of every town and city in the kingdom to the new god.

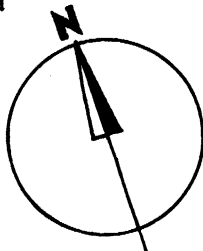
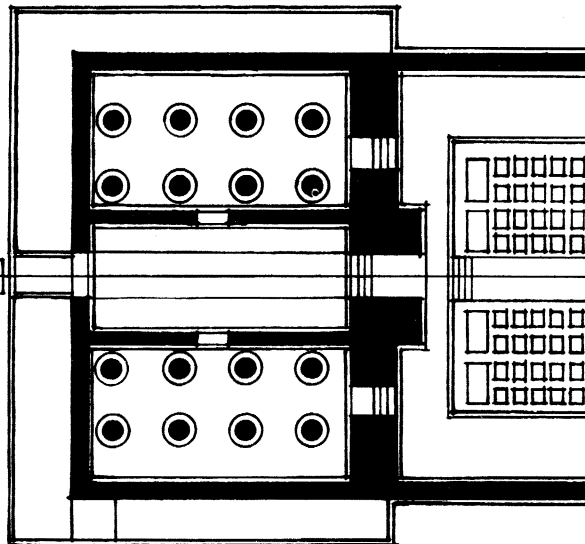
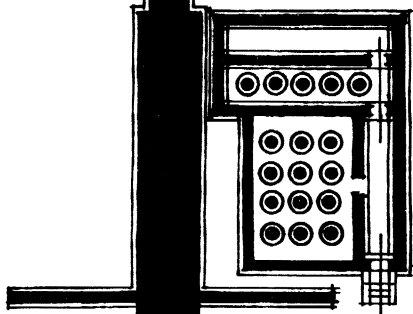
Last of all came the reaction. Practically every stone was taken from the buildings, leaving, as in Hat Aten, only the marks in the cement foundations; and up to a level with the platforms (see below), Horemheb or another filled in the whole building with clean sand and ran a layer of cement right over, sealing in the infection of the accursed place.

It is fortunate, therefore, that enough remains to make the reconstruction certain (Pl. xiii). Immediately within the entrance and to the north of it lie the massive foundations of a pavilion (Pl. xiv, 4). The position of the columns, of which fragments were found, is indicated by the heavy cement piers which descend a metre, down to the original floor of the first period. Leaving this on your left you proceeded to the stone-faced façade of Per Hai, the House of Rejoicing. This consists at present of two vast foundations of solid cement, a metre and a half deep, mentioned by Petrie (*Tell el Amarna*, 19, Pl. xxxvii). Between these platforms ran a causeway merely consisting of sand thrown down between the shuttering of the two platforms and paved over (Pl. xiv, 5). Per Hai then seems to have consisted of two columned pavilions with a causeway between, the arrangement of the columns being clear from the markings in the cement. It was probably at the east end of these that the altars of limestone, of which fragments were already in the Cairo Museum, occurred. Here also are steps descending to two small open courts on either side of a prolongation of the causeway.

Now comes the part called Gem Aten. (One would like to think of a game among the forest of offering tables called "Hunt the Aten".) This name appears to cover all the part

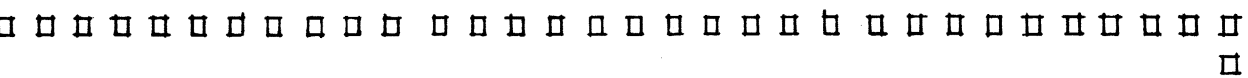
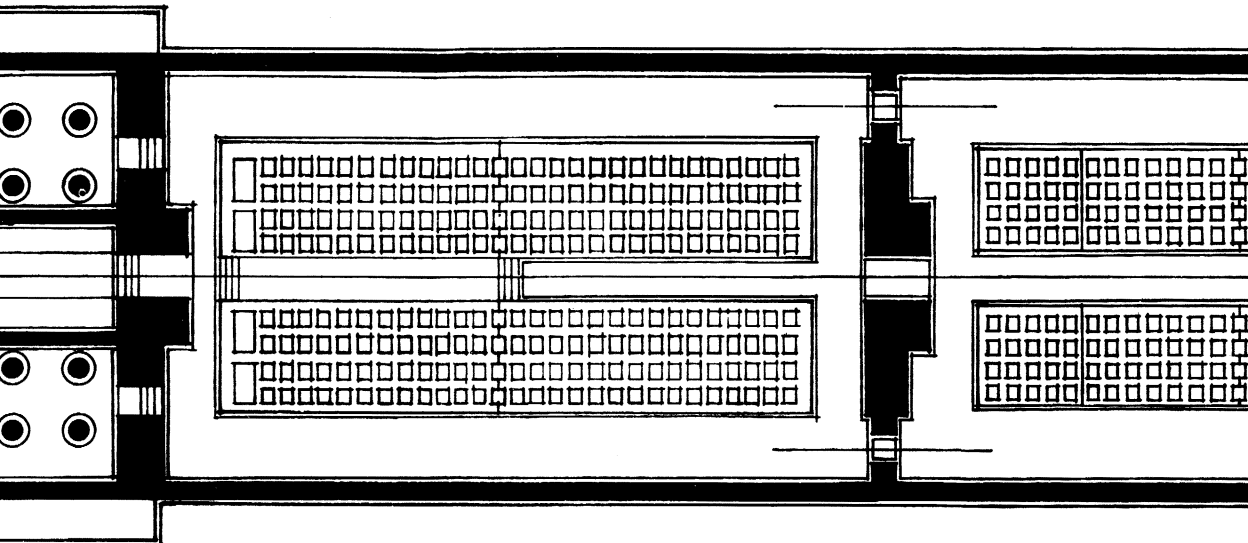
RESTORED PLAN

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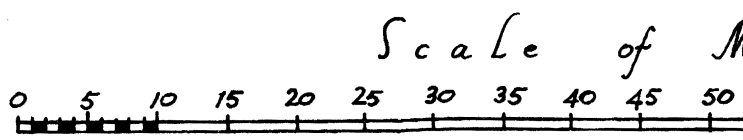
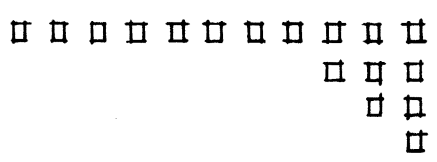
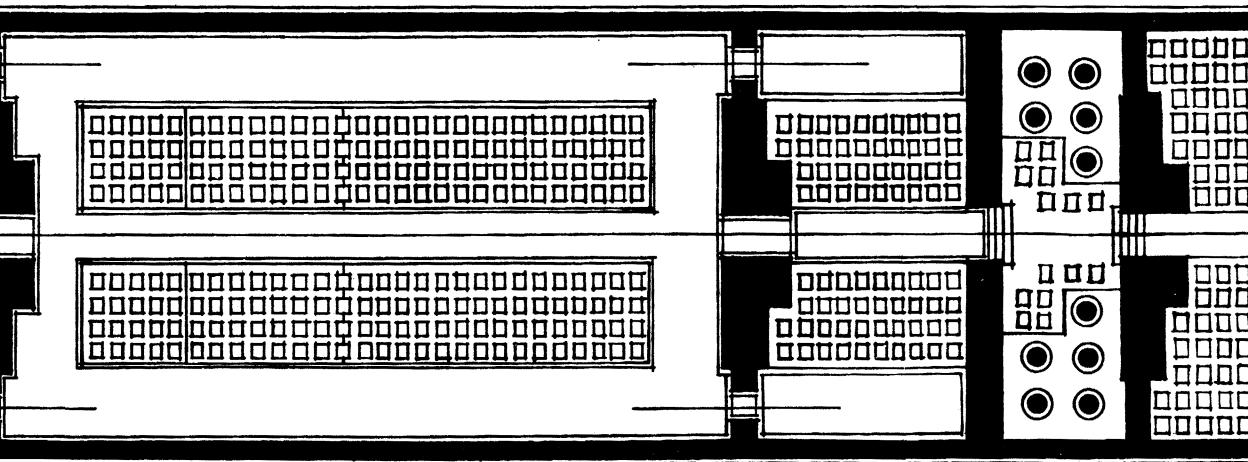


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R E D P L A N O F G E M - A T E N A

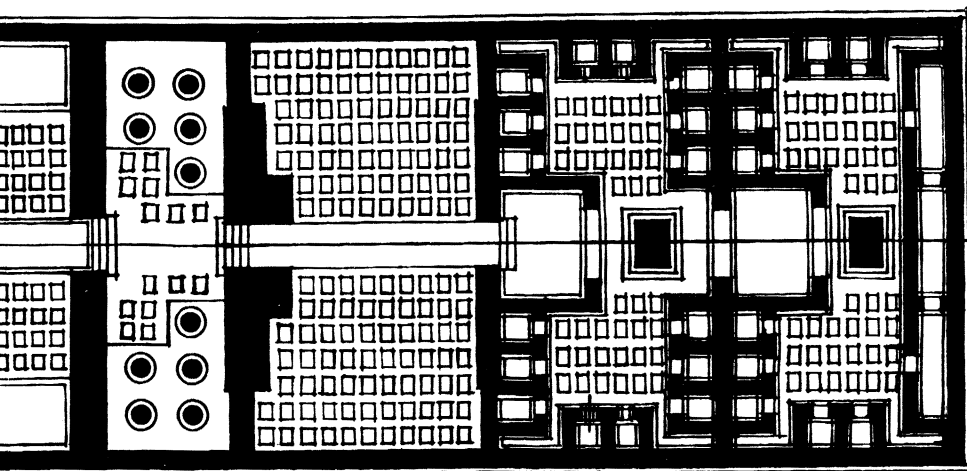


ATEN AND PER - HAI - ATEN
TELL EL AMARNA

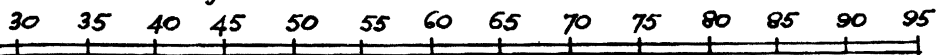


AI - ATEN

AMARNA , SEASON 1932-33



Scale of Metres.





1



2



3



4



5



6

Great Temple.

1. Main gate of temenos from within.
2. Earlier bases below pylons of Per Hai.
3. Two periods of entrance system.
4. Entrance Pavilion.
5. Concrete platforms of Per Hai.
6. Gem Aten.

which lies east of Per Hai. The arrangement is simple in the extreme. The causeway from Per Hai first ascends to north and south on to the platforms which surround the open court. These platforms consist of a sand filling between the outer wall of the building and a stone facing which has completely disappeared. That they are preserved to their original height with much of the cement bedding for the paving still *in situ* is due entirely to the filling in and sealing up of the temple. In the first court the causeway descends to the paving of the court between long bases, perhaps for sphinxes. At the east end of the same court a flight

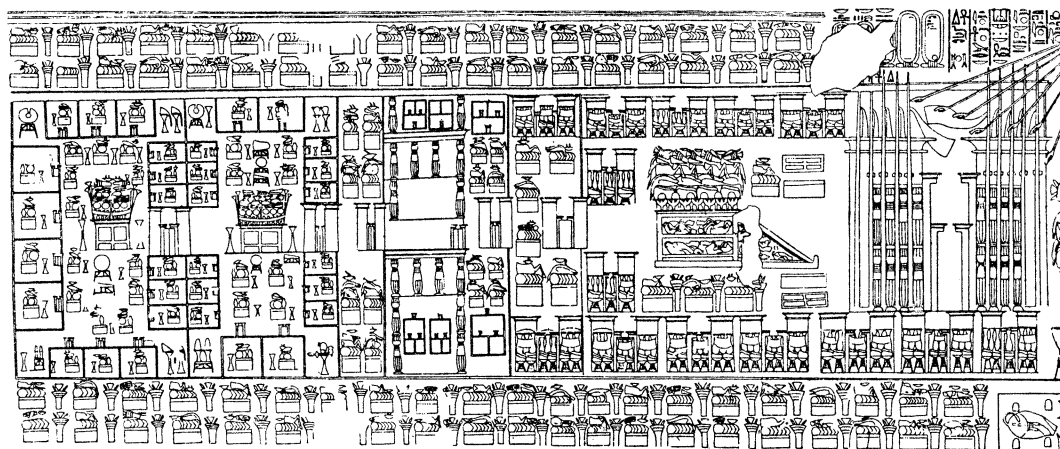


FIG. 1

of steps leads up to it again and continues unbroken between the innumerable lines of square offering tables, gradually getting lower, like the platforms, as the level of the courts rises in a series of steps, until it stops short of the final court (Pl. xiv, 6). Here was a small colonnade of large columns with offering tables between, which made a break before the new system of the east court.

Here, as in Hat Aten, the High Altar is surrounded by a series of small rooms, and in this case enough is left to show that in each room were two or more altars or offering tables. Fragments of the altar were already in Cairo.

It would seem that funds began to run short, for near the east end of the platforms and of the causeway mud brick is used for facing instead of stone. The whole place, indeed, except for Per Hai, gives every evidence of the frantic haste which we connect everywhere with Akhenaten and his mushroom city.

So far so good, but there were a number of points still uncertain, *e.g.* how did you get from one platform to another? Were there any doors between the courts and what were the small open spaces between the platforms? Here Mr. Lavers has been able to reconcile in every particular the existing remains with the scene in the tomb of Meryra (Fig. 1, after Davies, *El Amarna*, I, Pl. xxv). This scene gives us exactly the details we want to know. Here are shown doors between the platforms; here are the offering tables both within and without the walls. Here are the columns in their proper place and the altar at the east end, and here are the two pavilions of Per Hai, their columns cunningly shown through the pylon towers. This discovery is very heartening, for one had despaired of getting any definite facts from these drawings. With their help one should now be able to tackle with confidence the Sanctuary at the east end, also shown in the tomb.

It is also interesting to note that we have now accounted for everything not only in

the tomb scene but also among the existing remains. Where then is the Sunshade of Ty which Huya shows in such detail (Davies, *El Amarna*, III, Pl. viii)? It can only mean that it was never built; that Huya was preparing his tomb when her visit occurred in Year 12 and was determined to include everything possible. He must, therefore, have commissioned his artist to prepare drawings to show the proposed Sunshade, which Akhenaten had doubtless ordered and which was doubtless shelved for lack of funds or other reasons.

Now for the first time we have some idea of what the temple of the Aten really looked like. It was a completely new plan. Nothing built before or after it resembles it in the slightest, and when the Sanctuary is cleared, as it is hoped, next year we shall at last be able to realize what kind of house Akhenaten intended to build for his god.

As might be expected, the objects from the Temple were few. The sculpture had been smashed and defaced. In any case the decoration of the Temple had been hastily and carelessly done, though some of the figures and faces cannot help showing that distinction and grace which is the privilege of 'Amarnah. The finest objects came from the trenches where the walls had been. The first was a sandstone head of the king for inlay into a wall (Pl. xvi, 1). It resembles those found by Woolley at Maru-Aten (*City of Akhenaten*, I, Pl. xxxv), and like them had the eyes and eyebrows inlaid in blue glass. Part of a head-dress in granite which may have belonged to it was also found.

Next comes an unfinished sculptor's trial piece (Pl. xv, 3), showing the head of Nefertiti. The way in which the blocking out has been done, on the original lines sketched in ink, is worth noting.

Besides this was found another trial piece showing two royal heads (Pl. xv, 1). Here the interest lies in the difference between the two heads. There are three possibilities. (1) Are they the work of one man, a trial at the head of the king and an improvement on it? (2) Are they the work of one man showing two portraits, each of a different man? (3) Is one the work of a master and the other his pupil's copy? With regard to (1) it is difficult to believe that a man who could do such fine work should not have had the king's portrait at his finger tips. In any case one would expect the less successful head to be on the left. (2) The head on the left is certainly like Akhenaten, while that on the right, though it bears a strong family likeness, resembles more some of the *shawabti* figures from the tomb of Tutankhamūn. It might well be Smenkhkerē, but against that we have to put the fact that it looks like the head of a man at least as old as the original of the other head, which must be Akhenaten, and none of the portraits which have with reason been assigned to Smenkhkerē show him as other than young and rather soft. There remains (3). It has this to be said in its favour, that with a slight alteration of the angle of the face, making it long instead of protruding, the right-hand head would be a good copy of the other. On the other hand there is nothing in it from the point of view of technique between the two. If they were on different stones, instead of on the same, one would certainly see the same hand in both. On the whole, after talking it over with Dr. Frankfort, I am inclined to the second view, and would assume it to be a portrait of Akhenaten and Smenkhkerē when the latter had only just been co-opted and before his features were so well known.

The last piece, one of the most beautiful trial pieces ever found at 'Amarnah (Pl. xv, 2), shows the head and shoulders of Nefertiti. On the other side is sculptured a kneeling figure.

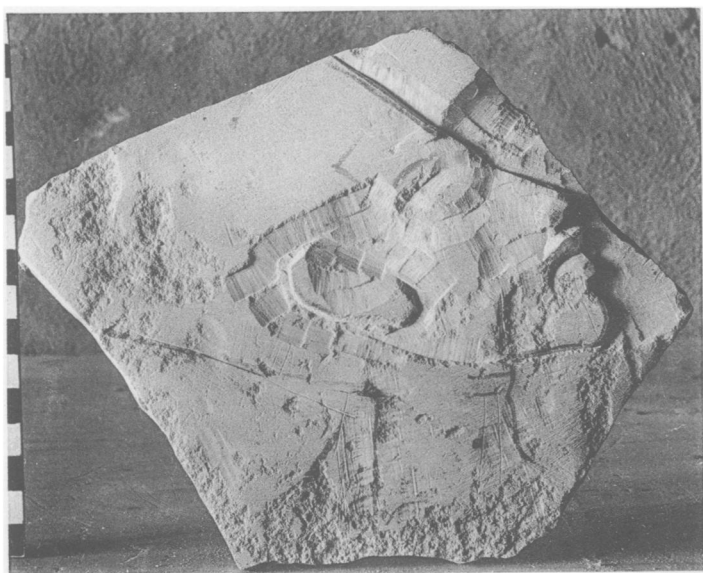
A great number of fragments of inscriptions were found, most of them consisting of a wearisome repetition of the royal and divine names. In several cases, however, Nefertiti's cartouche had been erased. In one case it had been smoothed over preparatory to being inscribed for Meritaten. On another inscription the words "born of the great royal wife"



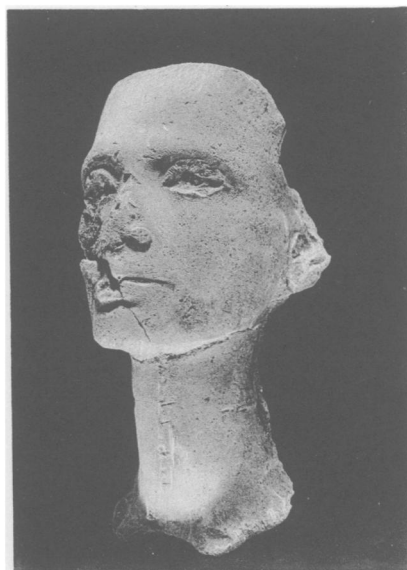
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2



3



4

1. Sculptor's trial piece. *Scale* $\frac{1}{4}$.

2. Sculptor's trial piece. *Scale* $\frac{1}{4}$.

3. Sculptor's unfinished trial piece. *Scale* *c.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

4. Plaster cast of Nefertiti's head. *Scale* 1 : 5.



1



2



3



4

1. Quartzite head for inlay. *Scale c. 5 : 8.*

3. Fragments from the sculptor's house. *Scale c. 2 : 3.*

2. Quartzite head for inlay. *Scale c. $\frac{1}{2}$.*

4. Inscribed bronze weight. *Scale c. 1 : 1.*

had been hacked away after Meritaten's name, and a clumsy attempt made to alter the cartouche so that Meritaten's name should appear twice.

The area immediately to the south of the Temple is occupied by long rows of magazines as in the case of Hat Aten. The excavation of these has still to be completed. Between them and the Royal Estate come more storehouses, some of them apparently forming the "Storehouse of Great Provision" and the Magazine of the Shade of 'Ankh-Rē'. They seem to have been divided into sections for wine and meat and other offerings, according to the ostraca, of which two hundred or more were found in three days; the most interesting of the ostraca was originally dated "Year 17" with a later addition of "Year 1", presumably Akhenaten and Smenkhkerē.

From farther east comes the bronze weight in the shape of a bull (Pl. xvi, 4), weighing 437 gr. and marked "5 *deben*".

Houses 0.47.16a and 0.47.20.

While the work at the temple was progressing, Mr. and Mrs. Waddington were staying down at the South Expedition House resurveying the area excavated in 1924, and tying it on to the excavations of the Germans and of the Society in 1921-2. There was a small area left inexplicably unexcavated on the opposite side of the road to Ramose's house, between it and a house dug by Petrie. While walking over this area Mrs. Waddington overturned a brick and a sherd lying on one of the walls and discovered beneath them part of the plaster head shown in Pl. xv, 4. Further surface examination produced a number of worked fragments of stone. Since the news of the discovery would certainly have meant illicit digging in the summer, and since in any case this area left an awkward gap in the general plan, it was decided to clear it. A company was therefore sent down from the Temple, and Mr. Brasch went to assist Mr. and Mrs. Waddington.

The area contains two or three small houses, apparently dependent on Petrie's house, or at least occupying ground originally taken up by the owner. Architecturally they present no unusual features. The finds come mainly from the eastern half, some of them only a metre or two from where the Germans had stopped digging.

Most impressive of the finds was undoubtedly the life-size head in quartzite (Pls. xii and xviii, 3, 4). This is unfinished, the ink marks are still there for guiding lines and part of the left-hand side of the face is still rough. The sculptor, however, was unable to resist painting the lips, even before he had finished. At the base of the neck is a dowel for fitting on to a body of a different material. The head-dress was evidently intended to cover the ears, for there is no room left to sculpture these. Discussion as to whom it is meant to represent is perhaps unfruitful. It must surely be either Nefertiti or one of the Princesses. On the whole the face seems too soft for Nefertiti as we know her, and certainly it bears more resemblance to some of the heads in Berlin which have been with reason ascribed to the older Princesses. The objection that the head is not deformed is hardly serious. We cannot tell what sort of a head-dress would be worn, and a wig would cover a multitude of deformities. The other objection, that the princesses never wore head-dresses, is also of doubtful value. Meritaten and Ankhsepaaten certainly did when they came to the throne; we have no means of telling whether this is not a portrait of one of them after she became queen or, indeed, whether they did not begin to wear head-dresses before. But all we can do is to admire the work of art.

Next comes a small group in steatite on a limestone base (Pls. xvii and xviii, 1, 2). It shows the Ape of Thoth, crowned with the horns and disk, sitting on an altar, while before him squats a scribe as if inspired by his patron. It is a wonderfully detailed little work only about 15 cm. high.

Another inlay head in quartzite was found (Pl. xvi, 2). It is remarkable for the extraordinary delicacy of work, whereby only in one particular light can all the exquisite detail be seen. I do not know of any other case where such a light touch has been used. It is of course possible that it is the preliminary blocking of such another head as that shown in Pl. xvi, 1, but we should be very sad to think that.

More fragments of inlay were discovered, mostly in the shape of hands and arms, one of which has not been cut away from the parent block. With them was a small white limestone torso which is completely archaic Greek in feeling.

A small sphinx in painted limestone about 5 cm. long occurred in the house. It is the first of its kind to be found at 'Amarnah, where it must be a relic of an earlier date. The face resembles that of the earlier kings of the dynasty.

Pl. xvi, 3 shows three small pieces, a little panel of alabaster incised with a bound negro captive, a small stele and part of the head of a statuette in sandstone. This head is almost certainly that of Amenophis III. The fleshy cheeks and blunt nose show that.

The rest of the cast of the head (p. 117) was found (Pl. xv, 4). Surely it must be Nefertiti. Whether this and the next are life-masks or death-masks it is hard to say, since they have been worked over after casting. The other head is that of Akhenaten (Pl. xix, 1, 2). We have only to compare it with the plaster head (Schäfer, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst*, Pl. xiii), representing him as a young man. This and the "Death Mask" found by Petrie and the lower part of a head from the temple make an interesting group (Pl. xix).

This short account is perhaps enough to indicate the extraordinary wealth of material yet awaiting excavation at 'Amarnah. Next year, funds permitting, we shall tackle the Sanctuary of the Temple, finish the part between the Temple and the Royal Estate, and begin a systematic clearance of the Records Office, on which much remains still to be done. We have not given up all hope of fresh tablets. In two or three seasons the central part of the city should be finished and published to show in detail the official and royal quarters of the capital of the Egyptian Empire.



Steatite statuette of monkey and scribe.

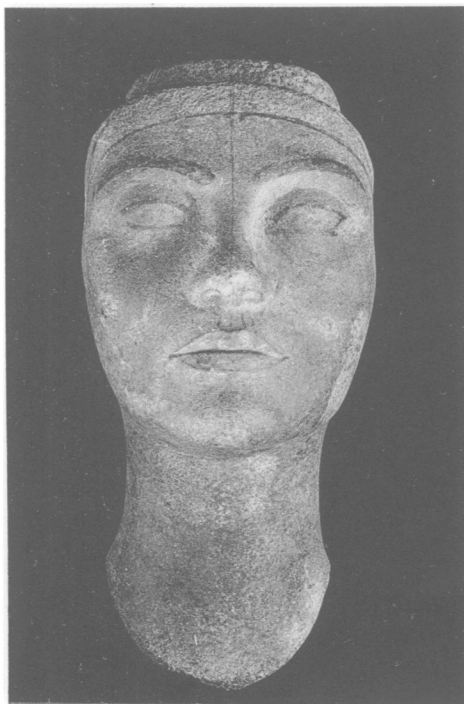
Scale 1 : 1.



1



2



3

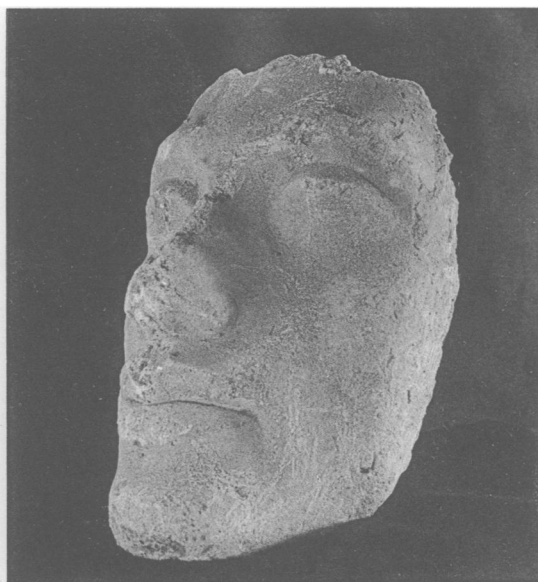


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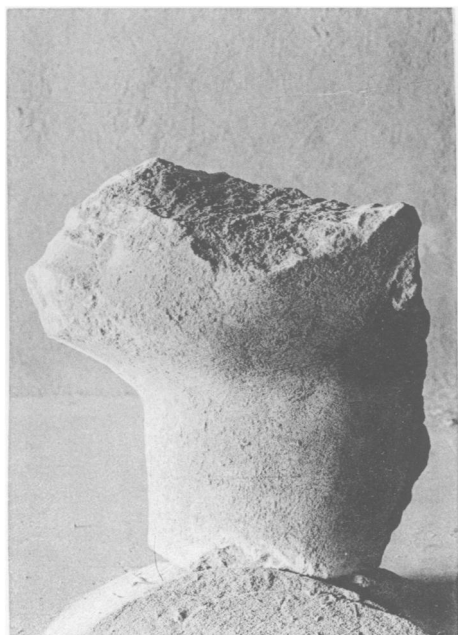
1 and 2. Steatite statuette of monkey and scribe. *Scale 2 : 3.*
3 and 4. Lifesize head of a princess in quartzite. *Scale 1/4.*



1



2



3



4

- 1 and 2. Plaster cast of head of Akhenaten. *Scale c. 1 : 3.*
3. Part of limestone head from Temple. *Scale 1 : 3.*
4. Plaster cast of head from Petrie's excavations. *Scale 2 : 5.*

THE BENI ḤASAN COIN-HOARD

By J. GRAFTON MILNE

IN the *Revue Archéologique*, 1905, 257–61, I described a hoard found at Beni Ḥasan by Professor John Garstang which in some respects is unlike any other Egyptian coin-hoard that has been published. Apart from this one, fourteen hoards have been described, in more or less detail, which appear to have been deposited before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great: in two cases the information is too scanty for any conclusion to be drawn, but the rest all appear to belong to the class of what may be called bullion-hoards—that is, hoards made up of coins of various states and different standards, which were evidently taken simply as metal. Most of them contain a substantial proportion of pieces which have been cut to test their quality, and some an admixture of rough silver. In the Beni Ḥasan hoard, on the other hand, together with an assortment of coins or pieces of coins similar to those in the hoards mentioned, there were 54 tetradrachms of Athenian type in perfect preservation and apparently uncirculated, such as would be found in a currency-hoard of coins which the holder designed to use at their face value. An explanation of this difference seems to be worth seeking.

The two largest of the fourteen hoards in question have been fully described by H. Dressel and K. Regling in *Zeit. f. Num.*, xxxvii; and, though it is not certain that these hoards came intact into the hands of the writers, it is probable that the coins seen by them were representative of the whole, and their lists may be taken as giving a typical survey of the composition of bullion-hoards from Egypt. One of these two is reported to have been found at Damanhûr, and the total number of coins examined was 165, of which 22 could not be definitely ascribed and 3 were illegible: the remaining 140 were issues of places in various parts of the Greek world, the area most extensively represented being Northern Greece: there were 34 Thracio-Macedonian, 12 of Thasos, 4 of Neapolis, 3 of Dikaia, and 1 each of Akanthos and Skione; 16 were of Aegina and 6 of Corinth; 7 came from the Cyclades, 4 being of Paros, 2 of Naxos, and 1 of Delos; in the Asiatic area, 19 were of Miletos, 1 of Teos, 5 of Chios, 3 of Samos, 1 each of Cos, Ialysos, Lydia, and Phaselis, 8 other Lycian, 1 of Selge (?); there were 4 of Salamis and 9 other Cypriote; and 1 each of Barke and Cyrenaica. The second hoard came from Zaḳâziḳ, and consisted of 84 coins, from an even wider range of origin; Northern Greece was well represented, as in the other hoard, with 3 Thracio-Macedonian, 1 of Thasos, 5 of Akanthos, 2 of the Derrones, 1 of Dikaiopolis, 4 of Mende, 4 of Potidaea, and 3 of Terone; there were 9 of Aegina and 1 of Corinth, and also 1 of Delphi and 34 of Athens, which did not occur at Damanhûr: the farthest travelled piece was 1 of Sinope; the remainder were from the same areas as at Damanhûr, 1 of Paros, 2 each of Teos, Chios, and Samos, 1 each of Poseidion, Kamiros, and Phaselis, 3 Lycian, 1 of Salamis, and 1 of Cyrenaica. All the coins, in each hoard, are such as might have been found in circulation at one time, and have received similar treatment; there is nothing to suggest that they were specially selected, or that the holders of the hoards had any preference for coins of a particular standard. It would have been a most complicated task to value either of these hoards in terms of any Greek currency, even if that would have had any meaning in Egypt; and it is hardly imaginable that they can have been regarded as anything more than metal and have

been traded otherwise than by weight. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the only one of these fourteen hoards obtained under scientific conditions—the “Silversmith’s hoard” from Naukratis, described by B. V. Head in *Num. Chron.*, 1886, 1–18: in this coins of Syracuse, Athens, Aegina, Samos, Chios, Lycia, and Mallos were associated with a number of lumps of rough silver. Similar lumps or “ingots” of silver are noted as occurring in two or three other hoards, and it is possible that they may have been present in most cases, and have been thrown out by the dealers into whose hands the hoards passed; but, even if this were not so, there is no reason for supposing that the coins which were not mixed up with uncoined metal were regarded differently from those that were so mixed.

The Beni Hasan hoard was found farther up the country than any of those previously mentioned, which are chiefly from the Delta, with two from Memphis; and it is later in date, having probably been deposited about 360 B.C., while the others seem to range from late sixth century to about 440. This naturally explains the difference in composition of that part of the hoard which otherwise resembles the Delta hoards: the coins, or pieces of coins, 24 in number, which from their condition appear to have been taken from circulation and treated as bullion, are of Tyre, Sidon, and Gaza, not of Greek cities: in the early part of the fourth century Egypt would derive its silver supply from Persian territories, most readily from Phoenicia. The singularity of this hoard is in the other part of it, the Athenian tetradrachms: while the Phoenician coins all show traces of wear, in addition to the gashes which were made to test their quality, the Athenian, although of types earlier than the majority of the Phoenician, are absolutely fresh.

When the hoard was exhibited in London with the rest of the finds from Beni Hasan, Sir Arthur Evans suggested to me that the Athenian tetradrachms might have been struck in Egypt; and certain facts which have been published since then support his suggestion. In *Corolla Numismatica*, 285–95, J. N. Svoronos described a die of an Athenian tetradrachm found in Egypt, which was also the subject of an article by G. Dattari in *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.*, VIII (1905), 103; and in *Num. Chron.*, 1922, 14, G. F. Hill recorded a pair of similar dies which had been shown at the British Museum in 1910. These discoveries presumably mean that the dies had been sent over for use in Egypt; and an occasion for their use is indicated by the gold stater, of Athenian types but with the name of Tachos, the Egyptian rebel leader of 361 B.C., which was published by Hill in *Num. Chron.*, 1926, 130–2. As Hill remarks, this stater must be a relic of the money coined by Tachos to pay his mercenary army; and, if he was striking gold with Athenian types to satisfy the wishes of his Greek auxiliaries, it is quite reasonable to suppose that he would also strike silver of the same character. He could probably obtain old tetradrachm dies from Athens through Chabrias, and so save himself the trouble of making fresh ones: Athenian dies for gold would hardly be available, which explains why he produced his own.

The dates of the Phoenician coins in the Beni Hasan hoard agree with the idea that it was collected in the time of Tachos: they belong to various issues, but the latest date assigned to any of these by J. Rouvier in his study of Phoenician coinage is 370 B.C. All of them are of types which might have been passed into Egypt in the course of trade by 361; and they may conceivably represent part of the proceeds of the levy which Tachos, according to the Aristotelian *Oeconomica* (II, 26), made on the gold and silver of the Egyptians. It is consistent with this that the hoard included two rings and a bead of silver, which evidently were destined to the same fate as the Phoenician coins; and what that was is indicated by several lumps of roughly cast metal, two at least of which were clearly coins which had only been partially melted.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the Phoenician coins and miscellaneous silver were being melted down to be turned into new coins of the types of the Athenian tetradrachms;

and this explains at once the remarkable difference between the condition of the tetradrachms and that of the other coins in the hoard. The former are not only free from the gashes and rubbing which are shown in a greater or lesser degree by the latter; this might be explained by the supposition that they were coins which had actually been struck at Athens in the fifth century and brought out of a reserve store; but, moreover, they do not bear any of the scratches which are generally found on coins that have been stored or packed in bulk, and which would almost certainly have been made on these if they had been shipped from Athens to Egypt. In all probability they represent the products of a local workshop at Beni Ḥasan, which was charged with the duty of minting the silver collected in the levy of Tachos.

It was suggested by Dattari, in the article cited above, that the Athenian die described by him had been used to strike a number of tetradrachms found with it at Athribis. The objection to this idea is that the Athribis coins are not in mint condition, like the Beni Ḥasan tetradrachms, but are mostly worn and freely stamped with the small punch-marks which are common on coins of the latter half of the fourth century in Egypt, and which served to denote that the pieces on which they occur were demonetized and treated as bullion. It may well be the case that the tetradrachms found at Athribis were intended to be restruck with the die that was with them, but they cannot be regarded as products of that die or of a shop in which it was used.

The fact that the Beni Ḥasan hoard was unearthed in surroundings which did not suggest a regular mint, but rather the workroom of a village silversmith, is not against the explanation of it suggested above. Objection has, it is true, been taken to the description of pre-Alexandrine hoards of coins found in Egypt as silversmiths' hoards, on the ground that they should be regarded rather as currency, in the sense of silver passing by weight; but all that this amounts to is that the term bullion-broker should be substituted for silversmith, and, as the functions of the two were probably identical in Egypt at this time, it matters little which word is used.¹ The first persons to whom any one who, like Tachos, wished for a supply of coin would turn would naturally be the silversmiths; just as for instance, the goldsmiths of England played a leading part in the work of coinage under the Norman kings: they were the chief mercantile holders of stocks of metal, and were skilled in the operations necessary for making the metal up in the form required. And the silversmiths of Egypt probably, like their compeers in many parts of the East to-day, carried out their work with a very slight apparatus in any convenient corner.

There does not seem to be any exact parallel to the Beni Ḥasan hoard recorded, but an interesting comparison may be found in the Taranto hoard published by E. Babelon in *Rev. Num.*, 1912, 1-40. Unfortunately, this hoard was discovered and marketed under conditions which make it difficult to estimate its real intention, but it seems to have consisted of two groups of coins, together with a quantity of ingots and miscellaneous silver. There was a heterogeneous collection of pieces from all parts of the Greek world, like those in the Delta hoards of Egypt, and, as in those, many of the pieces were cut: this group might be regarded as a bullion-hoard. But about three-quarters of the coins were from neighbouring towns of South Italy—about 150 of Metapontum, over 100 of Sybaris, about 80 of Croton, and about 100 of Velia; and these, which were in normal condition, could have been a currency-hoard. As there were no coins of Tarentum itself, however, it can hardly be taken to be representative of the ordinary circulation of the place, and more probably was the foreign section of the reserve of a money-changer; but its dual character is worth comparing with that of the Beni Ḥasan hoard.

¹ There is a serious difficulty in the way of the theory that these hoards of silver were used for making payments: silver was not an ordinary measure of exchange in Egypt, as gold and copper were, before the time of Alexander.

TANIS AND PI-RAMESSE: A RETRACTATION




By ALAN H. GARDINER

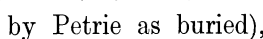
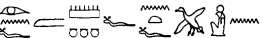

WHEN some twenty years ago I began to collect the evidence relating to the Delta Residence of the Ramessides, I regarded the enterprise as one solely of parochial Egyptological interest. To distinguish, and if possible to locate, the various places the names of which were compounded with the name of Ramesses seemed a task well worth undertaking, the more so since much confusion of thought evidently prevailed in connexion with them. On tackling the subject in real earnest, I discovered that the Biblical questions involving Raameses, Zoan, and Shihōr were vital to my own problems, so that willy-nilly I found myself involved in a perhaps insoluble controversy. I will admit that the lack of logic and imperviousness to facts shown by those who treat the book of Exodus as a good historical document soon ranged me upon the other side, but at least I can absolve myself of any desire to attack traditional beliefs merely for the pleasure of doing so. My purpose was simply to draw the inferences dictated by the evidence, and the location of the town of Ramesses at or near Pelusium appeared to me so likely a conclusion that I felt bound to point out how topographically impossible this would make the narrative of the Exodus, as recorded in the book bearing that name. I have now to confess that my identification of Pi-Ramesse with Pelusium was a mistake, and that Brugsch's old identification of the Ramesside capital with Tanis, if perhaps not finally demonstrable at present,¹ is at least a thousand times more defensible. I owe my conversion partly to the new discoveries of M. Montet, the present excavator at Tanis, and partly to other considerations which I shall set forth below. M. Montet has had the kindness to put at my disposal some of the new inscriptions substantiating his contention, and I herewith tender to him my cordial thanks. I shall refer to his important article on *Tanis, Avaris et Pi-Ramsès* in *Revue Biblique* for January 1930 under the letter *M.*, and shall quote under the title *Bull.*, followed by the date, the short reports on his excavations in four successive November numbers of the *Bulletin de la faculté des lettres de Strasbourg* for 1928, 1929, 1930, and 1931. I shall also use the following abbreviations for my own articles: *D.R.* = *The Delta Residence of the Ramessides*, in *Journal*, v, 127-38, 179-200, 242-71; *G.E.* = *The Geography of the Exodus*, in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*, Paris, 1922, 203-15; *G.E.2* = *The Geography of the Exodus, an answer to Professor Naville and others*, in this *Journal*, x, 87-96.

It is useless to reiterate the grounds upon which Brugsch in 1872 proposed the identification of Pi-Ramesse with Tanis,² the investigation having now, through the discovery of new material, passed into a far more complex stage. Still, it is due to that great scholar to acknowledge the acumen with which he arrived at the right conclusion, though we need hardly go so far as to regard, with M. Montet, all subsequent discussions on the subject as aberrations from the true faith. For if for a time scholars did allow Tanis to suffer an unjustifiable eclipse, at least much other knowledge was acquired by way of compensation.

¹ My identification of Pi-Ramesse with Pelusium was always expressed with some qualification of doubt, but since M. Montet has read it otherwise (see *M.*, 2, "où M. Gardiner estime qu'il l'a fixée pour toujours"), I feel I must safeguard myself more securely in putting forward my revised view.

² *A.Z.*, x (1872), 18.

Among the most important reasons which led me to deny the identity of Pi-Ramesse with Tanis three stood out pre-eminent: (1) in the geographical list of the Golénischeff Glossary (*D.R.*, 198, no. 38) Pi-Ramesse and  *Djar-net*, i.e. Tanis, not only are separately mentioned, but also are marked off as distinct by intervening place-names; (2) the waters of  *S-Hr*, the Biblical Shihôr, are mentioned in such a way as to make it highly probable that they represent the Pelusiac Nile-arm; but on the one hand, *S-Hr* is intimately connected with Pi-Ramesse, and on the other hand, this is the name of the "river" of the fourteenth nome of Lower Egypt which had as its metropolis  *Thel*, classical Silê, Selê, Sellê, now known to be Tell Abu Șêfah near El-Kanțarah; and Tanis is a full thirty miles to the north-west of Tell Abu Șêfah; (3) the gods of Tanis did not appear to be identical with those of Pi-Ramesse. Besides these arguments there were others of a less tangible kind, e.g., statements to the effect that Pi-Ramesse lay "between Zahi (Phoenicia) and Egypt" and that it was "the harbourage of thy ship's troops", whence it seemed necessary to place the city as far east and as near the sea as possible. For these various reasons the location of Pi-Ramesse near Pelusium seemed infinitely preferable to Brugsch's identification with Tanis.

The evidence that has now swung my opinion in the opposite direction is M. Montet's discovery that the gods of Pi-Ramesse were really the gods of Tanis.¹ M. Montet has unearthed the continuations of the column-inscriptions of which the upper parts were published in Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. v, nos. 102, 103. These continuations read as follows: no. 102, l. 4 (marked by Petrie as buried),  "He made (it) as his monument to his father Ptah-of-Ramesses, (he the) beloved of Ptah, lord of strength"; no. 103,  "He made (it) as his monument to his father Prêr-of-Ramesses, (he the) beloved of Horus of the horizon". Now Ptah-of-Ramesses and Prêr-of-Ramesses are known to have been deities of Pi-Ramesse, where they shared the honours with Amûn and Sêtekh similarly qualified (*D.R.*, 255). Here then we find Ramesses making a dedication in Tanis to gods who are indisputably gods of Pi-Ramesse. I very much doubt whether any monument obviously *in situ* and bearing the formula *ir-n-f m mnw-f* could anywhere be found except in the city of the god named upon it. When, for example, this formula followed by the name of Arsaphes is found on the temple wall of Ehnasyah (Petrie, *Ehnasya*, Pl. xvii), we may conclude, quite apart from previous knowledge, that Arsaphes was the local deity. Nevertheless, since the validity of this argument may be questioned, I will supplement it by contending that in such matters cumulative evidence counts for a great deal. If the name of a certain god occur once or twice or three times on a given site, this may be due to chance, particularly in view of the catholicity which the later Pharaohs showed as regards the divinities of their worship. The more often, however, the name of a deity is encountered in the same locality, the greater the likelihood that he is there at home. Now on the columns of the temple discovered by M. Montet and provisionally called by him the temple of Anat, Ramesses II repeatedly describes himself as beloved of Amûn-of-Ramesses, Sêtekh-of-Ramesses, Horus-of-Ramesses, and Ptah-of-Ramesses (*Bull.*, 1930, 5). In M. Montet's copies of column-inscriptions from this same temple I find also Atum-of-Ramesses and Buto-of-Ramesses, designations apparently not hitherto noted. Nor must it be forgotten that a late statue from Tanis assigned the title "priest of Amûn-of-Ramesses of Pi-Ramesse" to its owner, the general  Teôs (*D.R.*, 199, no. 39), while the famous Stela of the Year Four Hundred, likewise found at Tanis (see now Sethe's article *Ä.Z.*, LXV, 85),

¹ See now his article *Les Dieux de Ramsès-aimé-d'Amon à Tanis* in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 406-11.

depicts Ramesses II making offerings to Sētekh-of-Ramesses. The name of Sētekh-of-Ramesses occurs also on a sphinx from Tanis usurped by Ramesses II and now preserved in the Louvre, Petrie, *Tanis*, I, Pl. iv, no. 25 a, with p. 10. Accordingly the verdict pronounced by Professor Griffith in 1888 that "the search for a local mythology and really local worship (in Tanis) has not been successful" (see *D.R.*, 250) is rapidly becoming untrue in the light of more recent excavations.

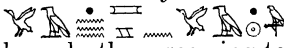
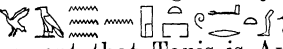
It must not be overlooked that the gods qualified by the epithet "of-Ramesses" are occasionally mentioned elsewhere than at Tanis; references are given in *D.R.*, 256. But the important points in this connexion are (1) that on the various sites in question the Ramesses-deities play only an insignificant role beside some other local divinity, and (2) that the allusions to them are in each case only few in number. I now believe, moreover, that the true significance of the Stela of the Year Four Hundred cannot be grasped unless it be assumed that Tanis is identical not only with Pi-Ramesses but also with Avaris. The important article by Sethe quoted above makes it exceedingly probable that the unique dating in the four hundredth year of Sētekh-great-of-strength refers to the founding of Tanis, and the same scholar points out that four hundred years back from the reign of Ḥaremḥab, in which the imaginary act of worship ascribed to his father Sethos, then holding the rank of vizier, is probably to be placed, may easily bring us to the beginning of the Hyksos period. Well worth consideration is Sethe's further suggestion that the stela was intended as a rehabilitation of the ill-famed god Sētekh so closely connected with the name of the oldest known ancestor of the Ramessides. But the various conclusions suggested by Sethe would lack their essential foundation, as it seems to me, unless the Sētekh-of-Ramesses depicted in the scene at the top were identical with the Sētekh of Avaris, and unless Tanis, where the stela was found by Mariette, were the city having both Sētekh-of-Ramesses and Sētekh-of-Avaris as its local god. In other words Avaris and Pi-Ramesses and Djaṛnet are three successive names of one and the same city, that which to Egyptologists is better known by its Greek name of Tanis or its Arabic one of Ṣan-el-Ḥagar.

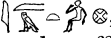

If to the monuments which mention Sētekh-of-Ramesses be added those naming "Sētekh, lord of Avaris" (*D.R.*, 255) and the others found at Tanis referring to Sētekh as "great of strength" (𓇧𓇱𓇰)¹ or without epithet, the predominance of this god over all others who can be connected with Tanis becomes very marked. It is by no means improbable that one or two of these monuments which have been discovered on other sites have been removed from Tanis by some later usurper. This seems particularly likely in the case of the palm-leaf column of Ramesses II, usurped by Osorkon II, now in the British Museum (no. 1065). Alike in form, height, and the general arrangement of its inscriptions, this column, which comes from Bubastus and names the Sētekh-of-Ramesses, closely resembles those found by M. Montet in his "temple of Anat".² Nothing could have been easier than for the Bubastite king to transport this column from Tanis to his own capital. The discovery at Tanis of a statue of Ramesses II under the protection of Anat reinforces M. Montet's insistence on the predominant position of Sētekh in that city, since Anat was the wife of Sētekh. The establishment of this fact is an important link in the chain that is ever more firmly binding together the three names of Tanis, Pi-Ramesses, and Avaris.


I must refer my readers to M. Montet's article for the evidence that the great fortified wall of Tanis was of Hyksos, or at least Palestinian, construction; and I shall not dwell upon






¹ Wrongly translated by me "great of valour", *D.R.*, 255.

² See *M.*, Pl. iv, fig. 1, for a photograph of one of the Tanis columns. In *Bull.*, 1930, 5, the height is given as 7 metres, while the column in the British Museum measures 20 ft. 8 in. M. Montet's copies of the Tanis columns agree closely, though not exactly, with the inscriptions on the example from Bubastus.


his interesting demonstration that the statement of Manetho (in Josephus) placing Avaris ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σαίτη strongly confirms the identification of that city with Tanis.¹ In the same passage the further indication πρὸς ἀνατολήν τοῦ Βουβασιτίου ποταμοῦ must probably, as M. Montet says, refer to the Tanitic branch now represented by the canal of el-Murizz, and he also makes it clear that the close proximity of the Tanitic and Pelusiatic branches in the neighbourhood of Bubastus might easily lead to confusion in the designation βουβασιτίης ποταμός. Evidence seems to be accumulating (though on this point I write with great diffidence, conscious of the obscurity of all questions connected with the mouths of the Nile) that the Tanitic branch was of preponderating importance in Pharaonic times. The Golénischeff Glossary mentions only three main river-arms (*D.R.*, 198), of which the easternmost,  “the Waters of the Sun”, must now be equated with the Tanitic branch, there seeming to be fairly strong evidence that “the Waters of the Sun” ran through Pi-Ramesse, see *D.R.*, 257. On the important ostrakon in my own possession mentioned in my article *G.E.* 2, 92, again only three “rivers” are mentioned, the easternmost of them being called  “the Waters of Avaris”, a name which neatly rounds off the argument that Tanis is Avaris, and that the Tanitic branch was that called by the Egyptians “the Waters of the Sun”. But the transference of the latter designation from the Pelusiatic to the Tanitic branch leaves the Pelusiatic branch without a native Egyptian name. This is one of the problems I must leave to later investigators.



M. Montet has produced fresh testimony to prove that Tanis was, after all, situated in the fourteenth nome of Lower Egypt, not in the nineteenth, where I attempted to place it. Here again cumulative evidence counts for much, and the discovery of a statue on which the owner Pikhars, the son of Pakem, declares himself to be “*prince du nome de Khent-Abet, prince de Tanis, faisant les travaux à Silé*” (*M.*, 10), enhances the importance of the similar testimony quoted by Brugsch. I still feel the difficulty of assigning to the same nome two places as far apart as Tanis and Thel-Silē. Nevertheless, the advantages arising from the acceptance of that view are, as we shall see, so great that I have now little doubt about the matter. M. Montet is right in pointing out (*M.*, 7) that the greater proximity of Tanis and Nebêshah is no valid reason for placing the former in the nome of which the latter is the metropolis; such an argument would only carry weight if Nebêshah lay in the direct line between Tanis and Silē, which is not so. I do not, however, share M. Montet’s scepticism with regard to the identification of Nebêshah with , the capital of the nineteenth nome. The monuments found upon the site seem amply sufficient to prove this identification. The charioteer Merenptah, on his statue in the temple (Petrie, *Nebêshah and Defennah*, Pl. xi, no. 16), explicitly states of himself  “*I belong to Imet*”, and his son is high-priest of Buto. This document does not stand alone, but if it did, it would in my opinion suffice to show that Imet and Nebêshah are identical—unless, indeed, it could be made plausible that the statue had been brought to Nebêshah from elsewhere. The frequency, moreover, with which Buto of Imet is mentioned at Tanis, *e.g.* on the Ptolemaic stelae published in Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. x, on the Stela of the Year Four Hundred, l. 9, and in the column-inscription mentioned above (p. 124), would lead us to expect Imet somewhere in the neighbourhood. It passes my understanding how M. Daressy can place this city at Tell Mokdam, the ancient Leontopolis (*Bull. de l’Inst. franç. d’Arch. or.*, xxx, 625 ff.); his evidence appears to consist merely of one bronze hinge on which “*Buto, lady of Imet*” is named.

¹ For those who have no means of consulting M. Montet’s article I will merely say that he rejects the usual emendation of Σαίτη to Σεβολίτη, quotes Hdt. II, 17 and Strabo, xvii, i, 20 in support of his view, and gives numerous examples to illustrate a hesitation between Σ and T as the Greek transcription of the Egyptian . Thus Σαίτης becomes in his view a variant form of Ταίτης.

When once we have convinced ourselves that Avaris, Pi-Ramesse, and Tanis are names of the same city, the advantages of attributing that city to the fourteenth nome are apparent. The Edfu nome-list mentions , also called , "the field of Djarnet" or "Zoan" (*D.R.*, 247) as the *pehu* of the fourteenth nome, and I am prepared now, in my new enlightenment, to discover some temerity in my former attempt to allot to a different nome the very region which conferred upon Pi-Ramesse its later name of  *Djarnet*, Tanis. M. Montet must surely be supported in his contention that "Field of Djarnet" lay all around the city named after it (*M.*, 8-9). I have already mentioned (p. 123) that *Š-Hr*, the Biblical Shihōr, is described at Edfu as the "river" of the fourteenth nome, and is also mentioned in close connexion with Pi-Ramesse in the papyri. If Pi-Ramesse is Tanis, then the location of Tanis in the fourteenth nome follows almost of necessity. I believe M. Montet to be mistaken in denying that *Š-Hr* was part of the Nile. Either it was the name of the Tanitic branch in its lowest reaches, or else it was the name of a larger sheet of water through which the river flowed. Thus much seems proved both by its designation of "river" () and by a passage quoted by me *D.R.*, 251, bottom. The safest course seems to be to regard *Š-Hr* as the equivalent of whatever corresponded in Pharaonic times to Lake Menzalah. This view takes into account M. Montet's objection that  *š* is not a term appropriate to a branch of the Nile. A more troublesome point in connexion with *Š-Hr* is the apparent implication in the Biblical references (*D.R.*, 252) that this formed the eastern boundary of Egypt, which would be true of the Pelusiac Nile-arm, but not of the Tanitic.

That the Golénischeff Glossary mentions Tanis and Pi-Ramesse separately is a fact for which I have no explanation, but its demonstrative force shrinks into insignificance in comparison with another fact entirely overlooked in my earlier articles—one which even M. Montet has not presented in its full cogency. The latter scholar has rightly insisted upon the extent and importance of the Ramesside buildings at Tanis. Ruinous as is their present condition, no Egyptian city but Thebes itself can boast a greater number of stelae, statues, sphinxes, and architectural remains bearing the cartouches of Ramesses II and his successors. And yet *unless Tanis is Pi-Ramesse*, not one single mention of Tanis would be forthcoming in all the papyri, ostraca, and hieroglyphic inscriptions surviving from the Ramesside period. Perhaps one might be ready to admit so strange a silence were it not for the great Harris Papyrus. Athribis and Bubastus are there mentioned among the Delta cities which enjoyed the benefactions of Ramesses III, besides Pi-Ramesse and an unlocated town having Mut-khant-cabui-entērew as its deity. Is it thinkable that Tanis should have been completely overlooked in this ostensibly complete survey of the Pharaoh's acts of piety, even if the number of monuments at Tanis dating from the reign of Ramesses III remains small?

For the reasons above detailed I am completely won over to the conviction that Šan el-Ḥagar marks the site of the city successively called Avaris, Pi-Ramesse, and Tanis, and I now think that even the changes of name can be plausibly explained. Avaris () may well have been the name by which Tanis was known in the Old and Middle Kingdoms; there is nothing to suggest that it originated with the Hyksos. The history of the city in the Eighteenth Dynasty is a blank. It is hardly likely that the Tuthmosides would favour a place of which the local god had been adopted as their own by the abhorred foreign invaders. This reason alone might account for the absence of Eighteenth Dynasty remains at Tanis. That the Sety who was the father of Ramesses I was of Tanite origin is a conjecture of Sethe's which can barely fail to win our concurrence, and if it be correct, here we have a consideration which may well have influenced Ramesses II in choosing the site for his Delta city of Residence. The egotism which prompted Ramesses II to usurp the monuments of his predeces-

sors was not improbably the main motive for this decision to name that city after himself, the same egotism being displayed also in the addition of the epithet “*of-Ramesses*” to the names of the gods to whom he dedicated temples at Tanis.¹ So closely associated with the power and fame of the Ramessides did the name Pi-Ramesse become that it was obviously unsuitable for retention at the beginning of a new dynasty arising from a different stock. We shall not go far wrong in surmising that it was Smendes himself who first decreed the adoption of the name  *Djarnet*, derived from the name of the surrounding territory  *Sekhet-Djar* (*D.R.*, 246–8). At all events it is a fact that the name *Djarnet* does not occur before the beginning of the Tanite Twenty-second Dynasty.

I now turn to my article on the geography of the Exodus, and find in the identification of Avaris and Pi-Ramesse with Tanis new confirmation of my contention that the Rameses (the Masoretic pointing has *s* and not *ss*) from which Exod. xii. 37 (*cf.* also Num. xxxiii. 3) states the flight of the Israelites to have started was none other than the Hyksos and Rameside capital. For now we grasp the true inwardness of the Psalmist’s reference to the “marvellous things” which God wrought “in the field of Zoan” (*Ψ* lxxviii. 12, *cf. ibid.*, 43). I will go further, and suggest that the identification of Tanis with Avaris adds new probability to my conjecture that the historical background for the Biblical exodus was the expulsion of the Hyksos. Commentators have been at a loss to explain the remark in Num. xiii. 22, that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt. How irrelevant would be this reference to an Egyptian city unless the building of it were in some way connected with the history of the Israelites. But now at Tanis M. Montet has found definite evidence that the great fortifications were built by the Hyksos. Tanis and Tell er-Retâbah are apparently the only sites in Egypt where the well-authenticated Palestinian custom of burying an infant beneath the walls has been observed, and M. Montet in the one case (*M.*, 14–15), and Sir Flinders Petrie in the other (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 29), have recorded their opinion that these fortifications were built by the Hyksos. Now I have shown reason for thinking that Tell er-Retâbah, and not Maskhûtah, is Pithom (*D.R.*, 269; *G.E.* 2, 96), and Mr. Jack (*The Date of the Exodus*,² 24–5) has expatiated upon the ease with which ancient writers use anachronistic terms. Putting these considerations together, does it not seem fair to argue that when the author of Exod. i. 11 affirms that the Israelites “built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses”, the translation of this into modern historical phraseology is that the Hyksos built Avaris and whatever may have been the more ancient name of Pithom and Tell er-Retâbah?

My former contention that the ascertained position of Pi-Ramesse renders impossible the geographical details of the book of Exodus must be unreservedly withdrawn. In the Biblical story the town of Rameses is represented as distant two days’ march from “the edge of the wilderness”. If Pi-Ramesse were Pelusium it would actually have been at the edge of the wilderness. Accordingly I conjectured (*G.E.*, 210) that the Biblical chronicler had *wrongly* identified Pi-Ramesse with Tanis. It now turns out that Tanis was the *right* location of Rameses, and to that extent the topography of the Hebrew writer is not open to

¹ M. Montet is certainly wrong in taking “*of-Ramesses*” as referring to the town, not to the king. He overlooks the fact that Meneptah named these same gods “*of-Meneptah*” (*D.R.*, 255), though we have no authority for a Pi-Merenptah as a name of the city replacing Pi-Ramesse. Lastly, he has forgotten the existence of a “*Ptah-of-Menes*”, *Ä.Z.*, xxx, 44. *Cf.* also an “*Amen-Rê-of-the-Prince-of-the-Two-Lands*” at Kanîr, *Annales*, xxx, 39. At the last moment I notice that M. Montet himself quotes a Buto-of-Sethos-beloved-of-Ptah from the north wall at Karnak (Gauthier, *Dict. Géogr.* i, 181). This surely settles the point.

² I hope to find another opportunity of discussing this well-written book, the care expended upon which I cannot but admire, although I do not agree with its conclusions.


criticism. If I continue to regard the narrative of Exodus as legendary, it is on entirely different grounds.

It does not seem desirable to extend this article dealing with a purely geographical topic into a systematic discussion of the Exodus problem, but I will put it on record that I still believe the expulsion of the Hyksos to be the great historical event which gave rise to the story of the oppression and flight. Ingredients of later date, such as the escape of a few Hebrew prisoners of war, may possibly have been blended so as to lend the story a slightly different colouring, but the narrative as it stands does not read to me like history, nor do I think that either its details or its implications correspond to fact. It is for such reasons that I employ the term "legendary" in connexion with it.




I take this opportunity to make one or two additions and corrections to my previous articles:

(1) Maḥmūd Ḥamza's attempt (*Annales*, xxx, 31) to identify Pi-Ramesses with the castle of Ramesses II discovered by him at Ḳanṭīr, some 25 kilometres south of Tanis, rests upon no serious grounds at all. The potsherds mentioning Pi-Ramesses are fragments of wine-jars and merely indicate the geographical position of the vineyards in question.

(2) The fuller texts of the Poem on the battle of Kadesh published by M. Kuentz establish the fact that the reference to a town of Ramesses shortly after the narration of the passing of the fortress of Thel really concerns a place in the Lebanon; see Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech*, p. 118, Poem L2, ll. 10-11, confirmed in part by the remains of several of the duplicates. The text is very interesting: "Now when many days had passed over these things

 whilst [His Majesty] was at Ramesses, the town which is in the Valley of the Pine, His Majesty proceeded northwards; now when His Majesty had reached the hill of Kadesh, etc." The "Valley of the Pine" (or "Cedar", to use the conventional rendering) is an appellation which forcibly recalls the Tale of the Two Brothers. From the historical Poem it emerges that this "Valley of the Pine" where Bata hid his heart (d'Orbiney, 7.2 ff.) was a real locality situated, no doubt, in the Lebanon.¹ Thus Prof. Breasted (following Max Müller) was right in taking this town of Ramesses to be a settlement in Phoenicia (*Anc. Records*, III, 137, n. h), whereas my own attempt (*D.R.*, 180, no. 2) to find in it the Delta Residence was a blunder.

(3) A casual and not particularly interesting reference to the capital of Pi-Ramesses will be found in *Pap. Chester Beatty V*, verso, 2.4, to be published before long by the Trustees of the British Museum.

(4) M. Montet (*M.*, 20) is evidently not wholly convinced by my evidence (*D.R.*, 258) showing that  in *Harris*, 62 a. 2, is Bubastus. For my own part I have no doubt, and for another example of the name of Bast written with *r* I can now quote from the Ramesside tomb of  at Thebes (no. 341):  "fourth month of winter, day 5, the day of the festival of Baset (Bast)."

¹ This disposes of M. Vikentiev's speculations published in *Journal*, xvii, 74 ff.

SOME PRE-DYNASTIC ROCK-DRAWINGS

BY G. W. MURRAY AND O. H. MYERS

With Plate xx

THE rock-drawings described in this article lie not far from the railway station of Khattârah, which is about eight miles north of Aşwân. They are in a short wady which runs north-west and debouches into the Wadi Abu Subeira just east of the line of longitude $32^{\circ} 55'$, and are marked "Rock Drawings" in the 1:50,000 Government Survey map. They were found in December 1930 by Mr. G. W. Murray of the Desert Survey of Egypt, and it is hoped that some one will find time to visit the spot and make a more complete record than it has

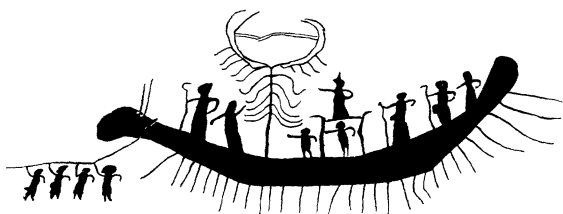


FIG. 1.

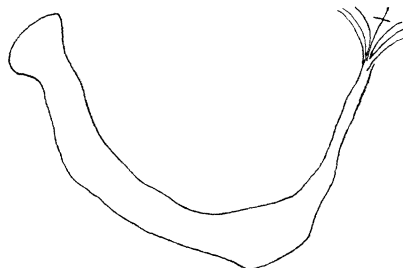


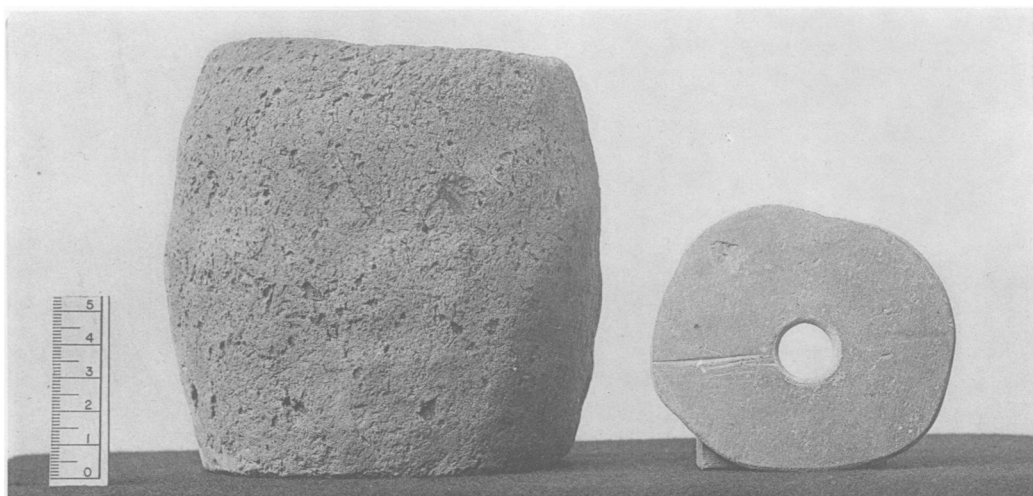
FIG. 2.

been possible to obtain so far. The pictures are all on open rock faces, slightly protected by overhang, and are near a depression in the wady where water remains after there has been rain.

Two clearly defined periods can be observed. The earlier pictures, comparatively few in number, consist of animals only: two elephants, of which one is shown in Pl. xx, fig. 2, and some geckos. The patination of these is so dark that the stone has returned to its original colour, and it was necessary to whiten the elephant with flour in order to get a satisfactory photograph. The pictures were hammered out, no cutting tool having been used. Other heavily patinated pictures, similar to these, were seen twenty miles or so farther up the wady.

The later and more interesting set (Pl. xx, fig. 3) has been drawn with the same technique, but the patina is considerably lighter. The chief subject is a boat, shown about 10 feet long, with eight people on board, being towed by thirty-three men. In the drawing (Fig. 1), only four of the men pulling are shown. There are also a number of animals and two empty boats (Figs. 2 and 3). All our line illustrations have been copied from rough drawings made on the spot. In Fig. 1 some slight alterations in detail have been made after close comparison with the photograph.

In *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1912, 627 ff., Dr. G. Schweinfurth discussed a large number of rock pictures in the Wadi Abu Agag near Aşwân. Many of them are similar to those illustrated here. He attempts to classify the drawings by various criteria: patina, technique, artistry, subject, and attached writing. Of these only the last named yielded him any satisfactory results, and he assigned several examples (including, curiously enough, a man leading a camel) to the Middle Kingdom or First Intermediate Period. Some of these



I



2



3

1. Earthenware cylinder and disk from neighbourhood of rock-drawings.
2. Drawing of elephant ; early period.
3. Drawings of boat and animals ; later period.

appear to be similar in style to those at Khattârah, but Dr. Schweinfurth's conclusions are, generally speaking, so negative that this evidence is not of great account. He admits that many of the different styles into which he has classified the pictures are to be found at all periods from the prehistoric to the time of the Arab conquest.

There is another hammered picture of an elephant on the rocks on the north side of the Wadi Abu Subeira, where it reaches the cultivation just north of Khattârah Station. Otherwise we have been unable to trace any hammered pictures of elephants in North Africa,

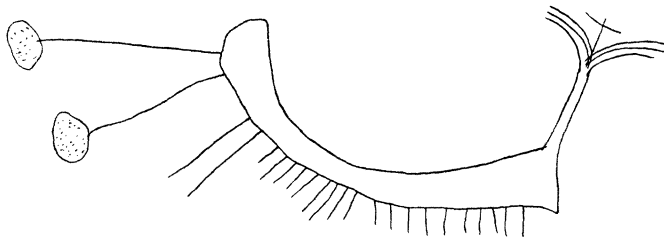



FIG. 3.

with the exception of one at El-Kâb; and this, for reasons that will be stated later, is of no value for dating the present specimens. The dating of the earlier set of pictures must therefore remain uncertain until further investigation of the subject has been undertaken.

The second set provides more opportunity for comparison. The resemblance of the boat to those on the pre-dynastic pottery with designs in red on a buff background is obvious, but there are differences worthy of notice. There is no gap in the oars as is generally, though not invariably, the case on the pottery (*Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*, D. 40n, 41c, u, and 47g). All the normal types of pre-dynastic boats have two cabins, whereas ours has only one. The foreign boats with one cabin, occasionally depicted at that date (Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, 138 ff.), have almost vertical sterns and prows, totally unlike the rock picture, as will be seen from the illustrations.

The *Cairo Catalogue, Models of Ships and Boats* (Reisner), illustrates a boat, No. 4803, similar in shape to that in the Khattârah picture, and having a single mast, two rudder posts, a single cabin, and a crew of nine men. If, however, the two uprights on the left of our boat are rudder posts, as they would be by analogy with the dynastic specimen, then it is being towed backwards.

The standard , frequently seen in the boats on pre-dynastic pottery, is not unlike the upper half of the mast in the rock picture, except that it is always smaller in proportion to its boat.

On the evidence of the form of the boat alone, therefore, it is difficult to decide the period in which the artist lived. It appears to be a pre-dynastic picture, but there is nothing inherently impossible in the suggestion that it may have been drawn by descendants of the pre-dynastic peoples, who carried on the old traditions during the dynastic age in this part of Egypt. That this type of boat was not portrayed on pre-dynastic pottery does not prove that it was not then in use. Many animals which are known to have played a daily part in the lives of the people, such as dogs, cattle, and goats, are seldom or never depicted on pots.

We have a further subject for comparison in the animals seen below the boat, which resemble closely the ibex on the pre-dynastic ware. It should be mentioned, however, that among the pictures at Abu Agag attributed by Dr. Schweinfurth to the Middle Kingdom are similar representations of ibex.

The two empty boats, each with an object like a palm-tree on the prow, are unique. The only petroglyph of a boat that we have for comparison is that found by Mr. F. W. Green at El-Kâb and published by him in *P.S.B.A.*, xxv (1903), pl. facing p. 371, which is in the same technique as the present example, and is similar in design, though the hull somewhat resembles a papyrus bark. It is certainly intended to represent the same kind of boat that is painted on the walls of the house (or tomb) at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, 21). Quite close to the El-Kâb picture is another representation of a boat, definitely dated by cartouches to Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty, which is engraved in the rock with a cutting tool and bears no resemblance, either in form or technique, to the hammered specimens. This rules out a date in the Old Kingdom for the hammered pictures and leaves two alternatives: either both sets of pictures are Middle Kingdom, the El-Kâb example being the work of "Pan-Grave" people, or they are both pre-dynastic. Keeping in view the close resemblance of the El-Kâb picture to the Hierakonpolis painting, the latter is much the more likely hypothesis.

The locality of the Khaṭṭârah picture, and the fact that it shows a very large number of men hauling a boat (which has a crew on board and is plentifully supplied with oars), leads us to believe that it represents a boat being towed up the First Cataract. We know that the pre-dynastic peoples extended well south of this point (Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*), but this implies no more than a culture common to peoples of the same race, who were living contiguously in the Nile valley. Politically they might be divided into many units, and their trade might have passed indirectly from tribe to tribe, but the inference that they were negotiating the cataracts with fair-sized ships points to settled conditions, and indicates an extensive authority on the part of the "Pre-dynastic Dynasties".

The Khaṭṭârah boat drives the last, if unnecessary, nail into the coffin of the idea that the "Boat-Pots" do not show boats at all, but fenced enclosures. Men do not tow about the desert zarebas and their inhabitants.

Again, if the pre-dynastic people near Aṣwân were portraying boats on the rocks it at least casts some doubt upon the theory that all the red-on-buff pottery showing such boats was made in the Delta.¹

Two other points are worthy of notice: the resemblance, though it is slight, between the empty boats at Khaṭṭârah and the black boat in the painted house at Hierakonpolis; and the animals accompanying the boat at El-Kâb. The latter appear to belong to the same date as the boat, and amongst them is an elephant, which, as far as can be seen in the photograph (*P.S.B.A.*, xxv, pl. facing p. 371), is not very different from that shown in Pl. xx, fig. 2. The difference in patina, whether evidence of the passage of a long period of time, or of an intervening rainy period, definitely places the two sets of drawings at Khaṭṭârah in different eras, and the presence of an elephant with the boat both there and at El-Kâb must be regarded only as a coincidence.

Fig. 4 illustrates a picture found about 30 km. up from the Nile in the Wadi Abu Agag, which runs east of Aṣwân. These may be self-portraits of members of the 'Iwntiḥ, of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, or similar tribes in the pre-dynastic period. In either case, the men represented appear to be at a lower stage of civilization than those shown with the boat at Khaṭṭârah.

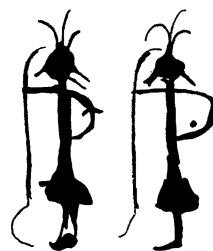


FIG. 4.

¹ The question of the provenance of the different pre-dynastic wares is not likely to be solved until a systematic series of analyses is made of the wares, and of the clay deposits in different parts of Egypt.

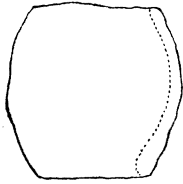




FIG. 5.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Khattârah pictures there was found on the top of a hill, under an overhanging rock, a curious object, now in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, Oxford. It is a coarse earthenware cylinder, containing a pierced disk of rather better pottery (Fig. 5 and Pl. xx, fig. 1).¹ Two similar objects, eroded down to mere rims by sandblast, were found west of 'Uweinât in the Libyan Desert by Mr. P. A. Clayton of the Desert Survey of Egypt. Several people have seen these objects and have been




able to venture no guess as to their date or probable cultural connexions.

We wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Brunton for some suggestions included in this article.

¹ Dr. Balfour kindly supplied the photograph and the necessary information for the construction of the scale diagram.

published by Sir Ernest Budge,¹ a long and interesting passage is devoted to the magical virtues of a plant which can be none other than the mandrake. In this passage it is said: "and after the flower of this root . . . hath died away, there remain on the top thereof two little balls which are like the testicles of a man." One of the Arabic names of the mandrake is "devil's testicles", and the "male mandrake", well known in folk-lore, thus receives a plausible explanation.² It seems to me not impossible that the association with testicles accounts for the determinatives in the Pyramid Texts, and may have influenced the New-Egyptian writings  and  which often occur.

In the temple of Edfu, it is stated that *mstt* grows in the Delta,³ and in a stela of Ramesses IV occurs the phrase "I have not cut the corn before it was ripe [lit. "in its smallness"] nor the *mstt* before it was counted".⁴ This would seem to imply that *mstt* was a cultivated plant.

In the medical papyri *mstt* generally occurs without any qualification, but sometimes an epithet is added, *i.e.*  (var. ), "of the Delta", and , "of a foreign country". There are thus two kinds of *mstt*, one indigenous (or introduced and acclimatized) in Egypt, and growing in the Delta, the other imported from a foreign country. These two species I propose to equate provisionally with *Mandragora autumnalis*, Bertol., of the Mediterranean region, and *M. officinarum*, L., which is common in Syria and Palestine. In the following references to *mstt* in the medical papyri, the letters D (Delta) and F (foreign) are added whenever these distinctions are indicated in the texts themselves. The letters E, B, H, and L refer respectively to the Ebers, Berlin, Hearst, and London Medical Papyri, and the numbers in brackets to the sections of Wreszinski's edition of these texts.

External Uses

For burns: E 68. 6 (487)=L 15. 5 (51); E 69. 10 (502) D.

For pain generally: H 9. 13 (135).

For the rectum: E 32. 1 (145).

For the eyes: E 57. 12 (352); E 58. 20 (363), *mstt* brayed in cold water.

For sore tongue: E 85. 20 (701).


For mouth (mouthwash for gumboils or similar): E 72. 17 (555).

For toothache (mouthwash): E 89. 13 (748).

For the ear: B *vs.* 2. 7 (200).

For "heat" (? fever): B 7. 11 (87).

For pain in right side: E 90. 8 (758) D+F.

For the stomach: E 39. 20 (198 c),  *mstt*.

For vaginal contraction: E 96. 8 (822), *mstt* pounded in cow's milk.

For stiff joints or muscles: E 82. 5 (655) = H 9. 4 (124), *prt mstt*; E 84. 2 (675) *prt*; E 84. 7 (677) *prt*; E 84. 17 (682); for ditto in leg E 77. 13 (610) *prt*; E 79. 21 (634).

For  *mstt*: E 76. 6 (594).





For *šfut n mt* (? varicose veins): H 8. 13 (113), *mstt* pounded with fat.

For *wḥrw*: E 26. 5 (111); E 26. 8 (112).

¹ *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics* (Oxford, 1912), II, 708.

² R. Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal* (1924), 189.

³ J. de Rougé, *Inscr. et notices recueillies à Edfou*, Pl. cvi.

⁴ K. Fiehl, *Ä.Z.*, xxxii (1884) 39, ll. 18-19. Dr. Gardiner informs me that the det. of *hsb* should be  and not  as in the text, and that  is to be taken temporally as .


Internal Uses


For pain generally: B 13. 2 (153) F; in belly. B 14. 2 (157), D+F.

For induration of right side E 43. 6 (209), D+F.

For bladder and urination: E 50. 13-14 (282) = H 5. 2 (68), D+F.

For contraception: B vs. 1. 2 (192).



For : ¹ E 55. 17 (334).

For influence (): E 45. 23 (236); E 45. 14 (231), D; E 45. 4 (226), D; E 45. 7 (227); E 45. 9 (228); E 35. 13 (182) = H 1. 17 (16), *prt*.

The above-named medicinal uses of the plant *mṯt* are consistent with those to which the mandrake was put by ancient medical writers. It would be out of place to discuss here the many interesting references to the medical and magical uses of the plant, as these have frequently been dealt with by various authors.² The medicinal uses indicated by the Egyptian papyri postulate a sweet, palatable, mildly astringent herb, and other texts define it as growing in the Delta or imported from foreign lands. The magical uses to expel the "influence" of gods, the dead, adversaries, and other malign beings are also noteworthy.

Actual specimens of mandrake-fruits were identified in the floral wreaths on the mummy of Tutankhamūn,³ and it is possible that some of the fruits represented in numerous banqueting scenes may be intended for those of the mandrake.

It was formerly believed that *didī* was the Egyptian word for mandrake, an error first made by Brugsch, who sought to identify it with the Hebrew *dudaim*.⁴ This was long ago shown to be erroneous by M. Henri Gauthier,⁵ who demonstrated that *didī* was not a plant but a mineral, and more recently I have tried to define more closely its real nature.⁶

In conclusion, I might throw out the suggestion that the word *mṯt* may possibly be akin to , a word meaning some part of the body, which occurs in a magical text.⁷ It seems also possible that this word may mean testicles, a meaning appropriate to the context, and that it may be the same as the word , "Hoden", quoted in the *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 28, but which I cannot investigate in the absence of references.

(See additional note, below, p. 137.)

6. The drug

In the medical texts this drug occurs in various prescriptions for external application. It is never used for internal doses, and was therefore unpalatable or poisonous. Two kinds are mentioned, those of Upper Egypt and the Delta. In the following references, these are specified as U and D respectively.

For muscles and joints: H 7. 15 (94), U; H 16. 2 (237), U.

For pain in fingers and toes: H 12. 3 (174) = E 78. 9 (617); U+D.

For dressing for excised tumour: E 104. 4 (857 c).

For the rectum (suppository): E 31. 9 (144).

¹ See *Journal*, xviii, 153, n. 2.

² For a long discussion with many references, see Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), II, 372-97. For the medicinal uses see R. Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, 187-90; Dioscorides, *De Mat. Med.*, IV, 76; VI, 16; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 94; Celsus, *De Re Medica*, v, 25, 1; Ibn al-Beithar (ed. Leclerc), Nos. 422, 1156, 1177, 2033, 2034, 2180, 2300, 2301; F.L. Griffith and Sir Herbert Thompson *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, I, 150, 151; W. R. Dawson, *American Druggist*, Aug. 1925, etc.

³ P. E. Newberry in Howard Carter's *Tomb of Tutankhamen*, II, 192. ⁴ *Ä.Z.*, xxix (1891), 31-3.

⁵ *Revue Égyptologique*, xi (1904), 1-15.

⁶ *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1927, 497-503.

⁷ A. H. Gardiner and others, *Theban Ostraca* (1913), p. 14 (Ostrakon C 1, line 6).

For the eyes: E 55. 21+56. 2 (326), U+D; E 57. 3 (345), U; E 59. 2 (366) U; E 59. 5 (367), U; E 59. 13 (369), U; E 59. 14 (370), U; E 59. 19 (374), U; E 60. 2 (377), U; E 61. 5 (388) U; E 61. 16 (394), U; E 63. 5 (419), U+D.

The uses of this drug suggest one of the arsenic salts, orpiment or realgar (*σανδαράχη* and *ἀρσενικόν* of Greek writers). Orpiment was known to the Egyptians, and it was used by them as a pigment.¹ As the mineral does not occur native in Egypt, it must have been imported. In this case the varieties from Southern and Northern Egypt would be those imported respectively from Ethiopia and from Asia and marketed in the commercial centres of the two regions. Both kinds (red and yellow) were used by the Assyrians in medicine.²

7. The word (dets. , ,)

In the medical texts the *bnf* of the ox, *ꜥbdw*-fish, and tortoise is used as a drug. The uses are as follows:

External Uses

For leucoma (fish): E 62. 6 (405).

For *hnsyt* of scalp (fish): E 65. 6 (449).

For skin-disease (ox): E 87. 10 (718).

For ear-ache (ox): B. verso, 2. 8 (200).

For boil or swelling (ox): E 104. 5 (857 c).

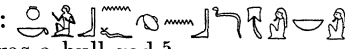
For *whꜥw* and pains (ox): E 26. 20 (117).




For inflamed wound (ox): S 14. 4 (41); S 16. 9 (46). In the first of these "ox" is omitted in error, but evidently intended).



For aphrodisiac (anoint phallus) (tortoise and fish): Mag. Pap., unpublished, vs. 5.

Internal Uses

For vermifuge (ox): E 22. 7 (75).

I do not know of any occurrence of the word outside the medical texts³ save in one passage only, which occurs in a Middle Kingdom Coffin-text: ; ⁴ "I am the *bnf* of *Bd*, the Lord of Serpents". *Bd* was a bull-god.⁵

The medicinal uses of *bnf* are (save one) all external, which suggests a bitter and unpalatable drug. The only internal use is significant, for it is a vermifuge, for which bitterness is most appropriate. The uses of *bnf* correspond to a remarkable degree with those of *wdd*, "gall"; the *wdd* of the ox, *ꜥbdw*-fish, and tortoise being especially frequent. The identification and uses of *wdd* I have dealt with elsewhere.⁶ There can be little doubt that *bnf* and *wdd* are synonymous and both mean "gall". The determinatives of *bnf* have become generalized, but originally  and  meant the gall-bladder, and  its secretion.

The latest discussion of *bnf* is that of Prof. Breasted,⁷ who considers that it means dung or excrement. This interpretation, however, is inadmissible, for it does not take into account the most frequent determinatives  and , nor the impossibility of collecting the excrement of a fish.

In connexion with the aphrodisiac use of gall mentioned above, it may be noted that the

¹ A. Lucas in Howard Carter's *Tomb of Tutankhamen*, II, 180. Cf. *London-Leiden Mag. Pap.*, Verso, 3, 18.

² R. Campbell Thompson, *The Chemistry of the Assyrians* (1925), 43. Cf. E. Chassinat, *Un papyrus médical copte* (1921), 82.

³ *bnf* in *Pyr.* 1464 (P. 782) is evidently an error for *bnw-f* as the duplicate texts show.

⁴ P. Lacau, *Textes Religieux*, LXXV, line 7 (= *Rec. de Trav.* xxxi, 31). ⁵ Cf. *Ä.Z.*, XLIII (1906), 79.



⁶ *Ä.Z.*, LX (1926), 21.

⁷ *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, I, 381.

gall of a goat is used in exactly the same way in the London-Leiden Magical Papyrus (verso, 13. 7).

8. The fish

This fish is best known from its frequent mention in mythological texts as piloting the boat of the sun-god.¹



































































M. Victor Loret considered that the *šbdw* is not a fish at all, but a species of tortoise (*Trionyx aegyptiacus*).² His demonstration, however, is unconvincing, for the word always has the fish-determinative; never  or . His hypothesis, moreover, ignores the mythological association of the fish with the sun-god³ whereas the tortoise was the deadly enemy of Rē. (Cf. the frequent expression “Rē lives: the tortoise is dead”.) The pictures of the *šbdw*-fish swimming in front of the sun-god’s boat, frequent on coffins, etc., are too conventionalized to enable us to fix the species, but it can at least be said with certainty that *šbdw* is a fish and not a reptile.

¹ See, e.g., the hymns to Rē, *Pap. Ani*, sheet 1, l. 15; sheet 20, l. 44; *Pap. Kenni* (Leiden) 2, line 13; *Book of the Dead*, 100 (*Pap. Nu*, line 9).

² *Ä.Z.*, xxx (1892), 25.

³ In the “Litany of Seker” (*Pap. B.M.* 10188, 2. 14) it is called the “pure *šbdw*-fish”. Cf. also *Pap. Berlin* 3027, 2. 5.

Additional Note on

Since Section 5 of the foregoing article was printed, Dr. Gardiner has shown me his transcription of an unpublished magical papyrus in Budapest, in which a prominent part is played by a magical plant called                                            . Until the text is available for study, it cannot be known whether my conclusions will need modification, but it seems likely that *mšt*, originally the name of a specific herb, may have become a generic term for magical plants of various kinds, just as                      , originally the sycomore tree, became a generic term for trees, and was compounded with the indirect genitive with the names of other trees, e.g. *nht nt db*; *nht nt rntiw*.

A PETITION TO AN EXEGETES, A.D. 36

BY A. E. R. BOAK

THIS papyrus, Inv. No. 695 in the Michigan collection, is one of a considerable group of documents coming from the archives of the grapheion of Tebtunis. It is a large sheet measuring 37.5 by 28 cm. Unfortunately, it has suffered considerable abrasion along the vertical creases formed by the ancient folds and has been entirely worn through along two of these, so that it is divided into three parts of approximately equal width. Otherwise the papyrus is in good condition and the writing is, on the whole, very well preserved. The first and third hands are medium-sized cursives with quite different characteristics, but the second is a large, elegantly written, upright semi-uncial with letters about 0.5 cm. in height. The text contains the following parts:

(1) Ll. 1 and 2, an order (*ἐπίσταλμα*) from Chairemon the exegetes of Arsinoe to Kronion the clerk of the grapheion at Tebtunis, with the date of issue, Choiak 3 of the twenty-third year of Tiberius = Nov. 29, A.D. 36.

(2) Ll. 3-28. A copy of a petition (*ἀξίωμα*) addressed to Chairemon by Taorses, a widow of Tebtunis who is acting as guardian for her three sons who are under age. This copy doubtless was prepared in the office of the exegetes, which explains the elegance of the script. It is undated.

(3) Part of l. 28. The subscription of Chairemon to the effect that a decision had been rendered in the case, dated the same day as (1). On the papyrus this subscription occupies part of the space left by the writer of the petition in l. 28 between the closing words of the request at the left of the line and the formal *ἐδύχ(ει)* at the extreme right.

In chronological sequence, naturally, the petition came first, next the subscription, and, finally, the order to the clerk of the record office.

The petition reveals an interesting situation. A certain Galates was joint owner with his three brothers, Didumos the elder, Didumos the younger, and Lusimachos, of a catoecic allotment of eighty-two arouras comprising several estates near the villages of Tebtunis, Theogonis, and Kerkesis. The four brothers mortgaged this allotment to one Kastor and his brother Lusimachos for the sum of two talents and 1,200 drachmas in silver. Unfortunately, owing to the abrasion of one of the numerals, the exact date of the execution of the mortgage is uncertain and we can only say that it fell between the tenth and the twentieth years of Tiberius. At some time between the drawing up of the mortgage and the twenty-first year of Tiberius, Galates died, leaving three sons who were still minors, namely, Lusas, Lusimachos, and Eutuchos. Thereupon, their mother, Taorses, upon application to Chairemon the exegetes, was appointed their guardian (*ἐπίτροπος*). Neither the principal of the mortgage nor the interest thereon was paid by Galates and his brothers and, consequently, in the twenty-first year of Tiberius the two creditors, Kastor and his brother Lusimachos, laid claim to the mortgaged property by virtue of a transfer of title (*μετεπιγραφή*) executed through the bureau of registration of catoecic holdings, and subsequently ceded part of it to their own brothers. But, even though the mortgaged property had been seized by the creditors, the heirs and brothers of Galates were still liable for unpaid public taxes and other dues assessed against the eighty-two arouras. Of these charges, the three young

sons of Galates were responsible for one-sixth. Accordingly their mother, in her capacity of guardian, asked Kastor and Lusimachos to accept 2,500 silver drachmas in settlement of the obligation resting upon her sons and offered on their behalf to resign all claims to the estate and formally to approve the transfer of title and the cessions made to the brothers of Kastor and Lusimachos. Apparently her proposal met with the approval of the two mortgagors and also with that of the brothers of the deceased Galates. Hence she petitioned the exegetes to order the clerk of the grapheion to prepare with her the agreement of surrender (*ὁμολογία ἐκστάσεως*) and of approval (*εὐδοκήσεως*) which were to be guaranteed mutually by her and the brothers of Galates.

As we learn from parts (3) and (1) of the text, the petition was approved and the clerk of the grapheion was ordered to draw up the necessary documents.

The two points of special interest raised by this petition concern the transfer of title to the catoecic estates and the competence of the exegetes in the case.

According to ll. 15–18 of the text, Kastor and Lusimachos had already laid claim to the mortgaged estates and had been able to secure a transfer of title through the bureau of registration of catoecic lands. Furthermore, by virtue of this step they had ventured to cede a portion of this property to their brothers. We must infer that the authorization for the transfer of title was furnished by the mortgage. But from the fact that Taorses proposed (ll. 20–2), in return for their acceptance of her offer regarding the taxes, to furnish them with a contract of renunciation of the property and of approval of the cessions they had made from it, it seems justifiable to conclude the title of Kastor and his brother to the lands in question was not completely valid until they had received the *ὁ. ἐκστάσεως*, and the cessions which they had made while their title was still subject to challenge required the *εὐδόκησις*. If this interpretation is correct, our papyrus offers some support for the view of Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 499 ff. (particularly 512), that the *μετεπιγραφή* had to be preceded by a contract of cession and followed by a contract of renunciation, as against the view of Mitteis, *Grundz.*, 112 (*cf.* also P. Oxy., XII, 1462, intro.), that only a single contract between the parties was required.

The right of the exegetes as representative of the strategos to appoint guardians (*ἐπίτροποι*) for minors is well known, *cf.* P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 317; Mitteis, *Grundz.*, 254; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, 33. It is, however, something out of the ordinary to find this official entertaining a petition to authorize the clerk of the grapheion to prepare certain documents affecting the transfer of catoecic lands and issuing an order to that effect. The regular authorities to whom petitions of this sort were addressed were the *βιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης* or, later, the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* (Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 511 ff.; Mitteis, *Grundz.*, 111–12; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, 211–12), who are not mentioned in this text. The explanation may lie in the early date of this papyrus (A.D. 36). So far as I am aware, the earliest reference to the activity of the *βιβλιοφύλακες* in authorizing the action of the grapheion is found in *B.G.U.*, 379 of A.D. 67. Perhaps they did not exercise this function until after the death of Tiberius.

Text

1. First hand. *Χαιρήμων τῶι τὸ γραφίον πραγματευ[ομέ(νωι) Κρο]νίων(ι) χαίρειν. τὸ [ἐπιδ]ε-
δομένου ἡμῖν ἀξιώματος ἀντ[ί]γραφον ὑποτέτακται. καλῶς οὖν*
2. *ποιήσεις κατακολυθῆσας το[ῦ] δι' αὐτοῦ δηλουμέν[ο]ις ὡς καθήκει. ἔρρ[ωσ]ο. ἔτους
τρίτου καὶ εἰ[κ]οστοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Χοίαχ τρίτη.*
3. Second hand. *Χαιρήμονι ἐξηγητῆι*
4. *παρὰ Ταορσείου τῆς Εὐτύχου με[τ]ὰ κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Χαιρήμωτος. ὁ
συμβιώσας μοι*

5. Γαλάτης Λυσιμάχου ἐτελεύτησεν ἀπολιπὼν ἐξ ἐμοῦ υἱοὺς ἀφήλικας τρεῖς Λυσᾶν καὶ Λυσιμάχον
6. καὶ Εὐτυχᾶν ὦν καὶ ἀπεγραφάμεν δια σου ἐπίτροπος. τοῦ δὲ Γαλάτου ὀφείλοντος, σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφοῖς
7. Διδύμωι πρεσβυτέρωι καὶ Διδύμωι νεωτέρωι καὶ Λυσιμάχωι, Κάστορι καὶ Λυσιμάχωι ἀμφοτέροις Λυσιμάχο(υ)
8. ἐπὶ μεσειτεία τελειωθείση τῶι ι[-] (ἔτει) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν ὑ]παρχόντων αὐτοῖς πατρι-
9. κῶν κατοικικῶν ἑδαφῶν κλήρου κατοικικοῦ ἀρουρῶν ὄγδοήκοντα δύο ἐν τῇ Πολέμωνος μερίδι, ἀφ' ὧν
10. περὶ μὲν Τεβπτῦνων ἐν δυσι σφρ[α]γῖσι ἄρουραι τριάκοντα ἐπτὰ περὶ δὲ Θεογονίδα ἐν μιᾷ σφραγίδι ἄρουραι
11. εἴκοσι πέντε πρότερον Λευκίου Τε[ρ]εντίου καὶ περὶ Κερκῆσι ἐν ἐτέρᾳ σφραγίδι αἰ λοιπαὶ ἄρουραι εἴκοσι,
12. ὥστ' εἶναι τὰς προκειμένας τοῦ κλήρου ἀρούρας ὄγδοήκοντα δύο ἢ ὅσαι ἐὰν ᾦσι, ὧν ἐκάστης σφραγίδος
13. αἰ γιγνῖαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διὰ τῆς σημαυομένης μεσε[ι]τείας δηλοῦνται, πρὸς τὰ δ[ι'] αὐτῆς δανεισθέντα
14. ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου τάλαντα δύο κ[α]ἰ δραχμὰς χειλ[ί]ας διακοσίας καὶ τοὺς ἐπισυνηγμένους ἀπὸ τῆς σημαυο-
15. μένης συναλλάξεως μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τόκους, τοῦ δ[ι]ε' Κάστορος καὶ Λυσιμάχου ἐνπεποιημένων τῶν σημαυο-
16. νομένων τοῦ κλήρου ἀρουρῶν ὄγδοή[κ]οντα δύο ἀφ' ἧς ἐποιήσαντο ἐν τῶι κα (ἔτει) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
17. διὰ τῶν καταλοχισμῶν τῶν κατοίκων μετεπιγραφῆς καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους παρακεχωρηκότων τοῖς ἑαυ-
18. τῶν ἀδελφοῖς ὀθ[ε]ν εἰδεθήμεν τοῦ τε Κάστορος καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Λυσιμάχου φιλανθρωπῆ-
19. σαι ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶι δό[ν]τας αὐτοῖς [ἀ]ρ[γ]υρίου δραχμὰς δισχειλίας πεντακοσίας εἰς μέρος ὧν
20. ὀφίλουσ[ι]ν ὁ τε Γαλάτης καὶ οἱ τούτου ἀδελφοὶ δημοσίων ἰδῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐκστήναι ἡμᾶς πάντας
21. καὶ εὐδοκῆσαι τῇ γεχονυία διὰ τῶν καταλοχισμῶν μετεπ[ι]γραφῆι καὶ ταῖς εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
22. τῶν περ[ὶ] τὸν Κάστορα παραχωρήσει, καὶ ἀξιώι συντάξαι γράμμαι τῶι τὸ γραφίον πραγματ[ευ]-
23. ομένωι συννηρηματίζειν μοι ἀναφερούση ἐκ τούτων δηλομένων μοι ἀφηλικῶν υἱῶν
24. ὀνομάτων μετ' ἐπιτρόπου ἐμοῦ συναναφερόντων μοι καὶ τῶν τοῦ Γαλάτου ἀδελφῶν Διδύμου
25. πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Διδύμου νεωτέρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Ἀρυάτου τὴν τῆς ἐκστάσεως καὶ εὐδοκῆ-
26. σεως ὁμολογίαν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τοῖς ἀφήλιξί μου υἱοῖς μέρος ἕκτον, τῆς βεβαιώσεως
27. ἐξακολουθούσης μοι σὺν τοῖς τοῦ Γαλάτου ἀδελφοῖς ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης, ἢ ὧν σὺν τοῖς παιδίοις
28. εὐεργετημένη. Third hand. διέγνωσται (ἔτους) κγ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Χοί(ακ) γ. Second hand. εὐτύχ(ει).

Notes

1. Κρο]νίων(ι). An official of this name was in charge of the record office of Tebtunis during the period A.D. 46–9 (P. Mich., II, Tebtunis Papyri, Pt. I, p. 4, cf. P. Tebt., II, 383, 60–2), but he is not to be identified with this Kronion.

2. ποιήσεις . . . ὡς καθήκει. Compare the instructions to the clerk of the record office

at Karanis in *B.G.U.*, 379 (=Mitteis, *Chrest.*, 219 = Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, 63), 20–3 ending with the words *τελείσθω ὡς καθήκει*. In each case the clerk is authorized to carry out the request.

3. *ἐξηγήτην*. The presence of this document in the files of the grapheion at Tebtunis indicates that the exegetes in question was an official of Arsinoe, the metropolis of the nome.

4. *με[τ]ὰ κυρίου*. Although Taorses, as a woman, required a guardian of her own (*κύριος*) for the performance of such acts as the making of this petition, nevertheless she could act as a guardian for her minor children (*ἐπίτροπος*), cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.*, 252–3.

8. *μεισιτεία*. The *μεισιτία* was the special form of mortgage used in connexion with catocic lands, Mitteis, *op. cit.*, 131. *τῶι ι[.] (ἔτει)*. It is hardly possible to distinguish any traces of the missing numeral which lay right in one of the vertical folds of the papyrus, but possibly it was an η.

11. *Λευκίου Τε[ρ]εντίου*. This Lucius Terentius, a Roman probably of equestrian rank, may have received the twenty-five arouras near Theogonis as a gift from Augustus, or he may have obtained permission to purchase them, and then later sold them to the father of Galates, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, 298, on the *οὔσιακὴ γή*.

Κερκῆσις. For the location of this village, also called *Κερκεῆσις*, cf. P. Tebt., II, 383.

14–15. *τῆς σημαυνομένης συναλλάξεως*. This is the *μεισιτία* referred to in ll. 8 and 13.

17. *τῶν καταλοχισμῶν τῶν κατοίκων*. On this bureau cf. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 496 ff.; Mitteis, *Grundz.*, 111.

παρακεχορηκότων. In the sale of catocic lands the term *παραχωρεῖν* was used in preference to *πράττειν*, Mitteis, *op. cit.*, 180–1.

18–19. *φιλανθρωπήσαι ἡμᾶς*. This rather indefinite expression derives its meaning from the context, which indicates that the favour conferred is the acceptance of 2,500 drachmas in full satisfaction of the claims that are outstanding against the share of the property inherited by the sons of Galates.

19. *εἰς μέρος*. In view of the fact that the sons of Galates inherited one-sixth of the catocic allotment (l. 26), they would naturally be liable for a corresponding share of the obligations resting upon it.

20. *ὀφίλουσ[ι]ν ὅ τε Γαλάτης κτλ*. For Galates we must understand “the sons of Galates”. *ἐκστῆναι ἡμᾶς πάντας*. On *ἔκστασις* = *cessio bonorum* cf. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, 31, IV, 10 note. Under *ἡμᾶς πάντας* we should probably understand both the sons of Galates and his brothers since the latter concur in the petition (ll. 24–35) and join in the guarantee to the contracts to be executed (l. 27), although these contracts only affect the share of the sons.

21. *εὐδοκῆσαι*. On the meaning of *εὐδοκεῖν* cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. Numerous *ὁμολογίαι εὐδοκήσεως* are listed in the anagraphai from the grapheion of Tebtunis which are appearing in P. Mich., II, Pt. I. See Indexes.

22–3. *ἀξίωι συντάξαι γράψαι . . . συνχρηματίζω μοι. συνχρηματίζω* is for *συνχρ*. With this request we may compare *B.G.U.*, 379, 18–19: *προσαγγέλαμ[εν]*, ὅπως ἐπιστείλητε τῷ τὸ γραφῖον *Καραν[ίδος] συνχρηματίζω ἡμῖν*.

25. *Ἀρνώτου*. Haruotes is not mentioned with the other brothers of Galates in l. 7 as one of the joint owners of the allotment. The appearance of his name here may be explained in one of three ways. It may have been omitted accidentally in l. 7; it may be another name for Lusimachos, in which case we should read <του> καὶ Ἀρνώτου; or it may have been included here in order to make it clear that he would raise no objection to the action of his brothers and nephews.

26–7. *τῆς βεβαιώσεως ἐξακολουθούσης μοι*. For parallels to this clause cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

Translation


(*1st hand.*) Chairemon to the clerk of the grapheion, Kronion, greeting. There is subjoined the copy of a petition that has been presented to us. You will do well, then, to follow up what is set forth therein as is fitting. Farewell. The twenty-third year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak third.

(*2nd hand.*) To Chairemon the exegetes, from Taorses daughter of Eutuchos with, as guardian, her relative Ptolemaios son of Chairemon. My husband Galates son of Lusimachos died, leaving by me three sons under age, Lusas, Lusimachos, and Eutuchos, of whom I have had myself appointed guardian by you. Since Galates, together with his brothers Didumos the elder, Didumos the younger, and Lusimachos, was indebted to Kastor and Lusimachos, both sons of Lusimachos, in accordance with a mortgage executed in the . . . tenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus affecting the catoecic estates belonging to them by inheritance from their father of a catoecic allotment of eighty-two arouras in the division of Polemon, of which there are in the vicinity of Tebtunis thirty-seven arouras in two parcels, and in the vicinity of Theogonis twenty-five arouras in one parcel formerly the property of Lucius Terentius, and in the vicinity of Kerkesis the remaining twenty arouras in another parcel, so that the aforesaid arouras of the allotment are eighty-two or however many they may be, of which the neighbouring properties of each parcel and the other details are set forth in the above-mentioned mortgage, for the sum of two talents and one thousand two hundred drachmas borrowed through it and the interest that has accrued from the time of the aforementioned mortgage up to the present; and since Kastor and Lusimachos have laid claim to the aforesaid eighty-two arouras of the allotment on the basis of the transfer of title which they caused to be made in the twenty-first year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus through the bureau of registration of catoecic lands, and have made a partial cession to their own brothers, on account of which we entreated both Kastor and his brother Lusimachos to indulge us on condition that we shall give them two thousand five hundred silver drachmas towards a share of the public taxes and other things which Galates and his brothers owe and all of us resign our claims and approve the transfer of title effected through the bureau of registration and the cessions to the brothers of Kastor and his relatives; I petition you to give orders to write to the clerk of the grapheion to prepare with me, petitioning as I do in these said names of my sons who are under age with me as their guardian, fellow petitioners being also the brothers of Galates, Didumos the elder, Didumos the younger, Lusimachos and Haruotes, the agreement of renunciation and approval concerning the sixth part which was inherited by my sons who are under age, the guarantee resting upon me together with the brothers of Galates under conditions of mutual surety, in order that I along with my sons may be benefited. Farewell.

(*3rd hand.*) It has been decided. The twenty-third year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 3.

THE SO-CALLED RAMESSES GIRDLE

By T. ERIC PEET

THE object familiarly known as the Ramesses Girdle has lain in the Liverpool Free Public Museums since 1867, under the number M. 11156. Some time ago the Director of the Museums, Dr. D. A. Allan, told me he felt it to be a pity that the origin of one of the rarest objects in the Museums' collections and one of the most remarkable that ancient Egypt has bequeathed to us should remain wrapped in obscurity and uncertainty, and he begged me to put together and place on record what could be learned about its early history before the slender evidence still available for this purpose should have disappeared. This task I accepted the more readily because I had just read an article in *Deutsche Frauenkultur* for 1931, pp. 157-63, by Prof. Dr. Fritz Krause in which the following passage occurs (p. 157): ". . . a hieroglyphic group. . . The English scholar P. E. Newberry thought in 1911 that he could recognize in it a trace of the name of Rameses III.¹ On the ground of this opinion the scarf has since been known as the 'Ramesses Girdle'." Now it seems clear from Professor Krause's illustration to this text that the hieroglyphic group to which he refers is the roughly written  clear in our Fig. 1, bottom, right, and that he is unaware of the existence of the much longer and more carefully written inscription which is the real ground for the name "Ramesses Girdle". Professor Krause goes on to say that documentary evidence shows that the girdle was in the Museum as early as 1867 and came from Memphis, and he therefore assigns it not to the Ramesside age but to the Old Kingdom, adding that it is in consequence 4,500 years old, and the earliest piece of weaving of this kind known to us from Egypt.

This, is, I believe, the most recently published account of the object, and it is so incorrect that it does indeed seem time that some one should put on record what is known about the matter.

The Egyptologists who have seen the "girdle" can probably be numbered on the fingers of one hand. And yet among all the treasures from the tombs of Yuia and Tuyu and of Tutankhamūn there is not one that is more living than this. Here is a scarf which was worn by an ancient Egyptian, perhaps a king, certainly a person of royal rank. It is in such perfect condition that it might be worn to-day without damaging it. It is solid and firm to the touch, and yet perfectly flexible; it retains its colours in all their brightness; it is perhaps the one piece of ancient Egyptian woven linen of which the phrase "it might have been made yesterday" can legitimately be used. Of its technical perfection I do not intend to speak here. When no two of the experts on ancient weaving who have examined it can agree as to the method by which it was produced² the layman may well be content to admire the neat perfection of the design and execution, and the mathematical ingenuity with which a single decorative scheme is evenly tapered from a breadth of 5 inches to that of $1\frac{7}{8}$ in a length of 17 feet.

The literature of the scarf begins, so far as I can determine, with a book of which very few copies seem to be known. It bears the title *Egyptian Antiquities | collected | on a voyage*

¹ The statement contained in this sentence is probably based on Liverpool *Annals*, v, 84, second paragraph.

² *Op. cit.*, v, 84 ff.; viii, 50; x, 7 ff. A. van Gennep and G. Jéquier, *Le Tissage aux cartons* (Neuchâtel, 1916), 93-100. *Deutsche Frauenkultur* (Leipzig), 1931, 157-63. *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, 174. E. S. van Reesema, *Contribution to the Early History of Textile Technics* (edited by E. Nierstrasz), in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, xxvi, no. 2, pp. 47-50.

made in Upper Egypt | in the years 1854 & 1855 | and | published | by | Revd. H. Stobart M.A. | Queen's College Oxford. It bears the date 1855, and the publishers are Benj. Duprat of Paris and F. Schneider & Co. of Berlin.¹ There is no letterpress and the work consists of five plates, at the bottom of each of which we read "Berlin, Vörsch & Happe, lithogr. fac-sim. under the direction of Dr. H. Brugsch".

On Plate i of this work appear two illustrations which are of importance to us here. The first comprises two lines of hieroglyphic inscription² (reproduced here in Fig. 1) and labelled "Portion of a linen Belt, found at Thebes, with the date of the 2nd year of Rameses III". The second shows a mummified hand, now in the Liverpool collection under the number M. 11438; it is labelled "Mummy hand of a female with 4 rings".

The linen belt is the object known as the Ramesses Girdle. Although the inscriptions have deteriorated since 1855 enough remains to place the identification beyond all doubt. It would therefore seem that in 1855 Dr. H. Brugsch, who directed the making of these plates, believed that the girdle had been found, or at any rate bought, in Thebes. Where did Brugsch get this idea? Surely from Stobart himself, for it must have been he who asked Brugsch to direct the making of the plates for his book. There seems, therefore, a considerable probability that the provenance here assigned to the belt, namely Thebes, rests on the authority of Stobart himself. It is disappointing that on the plate no provenance is given to the mummified hand, which from this point onward, as we shall see, is to be closely associated with the belt.

In 1857 Mr. Stobart offered his collection to the British Museum³ but, becoming impatient at the Trustees' delay in deciding,⁴ he sold it to Mr. Joseph Mayer, a goldsmith who was in business at 68-70 Lord St., Liverpool, and had got together a collection of valuable antiquities of various kinds, which he housed in rooms in Colquitt St. On February 4, 1858, the belt and the mummified hand were exhibited at a meeting of the Archaeological Section of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, and we find the following account of the matter in the Society's *Transactions*, x (1857-8), 343-4.

"The following objects of interest were exhibited: By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. The hand of a female mummy, remarkable from having four rings on the fingers; one of plain gold, with a trumpet-shaped head, on the little finger; a scarabæus of lapis-lazuli, with a gold shank, on the third; and on the middle and fore fingers two very large obelisks, the shafts formed of lapis lazuli, the apex of each being of plain gold, and the bases of the same, but delicately worked with filagree. These are the only specimens of obelisk-rings hitherto discovered. Also, a waistband which was wrapped round the body of the mummy seven times; it is about six inches broad at one end, tapering gradually to about two inches wide at the other, and is finished by the ends of the threads being tied into an ornamental plait. The material is cotton, and the pattern of the weaving extremely beautiful, being formed of the flower of the full-blown lotus, with a stem and leaves composing the edge, within which are a sort of egg and dart, with portions of circles.⁵ These ornaments run on the outer edges of both sides, and down the centre is a plain piece, of the graduating form of the whole, with plain lines of red colour on each side, the other ornaments being coloured blue and yellow. Altogether it is a most beautiful piece of work, and displays well the extraordinary perfection at which the art of weaving had arrived in Egypt at that time. Both specimens were found at Mem-

¹ Mr. W. R. Dawson tells me of a copy with the imprint "Berlin, 1855" alone.

² They lie one on each face of the "belt" in the plain central strip, and near the broad end; each begins about 4 cm. from the end.

³ See the letter from Birch to Stobart quoted below.

⁴ The evidence for this is a note by C. T. Gatty attached to the same letter.

⁵ A wholly incorrect description of the design.

phis, and brought to this country by the Rev. H. Stobart. They now form part of Mr. Mayer's Museum."

In this passage the first sentence referring to the "waistband", with its reference to "the body of *the mummy*", would lead the reader to suppose that the "waistband" belonged to the same mummy as the hand. That the writer, however, did not intend to give that impression seems clear from a later sentence "*Both specimens* were found at Memphis". And indeed, if the belt really belongs to the time of Ramesses III, as we shall see later that it does, the two objects cannot possibly come from the same mummy, for it needs only a glance at the hand to see that it is of much later date than that.

Much more disturbing than the false association of the hand with the belt is the provenance assigned to both, namely Memphis, which is a direct contradiction of that given in the plate of Stobart's book. The account given in the *Transactions* was presumably written by the Historic Society's Secretary, but it must surely have been based on information provided by the exhibitor, Mr. Mayer, and we should expect that he in his turn obtained what information he had from Mr. Stobart, from whom he bought the objects.

Let us, however, follow the story a little farther. In 1867 the Mayer Collections came to the Free Public Museums of Liverpool as part of the Mayer Bequest, and the Museums were faced with the task of cataloguing them from such information as was available. Mr. Mayer had indeed published a catalogue of his Museum in Colquitt St., but as it was printed in 1852 it did not help with the Egyptian objects bought from Stobart in 1857. Nevertheless a good deal of information, correct or incorrect, seems to have been available, for here is a copy of the card drawn up by C. T. Gatty for the Stock Catalogue of the Museums.

"M. 11156. Woven band from a mummy, found at Memphis, and brought to England by the Rev. H. Stobart—

"The label attached to this says 'A sevenfold band worn by the High Priestess, taken from the mummy to which the hand belonged'—I believe this to be mistaken for two reasons—1, because the acct given in the Trans: of the His: Soc: does not warrant it; and 2, because from Dr. Birch's letter on p. 4 of the Mayer Coll. guard book I judge that Mr. Stobart offered the British Museum the hand, and no mention is made of this band—is it likely that Dr. Birch would have separated them if they were found on one body (?)—Certainly the acct: in the His: Soc: 's Pro:¹ is ambiguous. (Charles T Gatty)—I believe the label to be Mr Clarke's writing—

"The hand referred to is No. 11438—

"Dr. Birch described this as a woven linen belt, edged with pattern of the symbols of life—at one end the name of Ramases III, and date of the 2nd year of his reign."

In compiling this card Mr. Gatty clearly had before him (1) a label attached to the belt, which he believed to be in the handwriting of a Mr. Clarke,² (2) the account quoted above from the *Transactions* of the Historic Society, the reference to which is quoted in the margin of the catalogue card, (3) a letter from Dr. Birch preserved on p. 4 of the guard book, and (4) a description of the belt by Dr. Birch the origin of which I have been unable to trace.

The curious point about the history of the belt is that the older it grows the more circumstantial the information about it seems to become. Mr. Clarke's label tells us that it was "a sevenfold band worn by the High Priestess, taken from the mummy to which the hand belonged". It is, however, not difficult to see how these details were arrived at. A belt

¹ *Sic*; read *Transactions*.

² Mr. Clarke was apparently a caretaker and assistant to Mr. Mayer. Only a few days ago a boy called Clarke brought to the Museums some objects which he said had belonged to his grandfather, Mr. Mayer's caretaker.

seventeen feet long would enwrap a female body about seven times. The hand bears two rings with obelisk bezels, which, in view of the connexion of the obelisk with sun-worship, might reasonably have been worn by a priestess of the sun-cult; and since the belt and hand came, for Mr. Clarke, from a single body, the belt is also that of a High Priestess.

Gatty was critical enough to doubt this. He rightly saw that the account of the *Transactions* does not warrant the close association of hand and belt. He further quotes in support of his doubts a letter from Dr. Birch, which he says makes no mention of the band (belt). This, however, is not true, for the letter, which is from Dr. Birch at the British Museum to Mr. Stobart, dated 30 September, 1857, gives a list of objects in the Stobart Collection which Birch had proposed to buy for the Museum. No. 5 in the list is "Mummy hand with obelisk rings", and No. 8 is "Belt with name of Rameses III". Thus the belt is mentioned, and Gatty was wrong, though the conclusion he drew from his incorrect premisses was probably right.

Gatty's card for the hand (M. 11438) is also instructive. It contains the following statement:

"The hand is labelled 'The hand of a Royal Priestess of Temple at On. Found at Thebes'—(This label must be incorrect for the hand was found at Memphis)—"

The label referred to will be that which was found on the hand when it reached the Museums, doubtless in Mr. Clarke's handwriting. It goes even farther than that on the belt. The High Priestess has now become a Royal Priestess of the Temple at On. Here again we are accumulating fresh detail, but this time the original label at least gives a provenance, and it is not Memphis but Thebes.

The information contained in these two card-catalogue cards is repeated in Charles T. Gatty's *Catalogue of the Mayer Collection*, Part I, 1879, p. 39, where, under the number 192, the "woven linen belt" is described, and we find the words "said to have been found on a mummy at Saqqara". This is at first sight an advance on the Memphis of the *Transactions*, but in reality it is probably nothing but another version of the same story, for if we look at the description of the hand in this same catalogue, pp. 29–30, we read that it was found "at Saqqara, the Necropolis of Memphis", and references are given to "Dr. Brugsch's account of Stobart's antiquities", Pl. i, fig. 4, and to the passage in the *Transactions* (here wrongly called *Proceedings*) of the Historic Society for 1857–8. As the former gives no provenance for the hand, the authority for Memphis, and hence Saqqara, is still solely the account in the *Transactions*.

What are we to make of all these contradictions? On the question of the provenance the position is fairly clear. Stobart's publication in 1855 gives no provenance for the hand, but assigns the belt to Thebes; it gives no hint that the two came from the same body or were even bought in the same place. The labels which came to the Public Museums on the objects from the Mayer Collection in Colquitt St. associate the hand and belt as coming from the same body and give the provenance of the hand as Thebes.

Thus the first reference to Memphis occurs in the account in the *Transactions* of the exhibition of the belt and hand in 1857, and this is undoubtedly the source of Gatty's assignment of both to Memphis or Saqqara in the printed *Catalogue* of 1879. It is hard to see why he here rejected in complete silence the evidence of Stobart's publication, which assigned the belt to Thebes,¹ and that of the Clarke labels, which assigned the hand, and by implication the belt also, to the same place.

¹ Note, however, that on the Stock Catalogue cards made in 1867 he gives no reference to Stobart's plate, and so probably he had not seen it. Moreover, in the printed *Catalogue* of 1879 he mentions the plate in connexion with the hand (to which it gives no provenance) but not in connexion with the belt (which it

The evidence as a whole is thus distinctly in favour of Thebes rather than of Memphis as the provenance of the belt and even as that of the hand. Mr. Warren R. Dawson, who has been working on the private papers of some of these early collectors in Egypt, tells me that, so far as he knows, all Stobart's antiquities were bought from a dealer in Thebes. This evidence is to my mind supported by the fact that Stobart calls his book *Egyptian Antiquities collected on a voyage made in Upper Egypt*. I am well aware that Memphis is, strictly speaking, in Upper Egypt; but objects found at Memphis, at any rate those of such value as the hand, would certainly have been bought from dealers in Cairo, and had Stobart intended his book to include things bought there we should have expected him to speak of a voyage made in Egypt rather than in Upper Egypt alone.

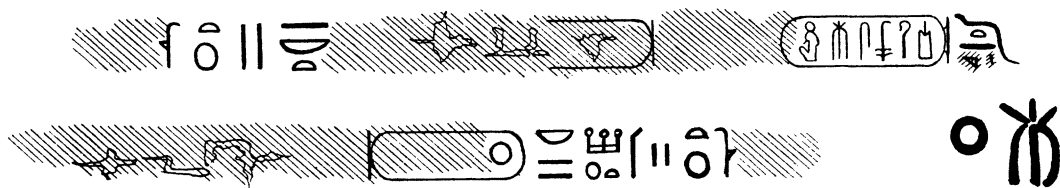


FIG. 1.

So much for the question of provenance. The question of the archaeological detail which we have seen gradually gathering round the objects is even simpler. The results may be summed up as follows:

1. There is no reason for believing that belt and hand belong to a single body, for the former dates from the reign of Ramesses III, and the latter is probably as late as the Ptolemaic Period.¹ This unhappy association of the two has been responsible for many of the later errors.

2. The belt has, since the publication of Brugsch's plates to Stobart's book in 1855, been known to bear a date in the reign of Ramesses III.

3. The connexion of the hand with a High Priestess of the Temple at On is probably a pure figment. The hand was first said to be that of a woman because it bore rings. Since two of the rings had obelisk bezels a connexion with sun-worship was suggested, and from this the transition to Heliopolis and a High Priestess was simple. It is most unlikely that any authentic information about the body from which the hand came can ever have been forthcoming. Stobart bought a hand alone, not a mummy, and the native robbers who found the mummy and broke it up were in no position to determine from the inscriptions on it, if there were any, the status of its owner.

Let us now return to the inscription on the belt (Fig. 1). It is clear that since these copies, presumably by Brugsch, were made the condition of the inscriptions has badly deteriorated. In fact they have almost completely disappeared. What remains of the inscribed area is now stained a dark brown, and is more friable than the rest of the girdle, which is in remarkably sound condition; what is worse, most of this inscribed area has crumbled away to dust. It is no longer possible to apportion the blame for this disaster. It may be that the ink used was of a kind which, while remaining comparatively harmless in the dark, underwent some rapid change when exposed to the light—as it was at one time during its museum history—which rendered it destructive to the linen. Yet the suspicion that the damage was due to assigns to Thebes). It is probable that he did not recognize the inscriptions figured in the plate as being part of the Ramesses Girdle, and so missed the earliest and best evidence for the Theban provenance of the belt.

¹ This is Professor P. E. Newberry's opinion as recorded on the relevant card of the modern Catalogue.

somesubstance used by a decipherer to enhance the contrasts will not be stilled. In either case eighty years of life in museums have destroyed what had survived three thousand years of life in the tomb.

The miserable traces which remain of these ink inscriptions are:

A. Of the inscription running from right to left (Fig. 1, lower line):

The sign \smile and a small trace of the cartouche and the sign \odot immediately to the left of the *nb*-sign. Part of the top line of the second cartouche and small traces of the tops of two or three signs within it.

B. Of the inscription running from left to right (Fig. 1, upper line):

Part of the top line of the first cartouche. Parts of the right half of the second cartouche and some signs within it: $\ddot{\eta}$ $\ddot{\eta}$ $\ddot{\eta}$ seem quite clear, and I do not believe that the $\ddot{\eta}$ shown by Stobart after $\ddot{\eta}$ was ever there; for left of $\ddot{\eta}$ (reversed by Stobart) are the bottom ends of three vertical strokes needed for $\ddot{\eta}$, and left of these are horizontal traces at the bottom which can only fit $\ddot{\eta}$.¹ After the cartouche $\ddot{\eta}$ is still to be read, and under the — are two small traces, which are, however, too extensive for the three dots of — . To the right of this $\ddot{\eta}$ group, at the top, and about 10 mm. distant from the tail of the $\ddot{\eta}$, is a clear trace of black. Although this is probably ink, I believe it to be an accident, for the space beneath and to the left of it, though stained, shows no trace of ink whatever.

The remains then, so far as they go, confirm, except in one insignificant detail, the copy in Stobart's plate. But they do not go very far, and some puzzles are left. In both lines of inscription the date $\{\odot\}$ "Year 2" is clear. In the lower line in Fig. 1 this year date is followed by a $\}$ —which must surely be an error of copying for $\ddot{\eta}$ —and the word for the season *hbt*, correctly written. This would give us "first month of the inundation", a month date with no day, such as is common enough at this period (*cf.* Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, fasc. 1, p. 157). This month date is correctly followed by *nb twi* "Lord of the Two Lands", and the king's first cartouche name. A date followed by a king name without any preposition or prepositional phrase between is also not unusual (*e.g.* Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 161).

In the other line of inscription the Year 2 is followed by \smile where we should expect \smile or at least \smile . The horizontal line may have been meant for, or miscopied from, a \smile . The \smile which follows can hardly be right; we expect *nb twi*, and perhaps this is what stood here. Even then, the length of the gap which follows is puzzling.

The inscriptions on the two faces of the linen thus give a date, Year 2 in the reign of Ramesses III. They were probably identical, except that on the one face a month as well as a year was given. Of the larger and more roughly written $\odot\ddot{\eta}$ to the right of the lower inscription in Fig. 1 I can give no explanation. It is not likely to be a modern imitation, for the two signs did not occur in this order in the original, and in fact the combination did not occur at all, if in the lost line, as in that which has survived, the writer used $\ddot{\eta}$ for \odot .

The nature of the object remains uncertain. It has been called a scarf, a band, a belt, a girdle. Van Genep and Jéquier² identified it with the scarf which they thought they could discern wrapped round the upper part of the body of the king in his war chariot in representations such as that of Ramesses III on the walls of Medînet Habu.³ Borchardt⁴ has, however, recently made it clear that this is no scarf but a very short

¹ The bearded man with the sun's disk on his head in Stobart's copy is clearly an error for this.

² *Le Tissage aux cartons*, 95.

³ *Medinet Habu* (Or. Inst. Univ. Chicago), vol. I, Pl. 25.

⁴ *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (Privatdruck, 1933), 13–18.

jacket with long ribbon-like points in front, which are passed round the back and tied again in front. I have no suggestion to make.

How did so rare an object, and in such perfect condition, come to be in the hands of a dealer or robber in Thebes in 1854 or 1855? Its condition shows that it came from a tomb, and probably from a coffin which was not only tightly sealed but contained a body so well mummified as to remain perfectly preserved, and therefore probably the body of a personage of very considerable importance.

Further, this scarf is a very remarkable and rare specimen of the weaver's art, and however much skill one may attribute to the Egyptians in the art of weaving it seems hardly likely that the private individual had such rare specimens as this at his command. In fact everything goes to indicate that it came from a royal burial.

We think at once of the body of Ramesses III himself, in whose second year it is dated. But there are difficulties. The mummy of Ramesses III was found in the cache at Dêr el-Bahri,¹ and though the 'Abd er-Rasûl family appear to have been looting the cache at intervals for some years before their exposure in 1881 it has never been suggested that they had known it as early as 1854; in fact Maspero, who took part in the judicial inquiry, suggests that 1871 was probably the date of their first visit to the cache.²

What is more, the Twenty-first Dynasty re-wrappings of the mummy were found quite intact, and if the scarf was ever with the body it must have been placed outside these wrappings, which is not very probable. On the whole the probability that the scarf came from the cache is not very high.

But we are now in the realm of conjecture, and the avowed purpose of this article was to attempt to ascertain facts. This would therefore seem to be a suitable point at which to end it.

¹ *Les Momies royales*, 563 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, 511.

THE COFFIN OF PRINCE MIN-KHAF

By W. STEVENSON SMITH

With Plates xxi-xxiv

THE red granite coffin of Prince Min-khaf now in the Cairo Museum was found during the clearing of the pit of his mastaba at Gízah by the Service des Antiquités. Mr. Quibell in the *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 1903, p. 24, writes that the sarcophagus was brought to the Museum in 1902, and adds that "the right side, which had been broken and put together in ancient times, has been restored with the original fragments by M. Barsanti". Dr. Reisner has since established the fact that this coffin came from the northern pit of mastaba G 7430+7440 in the great eastern cemetery at Gízah. This is the mastaba recorded by Lepsius under the number 61, but Lepsius only partially cleared the inner room of the elaborate chapel at the northern end of the mastaba. From the construction and the relation of the mastaba to the neighbouring tombs in the cemetery, Dr. Reisner dates the casing and the chapels to the reign of Chephren. The inscriptions of the chapel and of the southern niche give the titles of Min-khaf as: *sꜣ nꜣwt n ht-f, rpct hꜣty-ꜣ, tꜣyꜣy sꜣb tꜣty, . . . pr Dꜣwtꜣ, imꜣy rꜣ kꜣt nbt nꜣwt, sꜣw nꜣn, rꜣ P nb, śmr wtꜣy, hꜣy hb, hꜣy tp*. On the coffin Min-khaf is also called *sꜣ nꜣwt n ht-f, imꜣy rꜣ kꜣt nbt nꜣwt, hꜣy hb* and *śmr wtꜣy*.

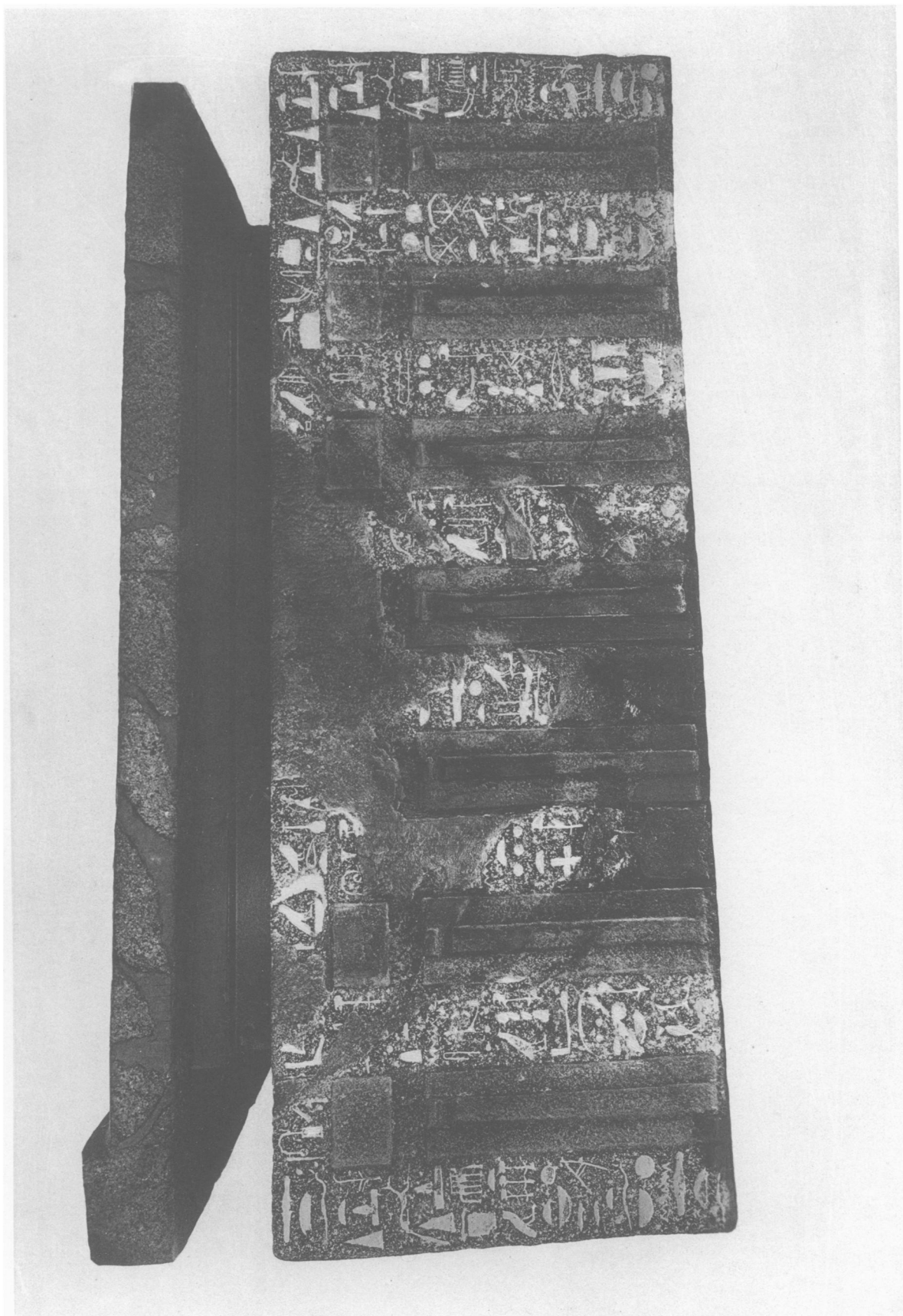
The box of the sarcophagus measures 2.08 m. in length by 1.11 m. in width, and 0.805 m. in height. It is panelled on the sides and ends, having seven "doors" alternating with eight vertically inscribed "panels" on the sides, and three "doors" separated by four vertically inscribed "panels" on each end. Above the panelling, at the top of the box, a horizontal line is inscribed on each side and both ends. The lid is uninscribed. It is of the usual form for coffins of this type, slightly vaulted, with end-bars. The end-bars are 8 cm. high, giving a total height for the coffin of 88.5 cm. The eastern side of the coffin has been broken in, evidently by thieves, and is in a very fragmentary state. I do not understand Mr. Quibell's reference to ancient mending. It seems to me that this would have been most extraordinary and difficult to find an explanation for. The rest of the coffin is in very good condition. The inscriptions are incised in the granite.

The east side (as it lay in the grave) of the coffin (Pl. xxi)¹ is badly broken, as has been stated above. Across the top of the panelling runs a horizontal inscription beginning at the right:

dy nꜣwt htꜣp dy ꜣnpw htꜣp hꜣntꜣy tꜣ dꜣsr ꜣrꜣs m imnt iꜣw nꜣr wrt m nb i[mꜣh] . . . (long break)
hꜣy-[h]b sꜣ [mꜣdꜣt] nꜣr Mꜣw-hꜣf

If a comparison be made between this inscription and that on the west side, which is completely preserved, it will be seen that the inscriptions appear to have been practically identical. But the east side of the coffin is not correctly repaired. The fragment with *iꜣw nꜣr wrt m nb i . . .* should be placed two panels to the right, immediately following the broken sign *imnt*. With the present reparation there is not sufficient space between *m nb i . . .* and *hꜣy-[h]b* for either of the formulas *nb imꜣh ꜣr it-f* or *nb imꜣh ꜣr nꜣr ꜣ*. Both of these appear on the other side and there would be sufficient room for them here if the fragment were



¹ The excellent photographs of the coffin were supplied to me by the Cairo Museum, through the courtesy of Mr. Brunton.



Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. East side.





Coffin of Prince Min-khaf.
South end.





















shifted to the right. A much stronger proof, though, is that if the change were made the  of the vertical column below would fall, just where it seems best to fit, above  to complete the word for green eye-paint.

Beneath the horizontal line of inscription are eight vertical columns on the panels alternating with the seven false-doors. Cols. 1-3 and 8 are well preserved, the others more or less fragmentary. Cols. 1 and 8, on the end panels, repeat the *dy nswt htp* formula. The signs face to the right. Beginning on the right (north end):





















Col. 1: *dy nswt htp dy 'Inpw htp hnty t3 dsr prt r hrw nf n s3 nswt Mnw-hcf rc nb. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, offerings for the king's son Min-khaf every day.*

Col. 2: *m wpt rnpt tpy rnpt tpy*  *tpy*  *dhwtj w3g tr nb rnpt nt (for tr nb nt rnpt) rc nb. On New Year's day, the first of the year, the first of the half-month, the first of the half-month, the feast of Thoth, the Wag feast, every season of the year and every day.*





















Col. 3: *h3 sntr h3 h3t mrht (det. 3 jars) nb[t]. 1000 frankincense, 1000 of every fine oil.*

Col. 4:                     *h3 w3dw h3 m3dmt [h3] t3w bd. 1000 green eye-paint, 1000 black eye-paint, 1000 balls of natron.*

We should read *t3w n bd* or *bd t3w* [1000]. In vertical columns signs and even words are easily transposed; cf. *sty*, *hknw* and *sft* in col. 1 of Pl. xxiv, etc.

Col. 5:                     *nb(?) h3 mrht r(?) 1000 clothing*

Col. 6: *. nt h3 t-imy-[t3]. 1000 t-imy-[t3]-bread.*

Col. 7:                     *h3 s(?) f(?) h3 t-nbs h3 wch h3 iht nb[t] bnr[t]. 1000, 1000 nbs-bread, 1000 wch-seeds, 1000 of every sweet thing.*


Col. 8: *dy nswt htp dy 'Inpw htp hnty sh h3w m iht nb[t] mrrt-f rc nb n Mnw-hcf. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the shrine, thousands of every thing which he likes every day for Min-khaf.*

The south end of the coffin (Pl. xxii) has a horizontal line of inscription giving the titles and name of Min-khaf. The signs face to the right: *smr wcty n it-f hry-s3t3 n it-f imy r3 k3t nbt nswt Mnw-hcf. Sole companion of his father, privy counsellor of his father, overseer of all the works of the king, Min-khaf.*

Beneath this line are four vertical columns of inscription on the panels which alternate with the three false-doors. The signs face to the right. Beginning on the right (east end):

Col. 1. *ic h3 h3w-t t3 n cbw. The wash basin, a thousand offering tables of pure bread.*

Col. 2: *h3 cst nb[t] h3 cw n kbhw. A thousand of all kinds of stone vessels, a thousand basins for libation.*



Col. 3: *h3 sn3 n bw h3 nbs h3 t3 nb rc nb. A thousand pure sn3-cakes (compare  on the slab-stela of the princess from G 4140), a thousand nbs-fruit (bread made of ?), a thousand of all kinds of bread, every day.*

Col. 4: *h3 iht nb[t] bnr[t] h3 rnput nbt h3 hnkt n s3 nswt Mnw-hcf. A thousand of all sweet things, a thousand of all kinds of green plants, a thousand offerings for the son of the king Min-khaf.*

The west side of the coffin (Pl. xxiii), again, has a horizontal line of inscription at the top and eight vertical columns on the panels that frame the seven false-doors. The inscriptions in this case begin on the left (north end), and the signs in the vertical columns also face to the left. The horizontal line contains a *dy nswt htp* formula and the name and titles of the prince, and seems to give a complete version of the broken inscription on the east side. A small piece of the upper left corner of the coffin is broken away.

dy nswt htp dy 'Inpw htp hnty t3 dsr krs m imnt iw nfr wrt m nb im3h hr ntr c3 nb im3h hr it-f

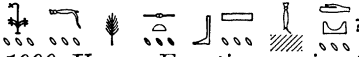
sr nsw-t n ht-f smsw hry hb ss mdst ntr Mnw-hcf. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, burial in the west, a very good old age as lord of honour before the Great God, lord of honour before his father, the eldest son of the king of his body, the lector-priest and scribe of the book of the God, Min-khaf.







On the other side of the coffin is written , but the space in front of *ntr* is broken and there is room for the \dagger sign. It is again preceded by *hry-hb*. The title \dagger  occurs several times (Mariette, *Mastabas*, C. 18; *Deir el Gebrawi*, II, Pl. xiii; *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts*, No. 1341), and twice it is preceded by *hry-hb*.

The eight vertical columns read as follows (l. to r.):

Col. 1: *dy nswt htp dy 'Inpw htp hnty ts dsr wght nf dbht n sr nswt Mnw-hcf rc nb. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, may there be established for him food supplies, for the son of the king Min-khaf every day.*

Col. 2: Seven granaries, each preceded by \mathfrak{I} , contain respectively the groups

 *h; it smcwy h; it mhy h; bat h; swt h; bs' h; bnr h; dwdw(?)*.
1000 Upper Egyptian grain, 1000 Lower Egyptian grain, 1000 barley, 1000 wheat, 1000 bbs-fruit, 1000 dates,¹ and 1000 dwdw-grain(?).²

The sarcophagus of Queen Meresankh II (see Dunham, *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, December 1927) from Mastaba G 7410+7420, adjoining the tomb of Min-khaf on the north, is also inscribed with a list of granaries. The east and west faces of the box are inscribed with a "palace façade" flanked by vertical columns giving the name and titles of the queen. The south end has a horizontal line of inscription with the titles and name of Meresankh, and below this seven granaries in a horizontal row with a thousand-sign beneath each. The granaries are inscribed, reading from the right: 1, \mathfrak{I} ; 2, ; 3, ; 4, ; 5, ; 6, ; 7, .

On the north end is again a horizontal line giving titles and name, while beneath is written (from right to left):  \mathfrak{I}  \mathfrak{I}  \mathfrak{I}  \mathfrak{I}  \mathfrak{I}  \mathfrak{I}  \mathfrak{I}  \mathfrak{I} . The flat lid


of the coffin is inscribed with a large figure of Anubis with a *dy nswt htp* formula and again the titles of the queen. This is, as far as I know, the only other stone sarcophagus of the Fourth Dynasty which is inscribed with a list of offerings. A number of others have the *dy nswt htp* formula in addition to the titles and name of the owner.


Col. 3: *h; r; h; trp h; st h; smn h; mnwt. 1000 r-geese, 1000 trp-geese, 1000 st-geese, 1000 smn-geese (or ducks), 1000 doves.*

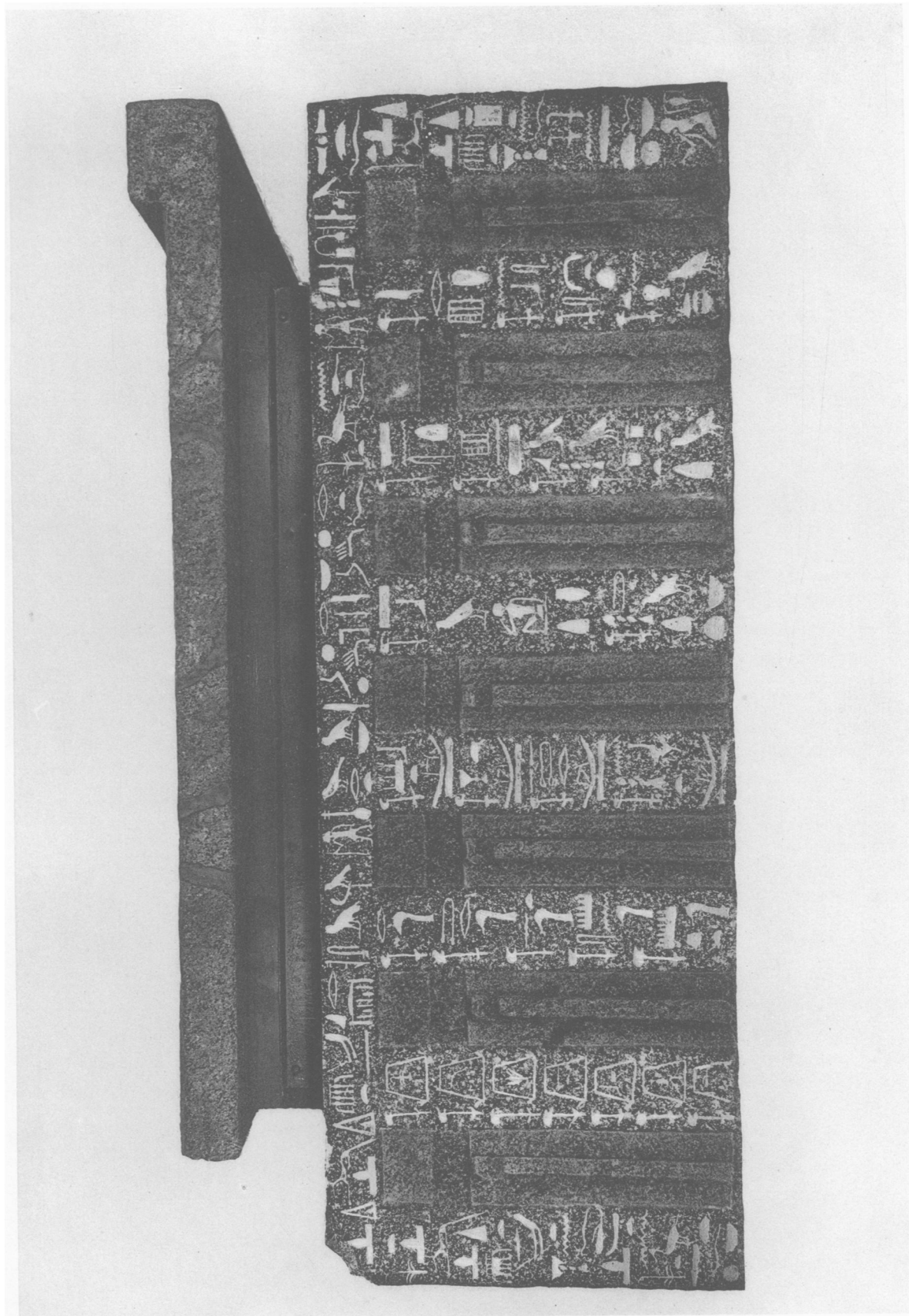
Col. 4: *h; sbt h; wght(?) h; str h; nhbt (det. lotus-flower and boat).*

This is a rare occurrence of a list of boats. The representation on the west wall of the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh is rather different (see Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1926). There the ship-yard itself is shown, and beneath, workmen with tools. The names of the boats given in the Ka-m-ankh scene are all different from these above. In fact the Min-khaf names seem to be new, with the exception of *sbt*. The kind of boat which the latter represents is not known. *nhbt* seems to be the word for lotus flower and seems a very suitable name for a light reed boat.

Col. 5: *h; sbw h; ht;w rc nb. A thousand provisions, a thousand of ht;w-bread, every day.*

¹ The word for dates is very difficult to make out. There appears to be another sign under the \mathfrak{I} . It looks like , but this should not be beneath the other sign. It may simply be a scratch.

² The word  occurs on the tablet of Nofer (Weill, *La II^e et III^e Dynastie*, Pl. iv) and on the sarcophagus of Meresankh II.



Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. West side.





Coffin of Prince Min-khaf.
North end.

Col. 6: *ḥꜣ šnś ḥꜣ psn ḥꜣ kḥw ḥꜣ t-t-wy*. A thousand šnś-cakes, a thousand of psn-bread, a thousand of kḥw-bread, a thousand of the two breads (?).








Col. 7: *ḥꜣ irp ḥꜣ nbś ḥꜣ stt ḥꜣ tꜣ nḥrw*. A thousand of wine, a thousand of nbś-fruit, a thousand stt-cakes, and a thousand of nḥrw-bread (cf. Mariette, Mastabas, B. 16).






Col. 8: *dy nśwt ḥtp dy 'Inpw ḥtp ḥnty sh wšt nf nn n Mnw-ḥcf rc nb śnm(?) ḥm kꜣ*. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the shrine, may there be established for him these, for Min-khaf every day, the offering(?) of the ḥm kꜣ priest.

The north end of the sarcophagus (Pl. xxiv) has a horizontal line of inscription at the top: *dy nśwt ḥtp dy 'Inpw ḥtp ḥnty tꜣ dsr prt r ḥrw nf n wpt rnpt tpy rnpt tpy*  *tpy*  *wꜣg ḏḥwtꜣ tr nb nt rnpt Mnw-ḥcf*. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the beautiful land, offerings for him on New Year's day, the first of the year, the first of the month, the first of the half-month, the Wag festival, the Thoth festival, every season of the year, Min-khaf.








Beneath are four vertical columns of inscription on the panels alternating with the three false doors as on the south end. Beginning from the left:

Col. 1: *ḥꜣ šty ḥb ḥꜣ ḥknw ḥꜣ šft*. A thousand of festival perfume, a thousand ḥknw-oil, a thousand šft-oil.

Col. 2: *ḥꜣ wnḥw ḥꜣ idmy ḥꜣ šsr ḥꜣ mꜣ rꜣ(?)*. A thousand wnḥw-strips, a thousand idmy-linen, four hand-breadths wide, a thousand šsr-linen, four hand-breadths wide, and a thousand mꜣ rꜣ(?)-linen, four hand-breadths wide. It has been suggested elsewhere¹ that the sign  represents the width of the linen. It is quite possible that the number 4 has become here simply a conventionalized sign for linen. Four hand-breadths may have been a standard width that was much used, although this is not indicated by the linen lists, where every possible variation in width is shown. The occurrence here of *wnḥw* with the other linens is unusual. It is never found in the linen list proper (the compartment list). On the tablet of Prince Duwa-n-ra, from the Western Cemetery at Gīzah (G 5110), it is written beside the sign , which probably stands for *idmy*, and it appears on the south wall of the tomb of Prince Seshat-hetep at Gīzah (Lepsius 36 = G 5150), again with *idmy*. In the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, when the linen list is found very rarely on the walls of offering chapels, *wnḥw* generally appears alone in the large offering lists.     is a very curious writing. It appears in the position that the  linen usually occupies at the end of the linen list. I can suggest no explanation of the word unless it means "true rꜣ-linen".




Col. 3: *ḥꜣ mšhtyw(?) ḥꜣ ʿnt ḥꜣ mibt ḥꜣ tꜣḥ ḥꜣ mnḥ*. The first word seems to be the same as *mšhtyw*, a kind of hook used to open the mouth of the dead. *ʿnt* is a word which means adze, and is not supposed to be found until the Middle Kingdom. However, it appears in the list of tools on the west wall of the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh and on the slab shown on Plate xciii of Mogensén, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*. The other words are more common: *mibt*, usually spelt  , meaning axe; *tꜣḥ*, saw; and *mnḥ*, chisel. Lists of tools are rare in the Old Kingdom. The scene in the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh (Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1926) gives a list of tools in addition to the only other list of boats which I have been able to find and a late example of the linen list. The tools are not only named but craftsmen are shown working with them. The list consists of *ʿnt*, *mibt* (written ) , *mnḥ*, *tꜣḥ*, , . The last two are missing from the Min-khaf list. The broken slab, mentioned above, in the Copenhagen Museum gives another list of tools, this time in the compartment







¹ See Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, 31 ff., and my article, *The Old Kingdom Linen List*.


form in which the offerings are represented on the niches of the early Old Kingdom. The first three words in the register are determined by vessels of different kinds (although the spelling of the third, , apparently determined by a bowl, suggests analogies with the words  and  (M.K.). The fourth word is *nt*, then *mnht*,    . The last three are difficult to make out in the photograph.

The boat-building scene in the tomb of Ti (Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 119) shows *mibt* as a long-handled axe with which men are smoothing the log of a tree. The *mnh* chisel is also being used in this scene, as well as the adze, although the latter's name is not given. I have not been able to find the names of any of the other tools in scenes of craft-work. In the Gîzah tombs of the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties actual copper tools and models of tools are found.

Col. 4: *hꜛ bꜛ šmꜛ hꜛ ntrꜛ hꜛ hšddꜛ hꜛ mꜛst* (det. garment with vertical lines).

bꜛ šmꜛ occurs the most frequently of all these garments. It appears alone in the compartment lists of Rahotep and Methen, and with other garments in the lists of Seshat-sekhentyuw (G. Street, 2100), G 4260 (Junker, II, n.), Junker's slab-stela of unknown provenance, Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Sneferuw-seneb (G 4240), the tablet from G 2352, and is probably to be restored in the list from the Covington tomb² and on the Copenhagen slab (Mogensen, *op. cit.*, Pl. xciii). In the chapel of Khufuw-khaf the label  appears over a garment carried by two men (Fig. 1). The *ntrꜛ* garment appears on the tablet of Sneferuw-seneb and is perhaps to be restored in the case of  on the slab-stela from Junker, II n. *hšddꜛ* is to be found in the Covington Tomb list, on the tablet of Sneferuw-seneb, and in the lists of Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep. *mꜛst* is next to *bꜛ šmꜛ* the most common. It is found on the slab-stela of Seshat-sekhentyuw, Junker, II n., the slab-stela of unknown provenance, Hathor-Nefer-hetep, Kha-bauw-sokar, Mogensen, Pl. xciii, Sneferuw-seneb, the list in the burial chamber of Ka-m-anekh, the tablet from G 2352, and over a garment carried by two men on the east wall of the chapel of Khufuw-khaf, .

There are several other words not included in the Min-khaf list which appear elsewhere:  on the Hathor-nefer-hetep list. A word which seems to be  on the Sneferuw-seneb tablet is perhaps the same. The signs for the *t* and the *wd* are carefully made, but do not resemble very closely any other examples of these signs, which I think they must be meant for. A word  is on the Copenhagen tablet and the Sneferuw-seneb list. The  of the Copenhagen tablet is determined by a wolf  in the Covington Tomb list. Finally there is a word  on the Sneferuw-seneb tablet. The tomb of Hesy-rē (Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, Pl. xx) seems to show the earliest of these lists of garments, but the representation is broken and obscure. Two of these garments, from their names, seem to be made from animal skins, *bꜛ šmꜛ* a panther skin and *wnš* a wolf skin.

In the Kha-bauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep compartment lists (Murray, *Sagqara Mastabas*, Pls. i and ii) the squares containing the names of these garments are headed by a horizontal register containing the word . This word is usually translated "apron", but I believe that it may be applied to garments of an apron- or mantle-like shape of varying lengths. Junker (*Giza*, I, 188) has already suggested this possibility. It seems to me that there is a great similarity between the representations of these garments such as appear on the walls of the tombs of Khufuw-khaf (G 7130+7140), Merytyetes (G 7650), Nesuwtpw-neter (Porter and Moss, *Memphis*, 61), Lepsius G 20 (*Ergänzungsband*, Pl. viii), and the garment worn by figures in the reliefs, usually shown as a long robe, passing diagonally across

¹ The determinative has a saw edge.

² This list is preserved in a tracing in the possession of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, made by Mr. N. de G. Davies in one of the tombs excavated by Dow Covington on the ridge south of the Third Pyramid of Giza (see *Ann. Serv.*, VI, 193. No mention of any inscribed chamber is given).

the upper part of the body and fastened on one shoulder with ties, the other shoulder being left bare. There are a number of variations in this garment, differences of length and material, the elaboration of the fastening, and the manner in which one of the arms is covered or left bare, which might correspond with the different names in the lists. The word *mꜣst* would suggest that it was a knee-length skirt or apron, and one of the other names may refer to the long skirt which reached well down the leg and is shown often in the reliefs. There are great difficulties in the way of properly understanding the representation of Old Kingdom costume. Conventions in drawing and the caprice of the artist, combined with the paucity of material for comparison in the case of some of the more unusual examples, make the interpretation of the material somewhat tentative. For example the length of the garments shown in the Khufuw-khaf, Merytyetes, Nesuwt-pw-neter and LG 20 scenes of the presentation of the *ꜣꜣ* garments for inspection is not to be trusted without reservations. On

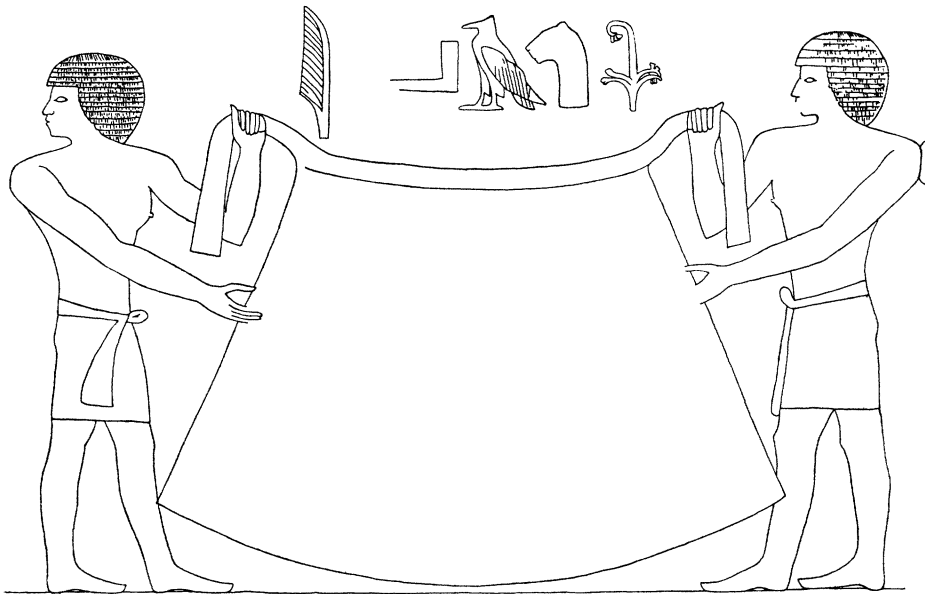


FIG. 1. From the east wall of the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf.

the east wall of the chapel of Khufuw-khaf (Fig. 1) three identical "aprons" are held shoulder-high by three pairs of offering bearers. They are much too small to serve as skirts for the large figure of the owner, towards whom they are being carried, and yet almost too large to serve as mantles for the little figures themselves. Then if we are to interpret *ꜣꜣ mꜣst* as a knee-length skirt and *ꜣꜣ* and *ꜣꜣ bꜣ šmꜣ* as long robes we are faced by the identical drawing of all three. On the west wall the garment being carried is shorter (Fig. 2) and seems to represent a skirt, though it is again too small for the figure of Khufuw-khaf and out of proportion for the small figures. The elaborate ornamental tie resembles those on the girdles of the skirts of the gods in the Sahurē reliefs (see for example Borchardt, *Sahura*, II, Pl. 19), but there is also a certain resemblance to the tie on the long robe of Akhet-ara to be mentioned below. The figures in the LG 20 scene and in the Nesuwt-pw-neter chapel carry long garments like those on the east wall of the Khufuw-khaf chapel. The Merytyetes representation (Fig. 3) is curious, as two figures there carry one of the garments stretched out on a pole held shoulder-high. This would seem to indicate either great length, or great weight (as would be the case if the garment were made of fur), or even an attempt to keep the garment from being crushed (if it were stiff linen). In one case (L., D., II, Pl. 4, reproduced

in Fig. 4) the garment is not spread out to its full width but held forward in one hand by an attendant. The garment is long, reaching to the ground, and has two ties at each upper corner which are somewhat suggestive of the more elaborate tie of the garment of Akhet-ara. Above is written \downarrow — \square \downarrow , so that there seems to be no doubt that this is a folded representation of the garment usually stretched to its full width. In the offering lists themselves the

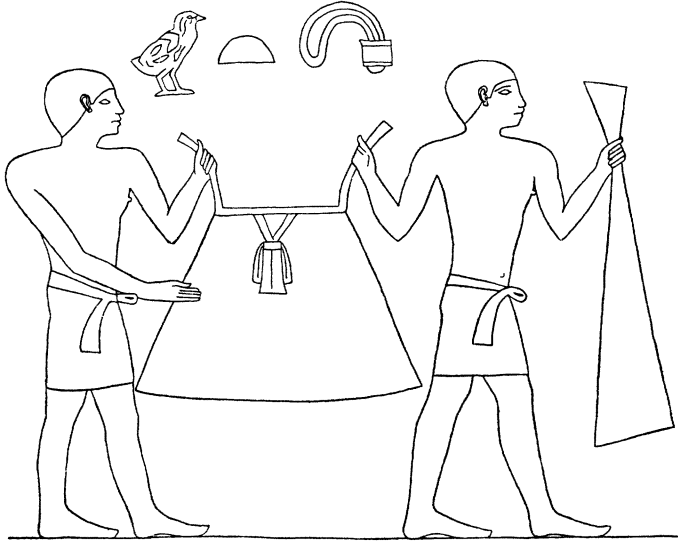


FIG. 2. From the west wall of the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf.

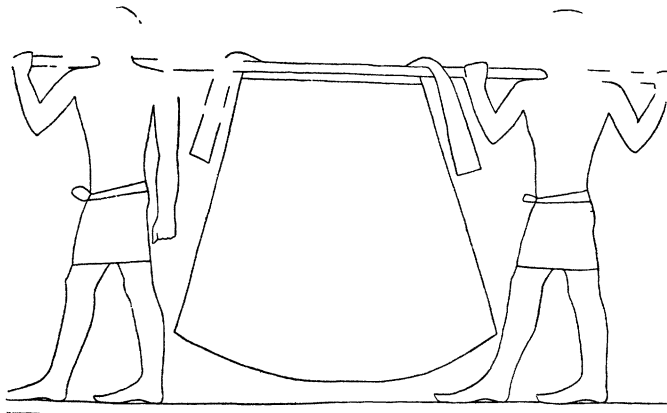


FIG. 3. From the north wall of the chapel of Merytyetes.

garment is sometimes represented as spread out with a tie hanging down from each of the two upper corners (Junker, II, n., Sneferuw-seneb, etc), or else as if folded over with the ties tied (?) on one side (Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Rahotep, etc.). The sign \downarrow occurs in two well-known Old Kingdom titles, \downarrow — \square and \downarrow — \square . In the case of the Sahurê relief (*Sahura*, II, Pl. 12) the word occurs alone \square as the title of an officer of the ship's crew. The hieroglyph \square is in this case painted yellow. In the title \downarrow — \square in the chapel of Kanofer (G 2150) the garment is shown with vertical lines suggesting pleating. The determinative of *mst* on the Min-khaf coffin seems to show these lines.

There are two main types of the long garment as it is worn by figures in the reliefs. In

both the robe is long, reaching down almost to the ankles, and it is tied on either the right or the left shoulder by the ends of a strip which is shown bordering the top edge of the garment and which passes diagonally across the upper part of the body. This border is shown plainly in the garments carried by the Khufuw-khaf attendants. But in the case of one of these types of dress both arms are left free by the garment, whereas in the other the material is folded over one of the arms and covers it to the wrist while the other shoulder and arm are left bare. There are several clear examples of the first arrangement. The huntsman on the east wall of the chapel of Ptahhotep (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, Pl. xviii) wears a brilliantly striped garment of this sort which in his kneeling position does not quite reach to the knees. In another representation the figure is standing and the garment is again short. It is possible that the garment worn by the man in the hieroglyphic sign for *sw* on Plate xxviii of Petrie's *Medum* is a cloak of this sort. It is striped similarly and has a band running along the top edge with what appears to be one of the ties hanging down behind. It is wrapped completely around the body. The standing figure of Akhet-ara on the door-jamb from his chapel in the Louvre (Weill, *op. cit.*, Pl. vi) wears one of these garments, although in his case it is decorated with a panel in front held at the top by an ornamental tie. The man represented on Plate 11 of von Bissing's *Re Heiligtum* who has $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ written above him is also dressed similarly. His robe is longer in the back than in the front. At least one seated figure is shown with this costume. This is the figure of Seshem-nofer, seated on the south wall of his chapel (G 4940 = LG 45, L., *D.*, 29b).



FIG. 4. Detail of chapel of Methen (after Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 4).

There seems to be an error in the Lepsius' drawing of the figure of Methen seated in the tablet of his false door (L., *D.*, II, Pl. 3). He is shown with a long skirt with a tie at the waist, but with the ribbons of his shoulder tie hanging down in front. These would seem to be unnecessary, and perhaps the diagonal line of the upper part of the garment has disappeared. This may be true of the figure of Methen seated on the south wall of his chapel (L., *D.*, II, 6).

The second type of garment is almost entirely confined to the seated figures of the early offering niches. In several cases it is represented as being made of panther skin (the tablet of Rahotep (*Medum*, Pl. xiii), the niche of Hathor-nefer-hetep, the slab stela of Wep-mnofret (Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Aegypter*, 194) and Nefert-iabtyt (Schaefer, *Von aegyptischer Kunst*, Pl. 10), and the standing figure of Atet (*Medum*, Pl. xviii)). The ties at the shoulder are generally formed by simple strips as in the case of the garments represented in the offering lists and the Khufuw-khaf scene, but in the case of Nefermarat (*Medum*, Pl. xx) there appear semi-elliptical ornaments which hang down apparently from knots on each shoulder. The representation of Atet on the niche of her husband Nefermarat is the only standing figure I have been able to find wearing this garment.¹ The upper part of the figure is damaged, but it seems from the traces of ties on her shoulder and the bent position of her arm that her right arm is covered as it is in the seated figures.²

¹ Unless the figure on Pl. xxviii of *Hemamieh* is wearing a similar dress. It is made of panther skin, and seems to leave both arms uncovered. In the old drawings of Villiers Stuart in *Egypt After the War*, 406, 410, the seated figure of the man in the tablet of the niche of the tomb of Afa is shown in a garment with panther spots.

² On p. 96 of Klebs, *Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, Fig. 76, is pictured a relief in Leipzig which shows a female attendant holding out an apron-like garment with panther spots to her mistress.

The representation of the panther spots and the similarity of the ties make it seem quite possible to me that this second type of garment is the *bꜣ šmꜣ* of the offering lists and the *ỉꜣ bꜣ šmꜣ* of the Khufuw-khaf representation. The appearance of the semi-elliptical ornaments on the shoulders of Nefermarat brings up one other interesting point. In one of the

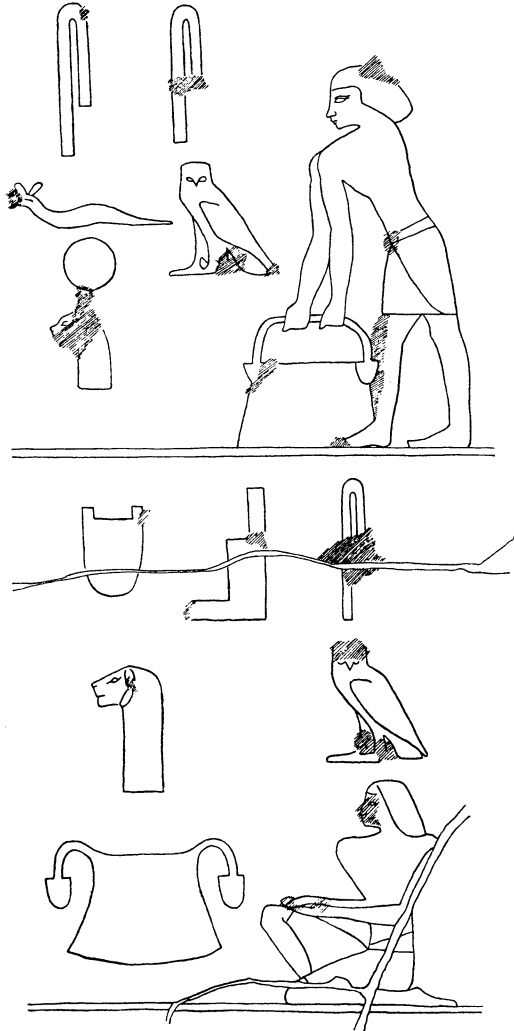


FIG. 5. Relief from Sun Temple at Abu Ghurâb (after von Bissing, *Re Heiligtum*, II, Pl. 12).

scenes from the Sun Temple of Neuserre at Abu Ghurâb (Fig. 5, reproducing a detail of Pl. 12 of the *Re Heiligtum*) the *sem*-priest is shown taking off the *bꜣ* garment. Here and in the scene below, where it is laid out in front of the squatting figure of the *sem*-priest, it is shown with a form similar to the "apron"-like *ỉꜣ* garments, and it is ornamented with the curious ornaments shown on the shoulders of Nefermarat. The exact nature of these objects is difficult to determine. In the upper scene they are at the ends of a strip by which the man is lifting the garment, and seem to attach the strip to the upper corners of the garment. But in the lower scene they hang down at the end of the two strips that usually appear at the corners of this garment. A still more curious fact is that throughout the rest of the Abu Ghurâb reliefs where the *sem*-priest is represented, although he is wearing the ornaments, they hang down from the knot by which an ordinary panther skin is fastened. This panther skin is entirely different from the other garment we have been discussing. It is drawn with the outline of an animal skin and has the claws and tail, sometimes the head, of the animal. None of the representations of the long panther-skin garment show the claws and tail. The standing figure of Nefermarat wears the ordinary panther skin held up by the knot with the pendant ornaments (*Medum*, Pl. xxiii). The standing figure of Iye-nefer (*Ann. Serv.*, III, Pls. i and ii) in one case wears the whole skin spread out across the front of his body with the head at the top. It is held up by the clearest representation I have been able to find of the knot and shoulder ornaments. In another representation he wears two panther skins (probably the artist meant to show one in the front and one at the back) which overlap, the legs of the skins crossing one another with the claws of the leg of one skin reaching the right shoulder and the claws of the other the left. Again the shoulder ornaments seem to hold the skins up in some way. This clear representation of the two skins must account for the curious appearance of two tails on the panther skin worn by the goddess Seshat on Plate i of *Sahura*, II, and in a number of other examples where there seems to be only one skin. In every other case where the semi-elliptical ornaments are

shown they are worn with the usual type of panther skin. The goddess Seshat and the *sem*-priest wear them in the Sahurêr reliefs, they appear on figures of Mereruka in his tomb at Sakḳârah, and at Beni Ḥasan in the Middle Kingdom (see *Beni Ḥasan*, iv, Pl. xiv). The seated figure wearing the ordinary panther skin usually worn over another garment seems to me to be a later type of representation than the seated figure wearing the long panther garment, although a few examples of the latter appear after the later type has become established as the ordinary representation. Can the artist who drew the Abu Ghurâb scene have confused the earlier garment with the usual panther skin of the *sem*-priest? Apparently the word *bꜣ* was applied to both garments. It is just possible that in the chapel of Hesy-rêr the differentiation was meant to be shown, as on the right are animal skins and on the left what seem to be the *lꜣ* garments.

The inscriptions of the sarcophagus of Min-khaf thus present strong analogies with the offering lists of the early Old Kingdom, particularly with the compartment lists of the false doors such as those of Rahotep and Kha-bauw-sokar, and the slab-stelae of the Western Cemetery at Gîzah. Two important features of these lists are missing—the furniture and the various kinds of stone vessels common in the compartment lists. The use of the word *wnḥw* in the linen list seems on the other hand to anticipate in at least one detail the large offering lists of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, where the full linen list generally disappears and *wnḥw* appears alone. It has been noted that the only contemporaneous stone coffin which has offering lists is that of Queen Meresankh II. These lists in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty anticipate the elaborate painted inscriptions and offerings of the wooden and stone coffins of the late Old Kingdom, the Intermediate Period, and the Middle Kingdom.

THE RAM-HEADED GOD AT HERMOPOLIS

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

THE second of the pleasing volumes on Hermopolis has just been published by the Pelizaeus-Museum, and it contains a careful study of the sculptures on Amenemhat II's pylon. That which interests us here is the upper one on the right-hand side of Fig. 13 (our Fig. 1). It shows a ram-headed god who is merely called $\dagger \begin{smallmatrix} \text{||||} \\ \text{||||} \end{smallmatrix} \circ$ "He in Hermopolis", but without any proper name. Messrs. Balcz and Bittel concentrate upon the possibility of its representing Amūn, but without attaining any very satisfactory results. Curiously enough they do not consider the question of its being a form of Khnum. Yet unless there should be irrefragable proof of the contrary this, which was the original one, seems to be the natural interpretation.

If this were really the ram-headed figure of Amūn, it would from many points of view be a discovery of the first importance. Not only are these figures extremely rare in Egypt proper, but it would be by far the earliest of them. These improbabilities are made certainties by the fact that the ram is not that of Amūn. Amūn's horns, being

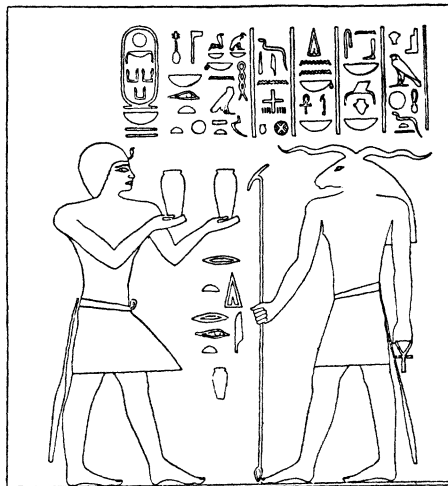


FIG. 1.

those of *Ovis Platyura Aegyptiaca*, curve downwards round the cheek with the points often extending below the jaw. The ram at Hermopolis is, on the contrary, the one sacred to Khnum,¹ *Ovis Longipes Palaeoegypticus*, whose horns stretch horizontally above the head.

The ram with these horns had become widely worshipped in Middle Egypt from quite early times. Under Udymu (Den) in the earliest First Dynasty we have a tablet showing this breed of sacred ram in a temple.² The name of the city is lacking, but is supplied by the Palermo Stone, which gives it as *Nn-nšwt*, Heracleopolis.³ Hence the worship of the horizontal-horned ram was already established in Middle Egypt at the beginning of the dynastic period.

In the Old Kingdom Khufu took the name *Hw.f-Hnmw*, and under this name dedicated a statue now broken, but which appears to have been that of a ram.⁴ In so doing he shows himself to have been devoted to another of the rams of this breed. As Khufu probably came from Menat-Khufu, a town not very far from Beni Ḥasan, it is likely that Khnum was settled in Middle Egypt by that time. Elsewhere in the Old Kingdom he is definitely named as belonging to Herur,⁵ a city which remained one of his chief sanctuaries throughout history. It was situated somewhere in Middle Egypt in the neighbourhood of Beni Ḥasan, hence

¹ *E.g.*, Borchardt, *Šashure'*, II, Pl. 18.

² Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. vii, 8 = Newberry and Wainwright in *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, p. 151, fig. 9.

³ Newberry and Wainwright in *op. cit.*, p. 150, fig. 2, no. 9.

⁴ Schäfer in *O.L.Z.*, 1926, cols. 723 ff.

⁵ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 88; Borchardt, *ibid.*

quite close to Hermopolis itself. By the Twelfth Dynasty, the time of the Hermopolite sculpture, Khnum's worship was widely spread in the Hermopolitan neighbourhood. "Khnum Lord of Herur" is named on a Twelfth Dynasty maṣṭabah,¹ and at this time, at Beni Ḥasan itself, the same god is continually mentioned.² These inscriptions show that yet another form of the god "Khnum Lord of $\frac{\overline{\text{X}}}{\text{X}} \text{I} \text{⊗}$ " was honoured there as well.³ Beni Ḥasan is a little to the north of Hermopolis, but at this time Khnum had travelled considerably to the south. He had become the nome-god of Shashetep, "Khnum, Lord of Shashetep" being often named at Rīfah.⁴ Hatshepsut's restorations in Middle Egypt included those "for the Eight, for Khnum in his forms, for Heqt, Renenet, and Meskhenet".⁵ If this does not actually suggest a worship of Khnum at Hermopolis, it at least associates him closely with the gods of that city. By the Nineteenth Dynasty "Khnum Lord of Herur" was worshipped at Antinoë on the river bank exactly opposite Hermopolis.⁶ By the end of Pharaonic days high priests of Hermopolis were also priests of this form of Khnum.⁷

Thus, even if the figure itself were not sufficiently conclusive, there is plenty to suggest the worship of Khnum, or one of his forms, at Hermopolis. The figure belongs to a time when the god was enjoying special honour all about that district.

¹ de Morgan and others, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1894, p. 20, fig. B.

² *E.g.*, Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pls. vii, ix.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pls. xiii G often, xiii H; Griffith, *Sivat and Dér Rifeh*, Pl. 18 often.

⁵ Sethe, *Urk.*, IV, pp. 387, 389, ll. 31, 32. In l. 22 she has already mentioned Herur and Hermopolis, but no information remains.

⁶ Gayet, *L'Exploration d'Antinoë*, Pls. iii, xvi (publ. in *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, xxvi, Pt. 3).

⁷ Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, II, p. 4, no. 11, p. 5. no. 12b, etc.

THE TRANSCRIPTION OF LATE HIERATIC

By GILBERT BAGNANI

THE usefulness of the forthcoming Oriental Congress in Rome would be greatly enhanced were it to furnish an opportunity for the discussion of a certain number of topics of general interest with a view to securing a greater degree of uniformity in the work that is being done by various countries. Professor Peet's remarks on the English terminology for pottery types¹ might open the way to the establishment of an intelligible international nomenclature. The translation into the various languages of the few technical terms employed on the cards of the *Corpus* was no easy task. Mr. N. de G. Davies pleads for a general stocktaking of publications;² Professor Ranke wishes to review our transliterations.³ Yet surely one of the subjects on which general agreement is most to be desired is that of the transcription of hieratic. Even if it were found impossible to reach an agreement on general principles, those who agreed on one set of principles might agree on how they should be applied.

It is unfortunate that the rules laid down by Dr. Gardiner for New-Kingdom hieratic⁴ have not encountered the approval of Professor Erman,⁵ whose argument, however, against the use of certain forms—"it is no better than if one were to print a Byzantine author in the ancient Greek script of the sixth century B.C."—is hardly convincing. A comparison with the practice in Greek is entirely beside the point. At the present day we print any Greek author, from Homer to Venizelos, in exactly the same way, in a typographical dress which does not represent the usage of any particular time and would have been repudiated alike by Sappho and by Anna Comnena. This does not prove it to be a good practice. It would certainly be far more logical if we were to print Homer without accents or breathings, and revive the cursive Aldine type for medieval texts. Our modern type is certainly not convenient if one wants to reproduce spoken Romaic. But these considerations are of no practical importance, since hardly any person who can read printed Greek has, or indeed need have, the slightest knowledge of Greek palaeography. With hieratic we are dealing with quite another problem. Any person who can even begin to use a transcription must have a certain knowledge of hieratic; then, as Dr. Gardiner pointed out, the hieratic and hieroglyphic systems "are not immediately translatable the one into the other". It is quite impossible to transcribe a hieratic text into hieroglyphic in the way a contemporary Egyptian would have done. We are thus obliged, in transcribing, to follow some perfectly arbitrary system, which can, therefore, be made to suit our needs. The renderings can thus be made as objective as possible with the ideal in view of allowing a reader with a sufficient knowledge of hieratic to visualize for himself the actual text. The printing of Early and Middle English texts presented a somewhat similar problem, solved by the Early English Text Society in a manner which, if not typographically beautiful, is no doubt convenient. We are therefore justified, if necessary, in adopting arbitrary symbols to render the text, but such symbols should be as few as possible and should be agreed upon by all those who agree upon the general principles.

Dr. Gardiner has dealt with the New Kingdom and has promised to deal with the Middle Kingdom, but no one has dealt so far with the peculiar problems presented by late hieratic,

¹ *Journal*, XIX (1933), 62 ff.

² *Journal*, XIX (1933), 108.

³ *O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 655.

⁴ *Journal*, XV (1929), 48 ff.

⁵ *Neuegyptische Grammatik*, 1933, pp. 19–21, §§ 39–42.

the script of Ptolemaic and Roman times. The present writer's apology for raising such a question himself is that he is at present engaged in editing a hieratic papyrus discovered at Tebtunis by the Italian Archaeological mission.

The text is a half-theological, half-geographical treatise on the crocodile god Sobk, and it was written, as a colophon declares, in the twentieth year of the Emperor Hadrian, that is to say in A.D. 137. The script has close affinities only with the papyri in Berlin P. 7809/10¹ but these affinities are frequently very close indeed. It was undoubtedly copied from a hieroglyphic papyrus, with vignettes, very similar to the well-known *Papyrus du Lac Moeris*² and the Amherst fragments. It thus illustrates the way in which an Egyptian scribe of the second century A.D. translated hieroglyphic into hieratic. A perfectly objective transcription is thus absolutely essential, more especially in the case of the numerous geographical names, the exact spelling of which may conceivably be of some importance.

By far the greatest difficulty in late hieratic is to distinguish between \ominus and $\omin�$, a difficulty which has been dealt with slightly by Mr. Faulkner.³ Already in Ptolemaic times the two letters had lost their separate identity, being both pronounced like *t*, and in hieroglyphic inscriptions they are, or they appear to be, used indifferently. The important point, however, is that both continued to be used, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an accurate study of late orthography might not discover some principles underlying a usage which at present seems to be absolutely indiscriminate. We cannot thus burke the problem when transcribing from the hieratic by saying that it matters but little since the signs are practically equivalent: it is our duty to put the reader in possession of the facts, of the actual writing. In late hieratic \ominus has two forms, a long closed form, indistinguishable from the hand sign, and a short open one, which is often, though not quite so frequently, used also for the hand sign. To transcribe as \ominus only the open forms is obviously impossible, as Mr. Faulkner points out: we should be forced to write $\text{𐤔} \text{𐤔} \text{𐤔}$ when the scribe certainly wrote $\text{𐤔} \text{𐤔} \text{𐤔}$ as in the hieroglyphic papyrus from which he copied. To adhere to the etymologically correct spelling would also very often misinterpret the original, would introduce into the transcription that subjective element that is to be avoided as far as possible, and is of no help in rendering place-names which are otherwise unknown. These two last objections are also valid as against Mr. Faulkner's own solution of the difficulty by judging each doubtful case independently on its own merits.

The matter would be relatively simple were it a definite rule—as distinct from merely a marked tendency—that the long closed forms are used with long signs and the short open ones with short ones. The student would be able to know at once which sign had been used in hieratic, if he were careful to remember that long signs in hieratic are not necessarily long in hieroglyphic and *vice versa*, e.g., \square , 𐤔 . In the name $\text{𐤔} \text{𐤔} \text{𐤔}$ the reader would know that the sign above the long *r* is the long closed form and that the transcription *stryms*, instead of an equally possible *dryms*, is dictated by the forms found in contemporary hieroglyphic inscriptions. Unfortunately, however, the rule is by no means consistently applied, even in the same word. In the Tebtunis papyrus the word $\text{𐤔} \text{𐤔}$ is written indifferently with the long and the short form, with only a slight preference for the former. The word $\text{𐤔} ; \text{𐤔}$ is always spelt thus except for one occasion when we find it beginning by 𐤔 . This might be thought to be a *lapsus calami* did it not happen to come almost directly underneath a normal form in the line above. Since in this papyrus the open form is always *t* the

¹ G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, p. 12 of the *Einleitung* and Pl. viii.

² Plejte, *Drie Handschriften op Papyrus*, and Lanzone, *Le Papyrus du Lac Moeris*.

³ *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, III, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. iv.

variant solves the problem, although the original word is *šdi*.¹ It is obviously desirable that the transcription should inform the reader of these differences in the writing of the same word, but how is the information to be conveyed? Not in a note, since that would mean greatly increasing the notes, in themselves a necessary evil to be kept strictly within bounds. I suggest with the greatest diffidence that we have here a problem that can only be resolved by a conventional sign. We could retain \circ for the closed *t*, and use—at least in autographic transcriptions—an open form \subset for the open forms. The hand sign would always represent the long form: in the cases in which the small open form certainly represents this sign we could indicate the fact by leaving the tip of the hand open. These slight modifications would be easily understood and would not be liable to confusion with other signs.

While the problem of the open and the closed *t* is the most general one presented by late hieratic, since it has to be faced in all manuscripts even if of very different dates, there are a number of other troublesome and puzzling problems which change with each text but which can be reduced to the question: what are we to do with the “fancy forms”? These annoying signs are due to the nature and origin of late hieratic. It is in many ways a pity that we have extended the term “hieratic”, which was coined in Graeco-Roman times and correctly describes its use at that period, so as to comprise the cursive script of earlier days. In the Middle and New Kingdoms there is nothing particularly “hieratic” about hieratic, in fact, apart from the Coffin Texts, its use for ritual and sacred works is the exception rather than the rule. Such works were written either in hieroglyphic or in cursive hieroglyphs. The chief use of hieratic was for literary and civil purposes, and the script slowly but surely develops into demotic, which, in Roman days, must be considered the representative of New Kingdom hieratic. Roman hieratic on the other hand replaces the cursive hieroglyphics of the New Kingdom but has no genetic connexion with them: it is based on earlier hieratic but does not develop from it. To put it in another way, the genetic originals of most of the late hieratic forms are not hieroglyphs but earlier hieratic writings. Only in a few easily recognizable cases are they directly derived from hieroglyphs. Late hieratic is thus, even more than the earlier scripts, completely divorced from contemporary hieroglyphic, with the great advantage that it is almost entirely immune from its aberrations; but at the same time this fact raises some very curious problems.

Dr. Gardiner laid down as a general rule that “there seems to be no excuse for not adhering to the genetic original of a hieratic sign”.² This perfectly sound rule is, however, difficult to apply to Roman hieratic since the genetic original is an earlier hieratic sign. Of course in the vast majority of cases we can use the genetic original of the earlier sign without the slightest difficulty. The really puzzling cases are those where the late sign can be shown to be a misinterpretation of an earlier one. This misunderstanding is of two kinds: the scribe may know the meaning of an earlier sign or group and its hieroglyphic equivalent, but entirely mistake its origin and character, or he may believe that it represents a certain character when as a matter of fact it represents another. The only satisfactory rule I can think of for dealing with such cases is to give the sign or signs that the scribe thought he was writing, irrespective of what he actually did write. This would seem to introduce that subjective element which is to be avoided in transcriptions, but only apparently, since there is hardly ever any doubt as to what the scribe meant to write. Since in the majority of cases the writer was copying from a hieroglyphic original he thought that the signs he was using corresponded to those in the exemplar before him. If we were to transcribe exactly what he wrote we should gravely misinterpret his intentions.

A few examples culled at random from the Tebtunis papyrus will help to illustrate the

¹ The spelling with *t* is known in late times: *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, iv, 560.

² *Journal*, xv, 51.

point. The word $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ is invariably written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$,¹ which is certainly a misinterpretation of the new-hieratic groups.² To transcribe it, however, by $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐} \text{𓂑}$ would be obviously absurd, even though this must have been the scribe's interpretation of the group, since everywhere else in the papyrus the sign 𓂏 has a perfectly normal form. Again, 𓂒 is invariably represented by **IS**. In studying a new-hieratic form 𓂓 such as we find in the d'Orbiney Papyrus (e.g., 5.5; 6.2),³ the scribe interpreted the straight stroke as the vertical line 𓂔 , and imagined that the rest of the sign represented some kind of snake! The group 𓂕 stands for and means 𓂖 , as is shown by the vertical stroke behind it. The lower moon sign is a misinterpretation of 𓂗 ,⁴ which elsewhere in the papyrus has a normal form. To transcribe it by 𓂗 would, however, be a mistake, since the hieroglyphic original certainly had *rc nb*, and the scribe used that group to represent it. He probably knew that it meant *rc nb* but he must have thought, if he thought at all, that the signs stood for "by day and night" as an elegant equivalent for "every day".

An example of the second tendency mentioned above is 𓂘 , always without the central tick, for 𓂙 . By this date the sign had entirely replaced 𓂙 , although the two were still distinct in the New Kingdom. The form without the central tick must derive from the latter sign,⁵ but it would be absurd to transcribe it so. A curious form of uncertain origin is 𓂚 , identical with 𓂛 , for 𓂛 , perhaps due to a mistaken interpretation of the very long forms to be found in new-hieratic.⁶

A very puzzling sign is 𓂜 for Sotp. In the corresponding passage in the *Papyrus du Lac Moeris*⁷ the word is written $\text{𓂜} \text{𓂝}$. It is very difficult to know whether the hieratic sign is meant to represent the triangle or the hawk. In favour of the latter we might urge that the tick stands for the flagellum,⁸ and I think it highly probable that the scribe was so used to writing 𓂞 for Horus that he had come to believe that the hieratic triangle was the equivalent of the hawk sign. When he came to the name of Sotp in the hieroglyphic text he was copying from, he may have thought that it was a case of dittography, due perhaps to a stupid scribe who had mixed up hieratic and hieroglyphic forms. He thus thought it unnecessary to copy out both signs and simply added a tick to the triangle in order to indicate the flagellum. He can hardly have meant to write the leaning triangle, which is a determinative and has usually a double tick. Such a confusion of ideas cannot be rendered even in an autographic transcription unless we were to write a triangle and add the flagellum. It seems to me that we should write what the scribe himself thought he was writing, that is to say 𓂝 . When signs have become practically identical in hieratic we should transcribe as the context requires; any necessary explanations could be given in a note or in the preface. In the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus the scribe certainly thought he was writing 𓂞 when he actually wrote $\text{𓂟} \text{𓂟} \text{𓂟}$,⁹ the differentiation between the two signs being of the slightest. Of course it is quite impossible to evolve any really logical scheme when dealing with things Egyptian, and even consistency is perhaps unattainable.

Quite apart from these practical questions of transcription, these late-hieratic writings

¹ The equivalence is proved by its use in *Nni-nsu*, Herakleopolis, and by comparison with parallel passages in the hieroglyphic papyrus. ² Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, p. 70, no. 71.

³ Cf. *op. cit.*, II, p. 6, no. 79, and, for late-hieratic forms, III, p. 6, no. 79. ⁴ *Op. cit.*, III, p. 68, no. 34.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, III, p. 56, n. 1.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 52, no. 579, and *Pap. Chester Beatty I, recto*, xv, 6.

⁷ Pleyte, Pl. vii, 36; Lanzone, Pl. vi, 60 has a slightly different form.

⁸ For a clearer example see Möller, *op. cit.*, III, p. 14, n. 3.

⁹ Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. v.

are of remarkable interest for the light they throw on the practice of the scribes and on their knowledge of the language. The Tebtunis scribe copied from a hieroglyphic original in front of him, and transcribed the signs quite automatically, without bothering in the least about the sense of what he was writing, if, indeed, he was capable of understanding it, which is highly doubtful. He copied not only the text itself, but also all the legends over the vignettes, without pausing to think that they were merely explanatory and were sheer nonsense without their illustrations. They confirm moreover the known fact that by the second century A.D. hieroglyphic and hieratic were completely divorced from the spoken language, which was written in demotic. The great majority of the scribes could not read the earlier scripts, although they were able to write and perhaps understand them, or, to put it less paradoxically, they knew the meanings of the various words and signs but were not able to render them phonetically. Their knowledge was purely visual and mnemonic.

The Tebtunis scribe had patiently learnt the hieroglyphic signs and their hieratic equivalents from sign-lists such as the Tanis Papyrus,¹ but, had he known the phonetic value of the signs he was learning, he would have avoided a good many blunders. He quite evidently knew that certain hieroglyphic signs represented a word which meant "king"; he also knew, or thought he knew, that certain hieratic signs corresponded to the hieroglyphic ones; what he did not know was whether these signs were to be pronounced *nsw* or *itnn*. This blunder is particularly instructive, since it is perhaps possible to establish its origin. While it is obviously highly improbable that the Tanis sign-list is the actual work from which the Tebtunis scribe learnt to write, it certainly represents one of the school-books current at that time. Now the Tanis list defines hieroglyphic Ⓞ by hieratic Ⓞ; ² the *t* has the long form with a very small upper tick—at least in the published facsimile—so that at first it might be taken for an *n*. A little farther down (xiii, 11 and xiv, 1), the word is repeated but with the short open *t* instead of the long form, thus producing a group at first sight not unlike *nsw*. The muddle-headed scribe is not quite clear in his mind as to these two writings, so adopts them both, mixes up the result with the *nsw* group, and to make confusion worse confounded adds a dot which may or may not be taken for the disk sign. It seems quite impossible to devise any system of transcription which would adequately convey to the reader this splendid example of confusion; we can only try to interpret what he meant to write. He used the group as an equivalent for *nsw*, not as an equivalent for *itn*, and therefore we should transcribe *nsw*.

It might be argued that at Tebtunis, a definitely Graeco-Roman town on the outskirts of the Fayyûm, the standard of knowledge was low and that the scribe was singularly ignorant; but such a judgement is certainly not borne out by the style of the handwriting, which shows much practice and is well formed, not to mention the general consistency in the orthography. It seems quite clear that the scribe considered both hieratic and hieroglyphic as perfectly arbitrary systems of writing, about the origin of which he knew little and cared less. If he gave any thought at all to the reasons for the system and why certain signs represented certain things or ideas, he probably had recourse to symbolism, metaphor, or elegance as in the case of *rc nb*. In the larger cities and the greater temples there were, no doubt, a few priestly scholars who still knew the phonetic value of the signs and to a certain extent the structure of the language, and who were thus able to transliterate the names of the emperors when necessary, but such knowledge must have been rare even by the end of the first century B.C. Plutarch certainly had access to comparatively good authorities, who furnished him with a lot of quite accurate information, but not about the language. It is greatly to be feared that, had any one asked the Tebtunis scribe for an explanation of the characters he was writing, he would have received an answer not very different from the statements of Horapollo.

¹ Griffith in *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*.

² No. XIII, 9, on Pl. iii and p. 15.

THE SO-CALLED POEM ON THE KING'S CHARIOT

By W. R. DAWSON AND T. E. PEET

With Plates xxv-xxix

THE ostrakon which forms the subject of this paper has long been known to science as containing an important and interesting literary text of the New Kingdom. It forms part of the extensive collection of antiquities made by Alexander Henry Rhind¹ during two winters that he spent in Upper Egypt (1855-6 and 1856-7). Nearly the whole² of Rhind's collections (amounting to about a thousand objects) was bequeathed by him to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, where they are well arranged in a special gallery. In the Rhind collection there are six ostraca and two writing-boards (Reg. Nos. 912-919); three ostraca and one of the boards bear hieratic texts, the rest Coptic. The ostrakon with which this paper is concerned bears the number 916, and is a flat flake of limestone measuring 21.5 × 9.5 cm., inscribed with thirty-one lines of text, fifteen on the recto and sixteen on the verso. It has suffered no damage, and every sign save one is legible, in spite of a certain amount of fading. Like most of the objects in Rhind's collection, this ostrakon is almost certainly of Theban origin.

As almost full-size photographs of the original are here reproduced (Pls. xxv and xxvii), we need not discuss the palaeography of the text, but it may be noted that the forms of the signs approximate to those of the Nineteenth rather than to those of the Twentieth Dynasty. Black ink only is used, and there are no verse-points, although the text is one in which we should expect to find them.³

The Edinburgh ostrakon was first made known by Dr. Adolf Erman, who in 1880 published a transcription (made from photographs) and a translation.⁴ Erman perceived the nature of the text at first sight, namely that it is a poetical composition on the royal chariot (see, however, below), and that each verse contains a pun, or play on words, a literary artifice dear to the Egyptians of all periods. Examples of the play on words are very numerous, and many will at once occur to the minds of students of Egyptian texts.⁵ Erman gave a revised translation in his *Literatur*,⁶ but his original communication has hitherto remained the sole published edition of the text. In 1922, by the kind permission of Dr. Graham Callander, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities, photographs were made for one of us (W. R. D.) of several of the ostraca in the collection, and from these photographs

¹ Rhind was born at Wick, Caithness, in 1833. He studied for the Scottish bar, but ill health compelled him to relinquish a sedentary life, and he devoted much of his time to excavations in Scotland, and to travelling. For many years he wintered abroad, thrice in Egypt. At his death, which occurred in 1863 on his way home from Egypt, he made, in addition to charitable bequests, large gifts to archaeology and established the lectureship at Edinburgh that bears his name.

² Several important papyri (the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, a mathematical leather-roll, and the funerary papyrus of Nesmin) were acquired by the British Museum in 1864 from David Bremner, into whose hands they had passed after Rhind's death.

³ In another fragment of the same or a similar text, the Turin ostrakon 9588, the verse-points are also lacking.

⁴ *Ä.Z.*, xviii, 93-6.

⁵ A few examples will suffice: *Pap. Leiden I. 350* (= *Ä.Z.*, xlii (1905), 12 ff.), where the puns on the names of the numerals were first noticed by C. W. Goodwin, *Ä.Z.*, ii (1864), 38; *Pap. Berlin 3027*, 2. 4; *Book of the Dead*, 83; *Pap. Turin P.R. xxiii*, 1.

⁶ German ed., p. 348; English ed., p. 280.

a transcription of the text was made, which has been collated with the original in 1927 and in 1932. The examination of the original and of the excellent photographs has naturally resulted in some improvement on the text of Erman, who worked from photographs only, and from photographs certainly less clear than those now at our disposal. A re-examination of the text by the other collaborator has resulted in further improvements, and the transcription here published is the result of our joint work thereon.

The hieratic text is on the whole easy to transcribe, and the readings are for the most part scarcely in doubt, but the translation is a matter of great difficulty. Actually the text, at first sight so legible and straightforward, bristles with difficulties. There are, in addition to the problems of lexicography, orthography, and syntax which always confront the translator of a literary text, special obscurities arising out of the use of so many technical terms (some of which are Semitic loan-words), the significance of which is most difficult to grasp. Furthermore, any translation is bound to fall flat because of the impossibility of reproducing in English the puns on the Egyptian words that are the most essential feature of the text.

Until recently, the Edinburgh ostrakon has been the sole surviving fragment of this little poem, but in 1927 Dr. Černý published an ostrakon in the Turin Museum (Reg. No. 9588) which contains what is, in all probability, another portion of the same composition.¹ The Turin fragment certainly contains the concluding portion of a poem, for it ends with the words *iw-š pw*, "it has come to the end", a formula with which the Egyptian scribe indicated that he had reached the end of the composition he was copying. The Edinburgh fragment, if indeed it be a portion of the same poem—and the close similarity of the matter and style strongly suggests that it is—must therefore be placed before the Turin portion. There is unfortunately a lacuna between them of indeterminable length, for the Edinburgh fragment ends in the middle of a sentence. Since it also begins in the middle of a sentence, the commencement of the work is clearly lost to us.

The work has long been known as the "Poem on the King's War-Chariot". This name is not strictly correct. It is true that in the Edinburgh ostrakon the objects whose names are punned upon are all parts of the chariot, but the person addressed in the second person singular is the king. Moreover, the fact that the name of every object punned upon is followed by the words "of thy chariot" might in itself have aroused the suspicion that elsewhere in the poem objects were mentioned which were not parts of the chariot. The Turin ostrakon shows that this is in fact the case; there we find "the bow that is in thy hand", and "the tip (?) of thy staff". It is true that here again the chariot plays a considerable role, but it is nevertheless clear that the composition is a hymn addressed to the king in his panoply of war, in which, as numerous battle-reliefs attest, the chariot would be included as a matter of course.

We have referred above to the difficulty of translating the composition, partly because it contains so many unknown words, partly because its puns are often obscure. From the lexicographical point of view, we have a little help from three other passages which deal with parts of chariots, namely *Pap. Koller*, 1. 3 to 2. 2; *Pap. Anastasi I*, 26. 5 to 9, and *Pap. Anastasi IV*, 16. 7 ff.; often, however, the parallels afford us not the slightest assistance in determining the meanings of words. The puns, moreover, are of varying types. In some cases they are phonetic: thus the *bt* of the chariot (whatever they may be), are said to be Bata, Lord of Saka; or the club (*rwnt*) of the chariot is said to plunder (*rwnt*) a distant land. In other cases, especially when the object whose name is punned upon is one which can be, and is, used quite apart from the chariot, the play is on the sense and not on the sound; thus

¹ *Rev. de l'Ég. ancienne*, 1 (1927), 224-6.

we read "the thong (*mḥꜣ*) of thy chariot binds (*mḥiꜣf*) those who are evil". In yet other cases we have a play upon sense which entirely eludes us, possibly because it has a mythological origin; thus, we cannot see why the "hands" (*dt*) of the chariot should be Astarte and Anath, unless it be for no better reason than that they are a pair.

The syntax of the clauses containing these plays upon words and meaning is also variable. Generally we have a non-verbal sentence in which some part of the chariot is simply said to be something else (see the pun on Bata quoted above). Or again, the part of the chariot may serve as the anticipated subject to a verbal sentence whose verb, in the *šdmꜣf* form, contains a play on the subject (see the play on the thong quoted above). More rarely, the clause contains an anacoluthon: the part of the chariot stands at the head, introduced by the particle *ir*; the construction is then broken off, and a sentence follows which contains its own subject: "the knife (*sft*) of thy chariot—when thy right arm smites (*sft*), the hills collapse".

Since the chariot was not introduced into Egypt until the Hyksos Period, the poem cannot be earlier in origin than the New Kingdom. This accords well with its language, which is definitely Late Egyptian. Non-verbal clauses with noun subject and noun predicate are used without any copula, and the L.E. possessive adjective pronoun *prꜣf* is, except with parts of the body, preferred to the suffix. The suffix of the third person is, however, *-sn*, not *-w*.

We may perhaps hazard a guess that the work was written by a court poet for one of the great conquerors of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Seti I, Ramesses II, or Merenptah.

Translation

Recto (Pls. xxv and xxvi).

(1) *see (?) every land, while its yoke (?) (2) is iron. The (3) im of thy chariot—the chiefs are well disposed (4) to thee. As for the cḏr of thy (5) chariot, <they> . . . every land. The (6) tꜣ of thy chariot, (7) it takes away the courage and boastfulness of troops. As for the bt (8) of thy chariot, they are Bata Lord of (9) Saka when he is in the arms of Bast (?), (10) cast away into some foreign land. The ḥmyt of thy <chariot> (11) are oars at the stern (?) of foreign lands. The javelin of thy chariot—(12) thy terror enters into them (i.e. the lands). The (13) sword of thy chariot (14) terrifies those who are in thy hand, it devours (15) the land of Syria, it carries off*

Verso (Pls. xxvii and xxviii).



(1) *the land of Kush. The knife of thy (2) chariot—when thy right arm smites, the hills (3) collapse; they fall in splinters. (4) As for the tail-piece (?) of thy (5) chariot—thou breakest down their impassable places. (6) As for the ḥb of thy (7) chariot—they make obeisance to thee for victory (?). As for (8) the basket (?) of thy chariot—(9) thou art as wise as Thoth. As for the club of thy chariot (10) it plunders a distant land. (11) It aims at one, and a thousand fall; (12) it leaves no survivors. As for the hands (13) of thy chariot they are Anath (14) and Astarte. As for the thong (?) (15) of thy chariot, it (16) binds those who are evil. As for the . . .*

Notes on the Translation

ro. 1. *mꜣmꜣ* looks like a reduplicated formation from *mꜣ*, "to see"; it is here doubtless in the infinitive with *ḥr* preceding.

ro. 1-2. *ḥr-šfyꜣt* is a name for the head of a ram with twisted horns,¹ so often used in the New Kingdom as a symbol of Amūn. The two horn-signs which follow are probably to be taken as a determinative or word-sign to *ḥr-šfyꜣt*. A glance at such a picture of the chariot-yoke as that given in Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, etc.*, (Theban Tombs Series, v), Pls. xi, xii, and xxi, shows how remarkable a resemblance the yoke bears to a pair of these horns and how suitably it might have been known by the name of *ḥr-šfyꜣt*.


¹ See above, p. 160, and *Ä.Z.*, LXII, 23-7.










The sign which follows the two horns looks at first sight like a small ligature (not plural strokes, however), but none seems possible here. It also resembles very closely the upper part of a , and on close examination is seen to end quite abruptly at the bottom, precisely at the point where there is a slight ridge in the limestone. It looks indeed as if the scribe set out to write a , but his pen was pushed off the surface by the ridge. There is an admirable parallel in the writing of *mtt* in line 1 of the Turin ostrakon (see below).



The comparison *iw trš hr-šfy*, &c., differs from all others in the ostrakon, first, because it is introduced by *iw* (*ir*, or no introductory word at all, being the usual practice), and secondly because the words "of thy chariot" do not occur, the simple "its" (*trš*) taking their place. Both these facts suggest that the clause was subordinate to that which preceded, perhaps in the sense of continuing the same thought. We should therefore translate "while", or "and its yoke", etc.




It contains no discernible pun. This may have lain in the lost clause which preceded, or again, it may be so obscure as to elude us, being based on association of thought and not on sound.







By *m bš n pt* is to be understood "like iron", *i.e.*, with the qualities of iron, not "made of iron".

Note that the scribe has written the possessive pronoun *trš*, where we should have expected the masculine, to agree with the masculine noun *hr*. The writing of the determinative  with *bš* is an indication of the amount of reliance that may be placed on his accuracy.

ro. 2-3. The masculine noun *im* occurs only here and *Pap. Anastasi IV*, 16. 10. In the latter passage it is plural, has clearly the determinative , and is stated to be made of, or worked with,  \times . The passage runs *iw phst bk m đšrw, tršn tst m šb, nššn imw m šht*, "the block (?) being worked in *đšrw*-wood, its joint (?) in ivory, their (*i.e.* the chariots') *imw* in *šht*". It is not possible from this to determine the nature of *im*. Its determinative is certainly neither  nor yet a ligature for  $\overline{\hspace{1em}}$, which would give redundant plural strokes. It cannot be , because of the detached top, and  is inconceivable in hieratic. The most likely transcription is . The form is not impossible, for the detached top occurs in it in the *Story of Horus and Seth*. The sign  is commonly followed in L.E. by the vertical stroke, which may or may not drop out when plural strokes follow. Even in the singular, however, the stroke can be omitted, *e.g.*, in *ghst, Horus and Seth (Pap. Chester-Beatty I)*, 10. 7. That this word *im* should have the determinative of leather here, and that of wood in *Anastasi IV*, suggests that it was made partly of the one material and partly of the other.

A very similar, probably identical, sign determines *bt* in ro. 8 (where it is again followed by the plural strokes), and *crk* in vs. 8. In neither case does there seem any justification for reading , $\overline{\hspace{1em}}$, or .

If the determinative really is , the word may well be identical with a word  , *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 78, known only from Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Ch. 165, where we cannot guess its meaning.


The group following *mrkbt* cannot be read  ; the first sign is a clear , and, moreover, the word *im* or *im* is needed here to form the play upon words with the preceding *im*. The sign after  must be , despite the fact that this is nowhere else in the ostrakon written in its longer form. What follows seems to be clear,  $\overline{\hspace{1em}}$, but translation is not easy. *im* is an intransitive verb meaning "to be pleasant", or "pleasing", and *nš wrw* cannot therefore be its object. Nor can it be its subject, for this is the suffix *-šn*. Is it possible that *nš wrw* resumes this: "They are well disposed to thee, the chiefs"? If this is right, we have one of the cases mentioned above where the punning clause contains an anacoluthon: "The *im* of




thy chariot—they are well disposed to thee, the chiefs.” The effect of the pun may be envisaged if we suppose some such vocalization as **pyam en tekberegūt yamsen nak nwēre*. It is possible that the *status constructus* of the verb would not have given the correct vocalization for the pun, and that this is why the *status pronominalis* with the clumsy resumptive noun *wrw* was used. Or were the puns not carried out so perfectly as this?











ro. 4. *ḥḏr*. The word *ḥḏr*, in which Burchardt¹ (No. 303) recognized the Semitic root עזר, “to help”, seems to be established in L.E. as a loan-word meaning “a helper”. The parts of the chariot called here *ḥḏrw* must surely be derived from the same root and be some kind of supporting or strengthening pieces, perhaps those which brace the top edge of the car to the pole.

ro. 5. *ḥḏwt*. The scribe has written what can only be a plural or collective noun. Burchardt (No. 282) assumes, perhaps rightly, that what we need here is a transitive verb, and suggests a connexion with ערר, “to frighten”. If the scribe’s writing is not hopelessly wrong, the pun here involves the metathesis of two consonants.






ro. 6. *ḥ* as part of a chariot is unknown.

ro. 7.  may perhaps be a writing of *ḥbr*, “boasting”.

ro. 7–8. *bt*. The group  given in the *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 483 for the sign following  does not seem very likely. Cf. above, on the determinative of *im* in ro. 3. Read probably .

ro. 9. The scribe has written    , which might be read “the son of Bast”. It seems more natural, however, to suppose that he intended to write  not , though the diacritical dots are carefully inserted over the former sign both in ro. 7 and in ro. 8. Although we know of no legend that connects Bata with the arms of Bast, it is hard to understand why Vikentief in *Journal*, xvii, 78–9, proposes to emend *mḥwd* to    , or how he would translate the passage thus emended.

Gardiner, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxvii, 185–6, was the first to perceive the meaning of this passage.

ro. 10. The trace at the beginning of the line is puzzling.  is just possible, though its form must have been rather abnormal and the construction thus given would be unusual. The sign is too short horizontally for , and , which is possible palaeographically, is impossible grammatically. A very short  is not out of the question, but it is very difficult to believe that  can have been crowded into the small space that precedes it.

ro. 10. Between this line and the next the scribe seems to have omitted *mrkbt*.


ro. 11. It is difficult to see what *m phty ḥḥwt*, “by the might of the foreign lands”, can mean here. The emendation *m pḥwy ḥḥwt* suggests itself, “at the stern of the foreign lands”, an allusion to the abaft position of the steering-oar of a boat.

nī is a common L.E. word for “javelin” (e.g., *Pap. Bibl. Nat. Paris* 196, II, 5 and 9, III, 9; B.M. 10052, 6. 10). It is used in connexion with the chariot in *Pap. Koller*, 1. 6. The punning of *nī* with *nr* in ro. 12 suggests that the *r* of the latter was not pronounced.

ro. 12. If we translate “the javelin of thy chariot is the fear of thee”, regarding *pḥ nī . . . nr-k* as a non-verbal clause, it is difficult to parse *ḥk*, for to use a participle here, “which has entered into them”, would not be a usual L.E. construction. Probably the pun is of the anacoluthon type (cf. *im-šn*, ro. 3), and we must render: “The javelin of thy chariot—the fear of thee has entered into them”, taking *ḥk* as Old Perfective. *im-šn* doubtless refers to *ḥḥwt* in l. 11. There is, perhaps, a play upon meaning as well as on words; the fear of the king is to pierce his foes in the moral sense, just as his javelin does in the physical.

ro. 13. The *ḥrp* of the chariot is mentioned in *Pap. Koller*, 1. 5, and in *Pap. Anastasi I*,

¹ Max Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen: zweiter (Schluss-) Teil, Listen der syllabisch geschriebenen Wörter*, Leipzig, 1910.

17. 1. Burchardt (No. 686) identifies it with the Hebrew חרב, "a sword", doubtless rightly. If the pun between *hrp* and the verb *hr-f* in the next line is to be complete and not merely a play on the first two consonants *hr*, it would suggest that the consonant written  is here a fricative not an explosive, *i.e.* *f* or *v*, not *p*.

ro. 14. *hr* must here be the verb "to terrify", not "prepare". For *mḥ r m*, "to eat" or "devour", *cf.* *Eloquent Peasant*, B. 1, 9-10 and 15.

vs. 1. For *sft*, "knife", of the chariot, *cf.* *Pap. Koller*, 1. 5.

vs. 2. If we take the determinatives of *sft* in this line at their true value, the word must be a noun, and we can only translate: "The sword of thy chariot is the sword of thy right arm." This is unlikely to be right because the play upon words never allows the punned word to be used again in exactly the same sense, and, what is more, the following words are left cut off from what precedes them. *sft* must therefore be a faulty writing of the verb "to cut" in the *śdm-f* form, with its subject *hps̄-k* following it: "When thy right arm cuts, the hills become weak."

vs. 3. *bšd*. The length of the sign under \ominus favours the reading \ominus rather than $\omin�$. The first determinative ρ is taken from *bš*, "to vomit"; but this makes no sense here, and it is certain that we have to do with the common late metathesis *bšd* for *bš*, "to be weak" or "to become weak".

krkr. Here used of the small pieces into which the hills crumble under the king's stroke.

vs. 5. *gww* must be, as Erman (*Lit.*, p. 349) saw, a writing of the word now given by *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, v, 152, as meaning "impassable places" (*e.g.* *Anast. I*, 23. 7, 24. 6). *nwšn* refers to the hills.

vs. 6. *ḥḥb* or *hb*. Whatever the determinative may be, the \curvearrowright of *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 229 is surely impossible. \curvearrowleft (the rib) may be intended, though we should expect \curvearrowright after it. *Cf.* the determinative of *nw* in l. 2 of the Turin ostrakon.

vs. 7. *ḥbs̄-śn*. The scribe has failed us badly here. The pun requires a verb whose consonants are *hb* or *ḥḥb*. The scribe either misread its determinative as \square , or, if writing from dictation, failed to recognize the verb and read the *ś* of its suffix *śn* into its stem, having in mind the common word *ḥbs̄*, "a lamp". It is difficult to guess which of the various verbs suggested by the combination *hb* or *ḥḥb* was meant. Perhaps *ḥḥb*, "to bow down to", is the most likely in view of the need for an intransitive which can be followed by a dative of the person (*nk*).

n nḥt is very difficult. It might be taken literally as "by reason of victory", though we should have expected "thy victory". *nḥt* might be the word used of "booty" or "prisoners of war" (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 317): "They bow down to thee as prisoners." But here we should have to suppose that the *n* before *nḥt* stands for *m*.

vs. 8. *crk*. *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 213, gives the determinatives of this word as $\text{C}_{\text{I}}^{\curvearrowright}$. For C we should certainly read † , the form being suitable, and it being probable that the word here used of the chariot is by origin the common $\text{C}_{\text{I}}^{\curvearrowright}$ † , a basket used for holding or measuring such things as fruit. Is it the large weapon-case carried at the side of the chariot? The group read by the *Wb.* as $\text{C}_{\text{I}}^{\curvearrowright}$ is very like that discussed in connexion with *im* in ro. 3. The fact that the noun has the singular article is an argument against the plural strokes, though, with a scribe of this calibre, not a fatal one, as the cases of *im*, ro. 2-3, and *mḥz*, vs. 14, where plural strokes are separately written, show. The alternative to $\text{C}_{\text{I}}^{\curvearrowright}$ would be $\text{C}_{\text{I}}^{\curvearrowleft}$; *cf.* on *im*, ro. 2-3.

vs. 9. Since *pṛ crk* in line 8 is masculine, we must read *crk tw*, "wise art thou", rather than the Old Perfective *crk-tw*, "is wise".

cwnt might conceivably be the pole of the chariot, but is more probably the club which is

carried in it. The pole seems to have been called the "arm" (*c*); see Gardiner, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom (Anastasi I)*, 28*, n. 6.

vs. 13-14. There can be no doubt that in the mention of Anath and Astarte we are to see a reference to the Asiatic origin of the chariot. For the latest work on this subject see H. Schäfer, *Armenisches Holz in ägyptischen Wagnereien (Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1931, xxv)*.

For *dt* as a part of the chariot, cf. *Pap. Anast. I*, 24, 5 and 6, and Gardiner's note thereon (*op. cit. supra*, 26*, n. 14). He reasons that since in the Anastasi passage there is one horse and only one *dt*, whereas in the royal chariot of our ostrakon, which would naturally have two horses, there are two *dt*, the *dt* must be part of the harness of the horse rather than of the chariot proper.

There seems to be no discernible play upon words in this comparison; there may, however, have been some good reason why the two goddesses should be equated with the *dt*; possibly the goddesses bore some nickname which resembled the word *dt*. Or were the *dt* commonly adorned with the heads, figures, or emblems of the two? For the occurrence of Anath and Astarte together in Egyptian literature, see Gardiner, *Chester-Beatty Papyri No. I*, p. 15, n. 10.

The Turin Ostrakon

Our article would not be complete without a translation of the Turin Ostrakon No. 9588, and a very tentative one is here given. We have used Černý's transcription,¹ which is reproduced in Pl. xxix with one or two small modifications which we have tried to justify in the notes. We have to thank Professor Farina of the Reale Museo di Antichità in Turin for admirable photographs of a very difficult subject, which have enabled us to verify Černý's readings of almost every sign. The few groups in which the photograph does not enable us to control Černý's text are underlined in our transcript by dotted line.

The ostrakon is much rubbed on the surface, and a triangular piece has been broken off the top left-hand corner in such a way that six or seven groups have been lost in l. 1 and progressively fewer down to l. 7, which is perhaps complete. The scribe has made some awkwardly formed signs, not to mention two probable corruptions, *mnw* in l. 1 and *wntw* in l. 6. The date of the ostrakon is the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty.

Translation

(1) *The bow that is in thy hand is a mtt of. . . . The shield that is upon* (2) *upon the The th of thy chariot treads upon Syr[ia]* (3) *[The] tip (?) of thy staff is the end of every land. As for the cmd of thy [chariot (?)]—*(4) *thou makest havoc (?) in Naharin and destroyest their cities. The* (5) *of thy chariot are Isis and Nephthys. As for the stick that is in thy hand—[thou] est [the Asiatics (?)];* (6) *they come running to pray for peace to thy divinity. The whip [that] is* (7) *in thy hand is the horns of Horsiese when he destroys (?) the Hill of Copper and* (8) *in the Lebanon. The hyryw of thy chariot* (9) *are the chief among four. It has come to the end.*

Notes on the Translation

l. 1. *mtt* (or *mttt*) is unknown, and *mnw* written without determinative must surely be corrupt. The pun would seem to be between *pdt* and *mtt*, but it can hardly have been very close phonetically.

¹ *Rev. de l'Ég. anc.*, I (1927), 224-6.

To emend \circ to \int and $\bar{_}$ to 𐤀 , "the *mtt* of Month", is obvious, but, on the principle of *difficilior lectio*, probably wrong.

l. 2. *nw*. The reading seems certain, though the group is badly made; the determinative might be the lip, the rib, or the crescent moon. Cf. Edinb. Ostr., vs. 6.

hnd m. The *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 313, gives authority for *hnd m* instead of the more usual *hnd hr*. *hnd*, however, in view of its det., may not be the verb of motion at all. The pun is wholly obscure.

l. 3. *phwy n*. Perhaps to be taken as an example of the L.E. prepositional phrase *ph n*, "behind" (*Pap. De Bergh*, B.M. 10383, 3. 7; *Turin*, P.R. 43. 2; 44. 11 and 46. 15). *cmd*. Cf. *Pap. Anastasi IV*, 16. 8.

l. 4. *hft*. A not unusual writing at this period of *fh*, "to destroy".

l. 6. *pd*. The curious determinative 𐤀 (no other reading seems possible), must be taken from *pd*, "knee", and in fact this noun, and not the verb at all, may have been intended: "they come to thee on (bended) knee".

isbr. Černý read \int for the last sign of the line, but, so far as one can judge from the photograph, 𐤀 would suit the trace equally well and give the well-known word for "whip".

l. 7. *p: dw n hmt*, written thus with the article, must be the name of a place, though it is unknown. For such names, cf. *ts int n p: cš* (above, p. 128).

At the end of the line Černý read doubtfully 𐤀 . Yet 𐤀 also seems possible, and would give us the beginning either of *fhk*, "to exterminate", or of *fhk(w)*, "to tear in pieces" (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 579).

l. 8. After the 𐤀 at the beginning, Černý seems to have omitted a 𐤀 .

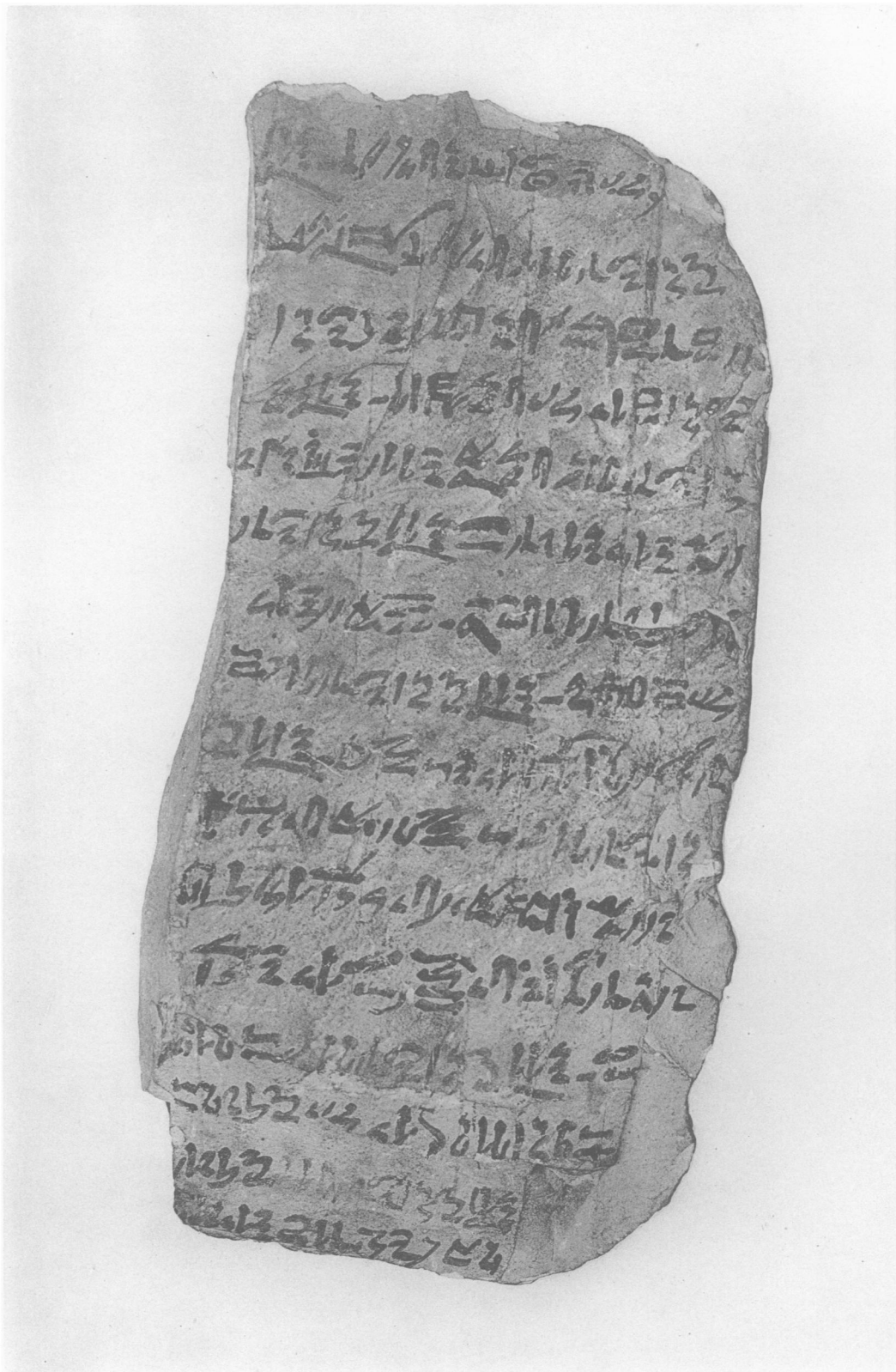
R-b-in-iw, in which *in-iw* may well stand simply for *n* preceded by a vowel, seems to lack the fourth consonant shown in the usual writings of Lebanon, but the tree-determinative makes the identification practically certain.

ll. 8-9. The pun is between *hyryw* in l. 8 and *hry(hryw)* in l. 9.



Edinburgh Ostracon 916. Recto.

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Edinburgh Ostracon 916. Verso.

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THE SIGNS ¶ AND 𐌒

By A. J. ARKELL

With Plates xxx-xxxii

IN the Blue Nile Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the graves of men with any pretensions to holiness, however recently buried, are invariably marked to-day by one or more white flags, of which examples are shown in the accompanying photographs (Pls. xxx-xxxii). Similar flags are equally common north of Khartum, and are found to a lesser extent in the White Nile Province south of Khartum. They are even occasionally found as far west of the Nile as Darfur, though there they are undoubtedly due to comparatively recent riverain influence.

In an article entitled *Fung Origins in Sudan Notes and Records*, xv, 201 ff., I have given my reasons for believing that the Fung kingdom which sprang up at Sennar about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., just when Islam was being introduced by the Arabs into that part of the world, did not cause, as has hitherto been believed, a complete break with the past, but was simply the kingdom of Aloa rejuvenated by a new dynasty of foreign (Shilluk) blood. The kingdom of Aloa, which stretched along the Blue Nile at least as far south as the modern Roseires, was, as has always been recognized, culturally the child of Meroe, and so but the grandchild of Ancient Egypt. There are therefore reasons, which I have given in greater detail in the article to which I refer, for not being surprised if one finds traces of religious beliefs surviving to-day which can be attributed to the cultural influence of Ancient Egypt, although the country has been nominally Moslem for over 400 years and was nominally Christian before that.

It is now generally recognized by Egyptologists¹ that the sign ¶ is in origin a flag and not an axe; and I suggest that in the flags found on the graves of Sudanese holy men to-day we have a survival of the flag which must in pre-dynastic times in Egypt have marked the grave of the ancestor whose spirit his descendants considered it advisable to honour.

On the Blue Nile to-day such a flag is looked on as the outward and visible sign of recognition of the holiness or spiritual power of the deceased, or, as the Mohammedan natives would perhaps prefer to put it, of his efficacy as a mediator with Allah. As superstition is still by no means dead, a small portion of a flag that has flown on such a grave is looked on as an invaluable talisman especially for the healing of sickness or wounds; but in native opinion it is unpardonable to remove even a small piece of such a flag, unless at the same time a new flag is erected as an addition to those already flying.

It seems to me, therefore, that in her article *The Sign ¶*,² Miss Murray has unnecessarily stressed the significance of the pole. I readily agree with her that another common African idea, also no doubt prevalent since very early times, is that of the tree as "the container which holds the divine spirit". I am not, however, familiar with the idea of attaching some object to a shrub or tree exactly as a means of communication with the deity, which she states is well known among primitive peoples; although it is common to find trees associated with grave shrines even on the Blue Nile, and to those trees one may find attached small

¹ A. M. Blackman, *Man*, x (1910), no. 11; *Meir*, II, 35; A. H. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, 489.

² *Griffith Studies*, 312.

bundles of human hair (usually the lock of youth cut off at manhood, and hung up by the lad's mother as a proof that the saint has granted her prayer for a son), or of bones from a sacrifice vowed to the saint should he grant some other request. Such trees may be seen in Pls. xxx, 3 and xxxi, 1, 2.

Numerous survivals of the cult of trees could be quoted from the pagan Sudan to-day, distinct from the cult of the deceased ancestor, of which many examples are given in Professor Seligman's *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*.

But the simpler explanation of the sign Υ in the light of the above considerations would appear to be sufficient—that the pole is only an incidental and not the essential part of the sign, which merely represents the flag erected over the ancestor's grave lest his spirit should feel neglected and so punish his descendants for their neglect of him. In time certain famous ancestors developed into gods, and hence the flag marking the revered ancestor's grave came to stand for the god.

Miss Murray, in her article to which I have already referred, has pointed out that the practice of setting up flags in front of the primitive shrine to indicate the house of the god was continued in Pharaonic times in the pennons on the slender masts set up in front of the entrance pylons of the temple. In this connexion I would draw attention to Pls. xxx, 3 and xxxi, 1, in which it will be seen that in the Sudan to-day, where any form of building has been erected over a holy man's grave, the flags are always placed in front of the entrance and not in any other position, as would probably have been the case had these flags and the temple pennons not sprung from a common origin. An even closer parallel to the temple pennons may be seen in the flags at the east end of the wood and grass shelter which forms the Ya'qubab mosque.¹

While thus the sign Υ is seen to have been in origin the flag placed on the grave of a deceased ancestor, and so to have stood for the deceased ancestor of spiritual power before it denoted the god, so also I suggest that the sign \mathcal{L} ,² and indeed snake goddesses, such as Ernutet, the deity of the month in which the great harvest festival was held,³ and Kerhet $\Delta \text{ } \mathcal{L}$, a goddess of primeval time, who was also guardian goddess of a temple,⁴ have a similar origin in a primitive belief that the female ancestor (also of course associated with fertility or vitality) appears in the form of a snake.

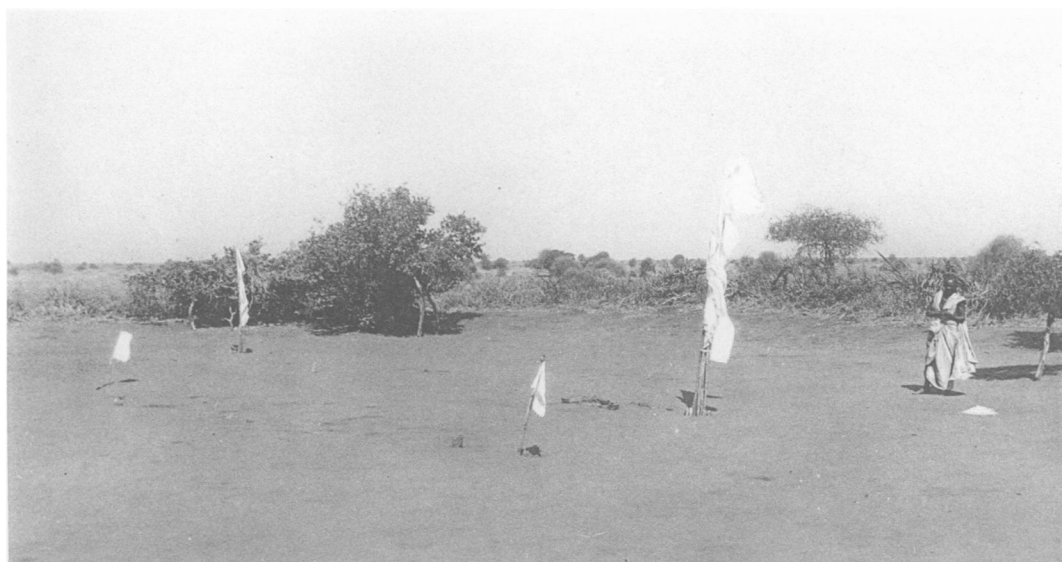
The survival of such a belief among the pagan Bari of the southern Sudan to-day is mentioned by Seligman (*op. cit.*, 274–6), who, besides stating that the cult of the dead plays such a large part in the life of the Bari that every grave is a potential shrine, mentions that a superhuman power known as Ngun lo kak ("Ngun Below"), and confused with the spirits of the dead, is believed to manifest itself in a snake not infrequently seen about houses, which people are delighted to see, and to which they give milk, believing it is probably their yakanye, *i.e.* grandmother.

¹ *Sudan Notes and Records*, xv, 240, and Pl. xi, fig. 2.

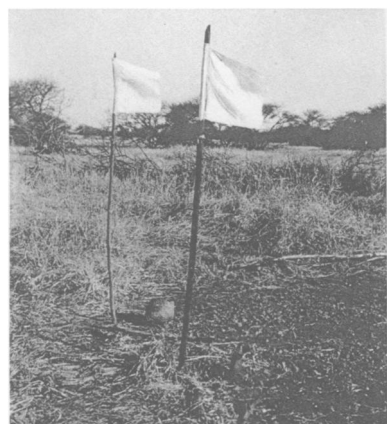
² Cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, 466.

³ *Id.*, in *Journal*, II, 125.

⁴ Dr. A. M. Blackman, to whom I am indebted for this allusion to Kerhet , has also pointed out to me that Kerhet , spelt $\Delta \text{ } \mathcal{L}$ or $\Delta \text{ } \mathcal{L}$, very significantly designates "the early ancestor".



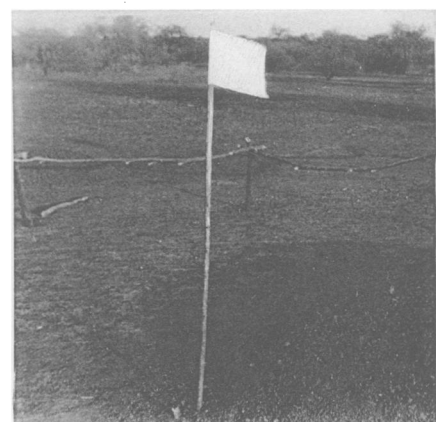
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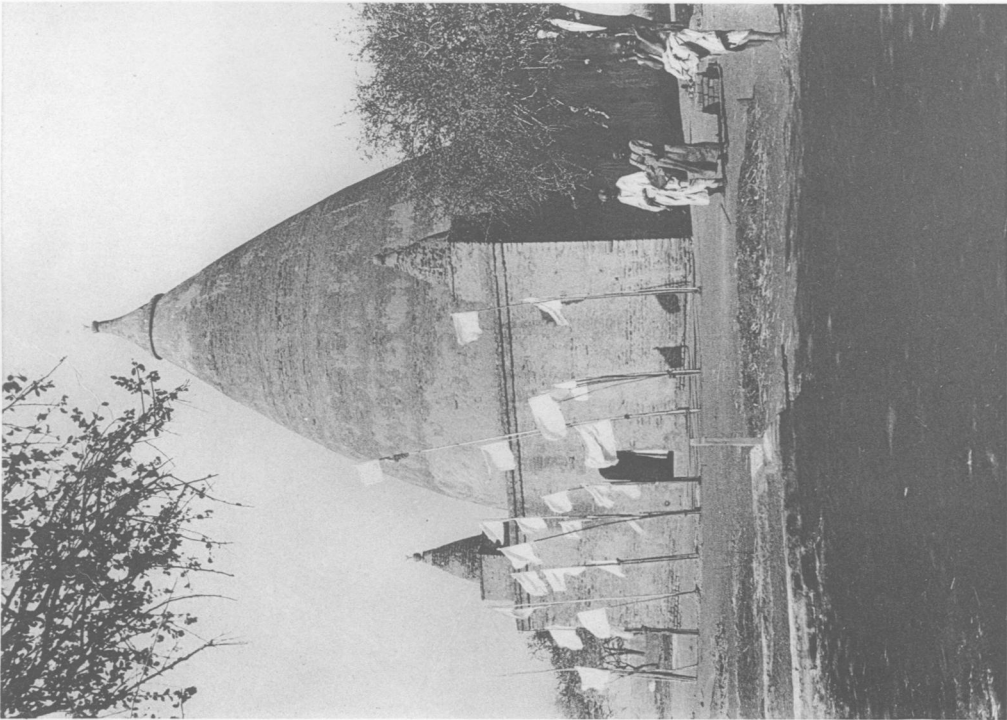
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1. Grave shrine of Bannaqa el-Darir : *c.* 1500-1570 A.D.
2. Two graves near the Segadi-Arakiin road. Sennar.
3. Gubba of Shêkh Talha.
4. One of two flags on the grave of Fiki Ahmed Wad Derdab (died 1931). Dinder River.
5. Graveyard round shrine of Shêkh Farah Tuktuk near Sennar Dam.



2

Grave shrine of Shékh Farah Tuktuk,
a mile N.E. of the Sennar Dam.



I

Gubba of the Ya'qubab Shékh Muhammed
Tom Bannaqa. Sennar District.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT (1932-1933)

BY DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D.

The following abbreviations are used in this Bibliography:

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|---|---|
| <i>A.B.</i> = <i>Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.</i> | <i>J.A.</i> = <i>Journal asiatique.</i> |
| <i>Archiv</i> = <i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung.</i> | <i>J.R.A.S.</i> = <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i> |
| <i>A.S.</i> = <i>Annales du Service, Cairo.</i> | <i>J.T.S.</i> = <i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i> |
| <i>Ä.Z.</i> = <i>Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache.</i> | <i>O.C.</i> = <i>Oriens Christianus.</i> |
| <i>B.I.F.</i> = <i>Bulletin de l'Inst. français d'Arch. orient. au Cairo.</i> | <i>O.L.Z.</i> = <i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i> |
| <i>B.J.R.L.</i> = <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.</i> | <i>R.B.</i> = <i>Revue Biblique.</i> |
| <i>B.N.J.</i> = <i>Byzantinisch-Neugriech. Jahrbuch.</i> | <i>R.E.A.</i> = <i>Revue de l'Égypte ancienne.</i> |
| <i>B.Z.</i> = <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i> | <i>R.H.E.</i> = <i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain.</i> |
| <i>D.L.Z.</i> = <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung.</i> | <i>R.O.C.</i> = <i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.</i> |
| <i>G.G.A.</i> = <i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger.</i> | <i>T.L.Z.</i> = <i>Theologische Literaturzeitung.</i> |
| <i>H.T.R.</i> = <i>Harvard Theological Review.</i> | <i>W.Z.K.M.</i> = <i>Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</i> |
| <i>Journal</i> = <i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i> | <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> = <i>Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.</i> |
| | <i>Z.N.T.W.</i> = <i>Zeitschr. f. neutestamentliche Wissensch.</i> |

I. BIBLICAL.

INTEREST is still very largely centred in the Chester Beatty material, as yet unpublished (*cf. Journal*, xviii (1932), 181). A general description of the Biblical Papyri by F. G. KENYON, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, in *Gnomon*, viii (1932), 46-9, gives an account of the Papyri which the writer describes as being the remains of twelve codices of the second to fourth centuries.

C. BONNER, *New Biblical Papyri at the University of Michigan in H.T.R.*, xxv (1932), 205-6, refers to recently purchased material which belongs to the same find as the Chester Beatty Pap. consisting of "6 leaves of a codex which contained the latter part of the book of Enoch and an unidentified Christian work".

F. G. KENYON, *Nomina Sacra in the Chester Beatty Papyri*, in *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), 5-10, makes a detailed examination of the abbreviations such as $\overline{\theta s}$, $\overline{\alpha s}$, $\overline{\epsilon\lambda}$, etc., in these papyri. Attention should be given also to H. GERSTINGER, *Ein Fragment des Chester Beatty-Evangelienkodex in der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Pap. Graec. Vindob. 31974)*, which appears in *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), 67-72.

Notes on other recently discovered Biblical material appear in P. COLLART: *Un papyrus Reinach inédit. Psaume 140 sur une amulette*, in *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), 208-12, and K. DUNKELEY, *The Oxyrhynchus Gospel Fragment*, in *H.T.R.*, xxiii (1930), 19-37.

The Bohairic text of Proverbs edited by O. BURMESTER and †E. DÉVAUD (*cf. Journal*, xvi (1930), 255) has been the subject of reviews by A. MALLON in *Biblica*, xii (1931), 255, and by TH. LEFORT in *Muséon*, xlv (1932), 171-2. The Saïdic text published by W. H. WORRELL (*cf. Journal*, xvii (1931), 248), is reviewed by TH. LEFORT in *Muséon*, xlv (1932), 170-1.

SIR HERBERT THOMPSON'S *The Coptic Version of the Acts*, etc. (*cf. Journal*, xviii (1932), 181), has been reviewed by W. E. CRUM in this *Journal*, xviii (1932), 193-4, and by Professor F. C. BURKITT in *J.T.S.*, xxxiii (1932), 441-4.

In connexion with Biblical texts it may be appropriate to mention here A. HEBBELYNCK, *Les κεφάλαια et les τίτλοι des évangiles dans les MSS. bohairiques Paris Bibl. Nat. Copte 16, Vatican Copt. 8, et le fragment bohairique Brit. Mus. Add. 1474. O.A. fol. 9*, in *Muséon*, xli (1928), 81-120.

A. VASCHALDE, *Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible (deuxième groupe)*, in *Muséon*, xlv (1932), 117-56, is a further instalment of a most useful bibliography and deals with the New Testament and lections drawn from the New Testament.

W. H. HATCH, *Six Coptic Fragments of the New Testament from Nitria*, in *H.T.R.*, xxvii (1933), 99-108, gives passages of which five are from lectionaries, one probably from a similar source. These passages are from Lk. 21, 24; Joh. 13; Mt. 10; Joh. 4, James 2, and Acts 23.

2. APOCRYPHAL, GNOSTIC, ETC.

(a) *Apocryphal*. R. P. CASEY, *The Apocalypse of St. Paul*, appears in *J.T.S.*, xxxiv (1933), 1-32.

The problem of the heretical or Gnostic atmosphere in which the apocryphal acts of the Apostles were produced, so important in its bearing on what is a leading element in Coptic literature, is treated by PETERSON, *Die Häretiker der Phillipusakten*, in *Z.N.T.W.*, xxxi (1932), 97-110, and by the same writer in *Zum Messalinismus der Philippus-Akten*, in *O.C.*, vii (1932), 172-9, both articles reviewed by H. D(LEHAYE) in *A.B.*, li (1933), 136-7. Reference should be made also to G. BORNKAMM, *Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten (Forsch. zur Religion u. Literatur d. A. u. N. Test., NF. 31, Marburg Theol. Diss.)*, Göttingen (1933), 124, which deals with possible Gnostic and Manichean elements in those acts.

L. VAGENAY, *L'évangile de Pierre . . .* (cf. *Journal*, xvii (1931), 248), is considered by A. VITTI in *Biblica*, xii (1931), 247-8, and by H. GOGUEL in *Rev. hist. et philos. relig.*, xi (1931), 225-8. F. BLATT, *Die lat. Bearb. der Acta Andreas . . .* (cf. *Journal*, xviii (1932), 181), is reviewed by A. ERNOUT in *R. de Philol.*, vi (1932), 166. MINGANA, *Apocalypse of Peter . . .*, in *Woodbrooke Studies*, III. 2 (cf. *Journal* xvi (1930), 250) is reviewed by H. DUENSING in *G.G.A.*, cxci (1932), 166-70.

(b) *Gnostic*. A noteworthy contribution to the study of Coptic Gnosticism will be found in G. SCHOLEM, *Ueber eine Formel in den koptisch-gnostischen Schriften u. ihren jüdischen Ursprung*, in *Z.N.T.W.*, xxx (1931), 170-6, which brings forward the theory that the two names to which reference is made in the Book of Jeu I, 47-8, are the secret or real name and the speakable name.

(c) *Manichean*. K. Schmidt's very momentous find of Coptic Manichean papyri holds the centre of interest in this field. J. BIDEZ, *Découverte d'ouvrages de Mani*, in *Byzantion*, vii (1932), 723-4, and LIETZMANN in *Deutsch. Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1932, 1772, describe this find. K. Schmidt discovered in the Fayyûm Coptic papyri of Manichean content, probably of the latter part of the fourth century. The find consisted of seven volumes enclosed in a chest. Unfortunately the villagers who discovered the chest scattered its contents, but according to Bidez nearly all have now been recovered. One volume contains more than 520 pages. Some of the material is slightly injured by damp. A brief description of the discovery appears in the *London Times* for 20 April 1933. A more detailed account of the material found is given by C. SCHMIDT u. H. J. POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, in *Sitzb. der Preuss. Ak. d. Wissensch., Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, 1933, 89, 2 plates, which describes the documents as original works of Mani and his disciples and gives in Coptic five specimens of their contents. This is summarized by TH. LEFORT in *R.H.E.*, xxix (1933), 486-7.

Of other studies in the religion of Mani reference may be made to A. V. JACKSON, *Researches in Manichaeism*, Oxford (1932), 25, and to the article *Manichéisme* in CABROL-LECLEERCQ, *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, xi (1932), 1340-1411, with section on Manicheism in Egypt (1404-6). A very interesting account of the Mani discoveries appears in DORA ZUNTZ, *Die koptische Malerei*, in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, xi (1933), 262-4, with two illustrations.

3. LITURGICAL.

Prominent amongst liturgical works of recent date is I. M. HANSENS, S.J., *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, of which two volumes have appeared already, II. *De missa rituum orientalium*, Pars I, Rome (1930), xl, 514, and III. *id.* Pars II (1932), xvi, 646, with an *Appendix* to these two volumes containing indices and versions (1932), 120. Special attention is given to the Coptic rite. Other volumes in preparation are, I. *De ritibus orientalibus universis*; IV. *De sacramentis et sacramentalibus rituum orientalium*; and V. *De officio horarum in ritibus orientalibus*.

M. JUGIE'S article *Monophysite (église)* in the *Dict. de Théol. catholique*, x, Paris (1929), 2251-306, to which reference is made below, contains a section (6) dealing with the liturgical life and ritual of the Coptic Church. A useful manual on oriental liturgies is S. SALAVILLE, *Liturgies orientales. Notions générales, éléments principaux*, Paris (1932), 218, which includes an account of the Coptic rite. It is one of the series *Bibl. catholique des sciences religieuses*. Reference should be made also to J. ZIADÉ, *Orientale (messe)* in the *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, xi (1931), 1434-87.

A. M. KROPP, *Die koptische Anaphora des hl. Evang. Matthäus*, in *O.C.*, vii (1932), 111-25, gives a Sacridic

anaphora from Paris B.N. copte 129^o. Attention should also be given to E. PETERSON, (I) *Die alexandrinische Liturgie bei Kosmas Indikopleustes*, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, VI (1932), 66-74, and (II) *Dona, Munera, Sacrificia, ibid.*, 75-7.

Some valuable material is given in the article *Messe* in CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, XI (1933), 513-774, especially in the sections on the Anaphora of Serapion (606-12), the mass of the Apostolical Constitutions (612-22), and the Egyptian rite (734-9). Reference may be made to PLACIDO DE MEESTER, *Liturgia Bizantina. Studi di rito Byz.*, II, VI, Rome (1930), xxxii+571, which has bearing on Coptic: review by M. GRABMANN in *B.Z.*, XXXII (1933), 348-54.

On services other than the Eucharist we have O. BURMESTER, *Two services of the Coptic Church attributed to Peter, bishop of Belmesa*, in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 235-54, the two services being that for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and the consecration of a font; and the same writer's *The Canons of Christodulos, Patriarch of Alexandria* (A.D. 1047-77), in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 71-84, text, translation, from Paris B.N. arabe 251. These canons, 31 in number, deal with the liturgy, feasts and fasts, the conduct of the congregation in church, of the laity towards the clergy, and of the clergy towards the laity. The same writer's *The Homilies or Exhortations of the Holy Week Lectionary*, in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 21-70, deals with liturgical lections from Shenoudi, S. John Chrysostom, Constantine of Siut, Peter of Alexandria, and Severian of Gabala. A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Le MS. Vaticane copte 44 et le livre du chrême*, in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 181-234, gives text and translation of the pontifical rite used in the consecration of the chrism.

An interesting study appears in C. KOPP, *Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche*, in *Orientalia Christiana*, XXV (1932), no. 75. It is briefly reviewed in *The Month* (1932), 569. Other works dealing more or less directly with liturgical subjects are: R. ANTOINE, *L'ordination sacerdotale chez les coptes unis*, in *R.O.C.*, VIII (1931/2), 362-75, and C. DE CLERCQ, *De ritu et ascriptione ritui apud orientales catholicos*, in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, VI (1932), 473-80. Interesting, but of less direct bearing, is C. BONNER, *Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets*, in *H.T.R.*, XXV (1932), 362-7.

4. LITERATURE.

L. TH. LEFORT's article *La littérature égyptienne* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 183) is reviewed by N. H. B. in *B.Z.*, XXXII (1932), 148.

G. RAUSCHEN, *Patrologie. Die Schriften Kirchenväter und ihr Lehrgehalt. 10-11 Auflage, neubearbeitet von Berthold Altaner*, Freiburg i/B. (1931), xx+441, is the latest edition of the best manual of patristics, with excellent bibliography. Part 2, ch. i (195-7), deals with the Fathers of the Desert, Paul of Thebes, Antony, Pakhom, and Horsiesi: ch. ii (208-12) Hesychius, Serapion of Thmuis, Ammonius of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind, the two Macarii, Evagrius of Pontica; Part 3, ch. iii (407-9), Severus of Antioch, Philoponus. It is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Biblica*, XIV (1933), 120-3, who makes additions to the bibliography, and by B. REYNDERS in *Rech. de Th. anc. et méd.*, IV (1932), 208. O. BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 5 Band, Freiburg i/B. (1932), xi+423, deals with Severus of Antioch (3-5), Timothy of Alexandria (6), Theodore of Alexandria (6-7), Themistios, Colluthus, Theodore (7), Philoponus (7-8), Ammonius of Alexandria (16), Eulogius of Alexandria (19), and Olympiodorus of Alexandria (93). It is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Biblica*, XIV (1933), 260-3, with additions to the bibliography.

HOPFNER's *Index . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 250) is reviewed by O. STÄHLIN in *Bayer. Blätter f. d. Gymnas.*, LXVII (1931), 106-8.

DE FAYE, *Origène, sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée*, III (1928), 307, is reviewed by H. VON SODEN in *T.L.Z.*, LVII (1932), 570-2. Here also we may note R. P. LAGRANGE, *Le canon d'Hippolyte et le fragment de Muratori*, in *R.B.*, XLII (1933), 161-86.

F. P. KARUTHALER, *Severus von Alexand.*, *Ein verschollener griechischer Schriftsteller des IV Jahrh.*, is published in *B.N.J.*, VIII (1931), 327-30.

W. ERICHSEN, *Fajjumsche Fragmente . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 183), has been reviewed by W. TILL in *W.Z.K.M.*, XL (1932), 320-1.

H. P. CASEY, *Serapion of Thmuis against the Manichees*, Harvard Univ. Press (1931), 80, is interesting as an edition of a writer whose work has so far been little accessible, and has a value in its bearing upon the Manichean sect which recent discoveries have made specially prominent.

As the homilies of Severian of Gabala figure frequently in Coptic translation literature there will be interest in F. CAVALLERA, *Une nouvelle homélie restituée à Sévérien de Gabala*, in *Bull. de lit. écclés.*, Toulouse, XXXIII (1932), 141-2.

DE VIS, *Homélies . . .*, II (cf. *Journal*, xvii (1931), 249), is reviewed by TH. LEFORT in *Muséon*, xlv (1932), 173-4.

H. POLOTSKY, *Koptische Zitate aus den Acta Pauli*, in *Muséon*, xlv (1932), 18-20, gives four Coptic citations.

LEFORT, on *Littérature bohairique* (cf. *Journal*, xviii (1932), 182), receives an appreciative notice by J. SIMON in *Orientalia*, ii (1933), 192.

5. HISTORY.

(a) *General*. M. GUIDI's article *Copti* in *Encycl. Italianae*, xi (1931), 331-5, gives a very full and useful account of the Copts, subject to the limitations of a contribution to an encyclopaedia. The writer avoids committing himself to a definition of the Muqawqis, "con lo stesso Ciro o con persona a lui vicina" (332): why did the Copts become Muslim? (333): organization, liturgy, beliefs with special reference to survivals of ancient beliefs in the after life, wages, Coptic language with emphasis on the archaic element in Bohairic (334), and notes on literature.

On the purely theological side useful material will be found in R. JANIN, *Les églises séparées d'Orient* Paris (1930), 198, one of the *Bibl. Cath. des sciences relig.* series, dealing with the Coptic Church on pp. 171-81: and M. JUGIE, *Monophysite (église)*, in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, X, Paris (1929), 2251-306, which deals with (1) the origin of the Coptic Church and its history in outline, (2) its ecclesiastical organization and present state, (3) its theological literature, (4) its doctrine and belief, (5) discipline and usages, and (6) liturgical life and ritual, with full bibliography. M. JUGIE's treatise *Theol. dogmatica . . .* (cf. *Journal*, xiii (1927), 254) is reviewed by S. SALAVILLE in *Byzantion*, vii (1932), 536-49. Information about the modern Copts will be found in V. CHEVREY, *Notes sur les Coptes. Les Coptes dissidents*, in *Nuntii de missionibus*, ii (1929), 170-5.

Statistica con cenni storici della gerarchia e dei fedeli di rito orientale, Rome (1932), 576, published by the S. Congregazione Orientale, is the first "annuaire" of the uniat churches: it gives the organization of each in tabular form, short historical introduction, bibliography, detailed statistics: also information about the separated churches. The first section deals with the Alexandrian rite, Coptic (33-40), and Ethiopic (41-7): the Uniat Patriarchate is in the hands of an Apostolic Administrator (since 1908), with two suffragan bishops (Ashmunên and Medinet Habu), 68 priests, 53 seminarists, and 32,300 faithful.

STROTHMANN, *Die koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit . . .* (cf. *Journal*, xviii (1932), 184), is reviewed by DUENSING in *T.L.Z.*, liii (1933), 127-8, and by S. MOWINCKEL in *Acta Orientalia*, Leiden, xi (1933), 292, the latter very brief.

A. DE MEYER—E. VAN CAUWENBERGH, *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccles.*, Louvain, vi (1932), contains several articles relating to the Copts, by J. DAVID, *Bahura, Basura, et Abuira*, martyrs of Egypt (col. 238-9); *Banawan (Panouan)*, a diocese of Lower Egypt (474); and *Barma*, a diocese of Lower Egypt (846); by A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Batala (Batlân, Pentéléémon)*, an Asiatic martyr honoured by the Copts (1310). Articles with Coptic interest also appear in CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit.*, xi (1932), notable *Medinet-Abou* (193, brief), *Menas* (324-397, passion, remains, cult), *Mercure* (956-8); also in vol. x (1931), 1390-1411, *Manichéisme* (1390-444). An unsigned article *Egipto* on modern Egypt, its geography, history, etc., appears in *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada Europeo-Americana*, Appendix IV. Bilbao-Madrid-Barcelona (1931), 713-42. It is supplementary to an article *Egipto* in vol. xix.

R. VANCOURT, *Patriarcats*, in AMANN, *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, xi (1931), 2253-97, deals with (1) the formation of patriarchates, (2) their history from Justinian to 1453, (3) to our own day, and (4) the formation of secondary patriarchates.

A. EHRHARD, *Die Kirche der Märtyrer. Ihre Aufgaben und ihre Leistungen*, München (1932), xii+412. Of high value: one finds, amongst other things, a survey of the extension of Christianity and of the persecutions in Egypt during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is reviewed by H. D(ÉLEHAYE) in *A.B.*, l (1932), 372-4, and by J. SIMON in *La Terre Wallone*, xxvii (1933), 423-5.

J. KRAUS, *Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien* (cf. *Journal*, xvii (1931), 250), has been reviewed by G. GRAF in *O.C.*, vi (1931), 259-60. G. STEINDORFF, *Nubien, die Nubier und die sogenannten Trogodjten*, in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 358-68, is mainly concerned with pre-Christian history. Reference may be made also to U. M. DE VILLARD, *Note Nubiane*, (1) *articula*, (2) *La chiesa melkita di Nubia*, in *Aegyptus*, xii (1932), 305-16.

C. S. JARVIS, *Yesterday and To-day in Sinai*, Lond. (1931), xix+312, devotes a chapter (xii) to the monastery of St. Catherine.

COULBEAUX, *Hist. . . de l'Abyssinie* (cf. *Journal*, XVI (1930), 252), is reviewed by S. MERCER in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XXIII (1932), 79–81.

A. BLUDAU, *Die ägyptischen Libelli* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1933), 184), is reviewed by K. HEUSSI in *T.L.Z.*, LVII (1932), 21.

Several articles have appeared on St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus, V. GRUMEL, *Le concile d'Ephèse, Le Pape et le Concile*, in *Échos d'Orient*, XXX (1931), 293–313; E. GERLAND, *Le nombre des Pères au concile d'Ephèse*, *ibid.*, 334–8, and R. DEVREESE, *Après le Concile d'Ephèse, Le retour des orientaux à l'unité*, *ibid.*, 433–7. We may note also A. DIAMANTOPOULOS, 'H γ' οἰκουμένη συνόδος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in *Θεολογία* Athens, X (1932), 313–2, and C. PAPADOPOULOS, 'Ο ἅγιος Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἡ δ' οἰκουμένη συνόδος, *ibid.*, 333–54.

J. LAMMAYER, *Die "audientia episcopalis" in Zivilsachen der Laien im römischen Kaiserrecht und in den Papyri*, is published in *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), 193–202.

F. NAU, *La politique matrimoniale de Cyrus*, in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 1–17, touches on the much debated problem of the "moqawqis" and the project of a marriage between Eudocia and 'Amr.

G. GRAF, *Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulad al-Assar und ihr Schrifttum*, in *Orientalia*, Rome (N.S.), I (1932), 34–56, 129–148, contains a great deal of valuable material in addition to that already accessible. The same author's *Mitteilungen zur Chronologie des Abū 'l-Barakat*, appears in *O.C.*, VI (1931), 246–51.

K. PIEPER, *Atlas orbis christiani antiqui (Atlas zur alten Missions- und Kirchengeschichte)*, Düsseldorf (1931), 63, 17 maps. Map 8, *Aegyptus et regiones propinquae*, shows the bishoprics, monasteries, and chief centres of religious activity in ancient Christian Egypt: bibliography and index to this map, 32–4. The maps might be a little fuller.

E. PERCHER, *Orient chrétien. Concordance entre calendriers*, Paris, (1932), 58 (autograph). A useful work which will save reference to voluminous concordances. *Calendrier égyptien (copte et éthiopien)* (19–25): *calendrier musulman* (33–45). Appreciation by S. GRÉBAUT in *Aethiopica*, I (1933), 22, a new periodical replacing *Aethiops* which I understand has now ceased to appear: it is edited in Paris by S. Grébaud, but published in New York by "The Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation": first number in April 1933.

(b) *Hagiography*. A. SABA, *La passione di San Giorgio Martire in due codici dell'Ambrosiana*, in *Aevum*, VII (1933), 3–22 deals with two Latin texts, only the subject, so prominent in Coptic martyria, introduces an Egyptian connexion. E. W. BUDGE, *St. George of Lydda* (cf. *Journal*, XVI (1930), 252), is reviewed by I. HAUSHERR in *O.C.*, XXII (1931), 256–7.

H. GRÉGOIRE et M. A. KUGENER, *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 184), is reviewed by G. DE JERPHANION in *O.C.*, XXII (1931), 170–9, and by J. LEBON in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 327–8.

J. SIMON, *Passio S. Abraham lapicidae ex apographo aethiopico*, in *A.B.*, XLIX (1931), 313–52, gives text with Latin translation and commentary. This Ethiopic passion is translated from the Arabic and relates the martyrdom of Abraham the stone-cutter, an Egyptian saint and native of Abu Qurkās, who was put to death at Minyah by the Muslims at a date not clearly defined. The text is from the sole extant manuscript Paris B.N. d'Abbadie, 179.

A. N. MODONA, *Il nuovo frammento di una redazione variata degli "Atti di Isidoro"*, in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 333–8, and UXKULL-GYLLENBAND in *Sitz. Preuss. Ak.*, XXVIII (1932), 664 (the latter reviewed by PREMIERSTEIN in *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), 174–6, and *Gnomon*, VIII (1932), 201–6). The new fragment deals with the so-called heathen martyrs of Alexandria as do the "Acta Isidori" from P. Lond. 2785 given by H. I. BELL in *Archiv*, X (1931), 5, and does not refer to any Christian martyr.

For monastic saints see below.

(c) *Monasticism*. A. BOUTEMY, *Une vie inédite de Paul de Thèbes par Nigellus de Longchamps*, is published in *Rev. Belge de phil. et d'hist.*, X (1931), 931–6. L. VON HERTLING, *Antonius der Einsiedler*, Innsbruck (1929), xvi+96 (Forsch. zur Gesch. des innerkirchl. Lebens, I. Heft) is a good general study of the life of the great hermit: it is reviewed by H. DUENSING in *T.L.Z.*, LVI (1931), 291, and by A. HERTE in *Theol. u. Glaube*, XXIV (1932), 253.

A. BOON, *Pachomiana Latina* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 185), is reviewed by LEFORT in *R.H.E.*, XXIX (1933), 128–30; by P. OPPENHEIM in *Theol. Rev.*, XXXI (1932), 368–9; by H. KOCH in *T.L.Z.*, LVII (1932), 391–4; and by D. DE BRUYNE in *Rech. de Theol. anc. et méd.*, IV (1932), 432.

F. HALKIN, *S. Pachomii vitae graecae*, Bruxelles (1932), 105*+474, gives a full corpus pachomianum, altogether five lives, the older Bollandist material with entirely fresh additional matter. It is reviewed by

LEFORT in *R.H.E.*, XXIX (1933), 424-8, and by P. P. in *A.B.*, LI (1933), 131-3: Lefort draws attention to the fact that the Greek source saw the day "dans un milieu qui fut longtemps en contact direct avec le monde arabe" (428).

F. HALKIN, *L'histoire Lausiaque . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVI (1930), 251), is reviewed by W. H. HENGSTENBERG in *B.Z.*, XXXII (1932), 94-99.

H. DÖRRIES, *Mönchtum und Arbeit*, in the *Forschungen zur Kirchengesch. . .* (*Joh. Ficker am 12. xi. 1931 als Festgabe zu s. 70 Geburtstag . . .*), Leipzig (1931), 17-39, is a special study on the use of manual work in the early monastic communities.

P. OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid im christl. Altertum*, Freiburg i/B. (1931), xiii+272, 20 pls. and the same author's *Symbolik und religiöse Wertung des Mönchskleides im chr. Altertum, vornehmlich nach Zeugnissen christl. Schriftsteller der Ostkirche*, Munster i/W. (1932), xxvi+187, have been reviewed, not favourably, by LEFORT in *R.H.E.*, XXVIII (1932), 851-3: L. points out that no reference is made to the Coptic ραρμα, ψτηνι πρηψ σασιτων, ραρτογ, ψααρ, το'λομμωπ, τομ, τημ, of the Pakhomial rule: in each work there is a "présentation tumultuaire".

P. RESCH, *La doctrine ascétique . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 184), is reviewed by DÖRRIES in *T.L.Z.*, LIII (1933), 101-2.

H. VILLAR, *La spiritualité des premiers siècles chrétiens*, Paris (1930), 189, is a volume of the *Bibl. Cath. des Sci. Relig.*; ch. v (49-67) deals with "Moines d'Orient. Les maîtres du monachisme égyptien."

W. E. CRUM, *A Nubian Prince in an Egyptian Monastery*, in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, Lond. (1932), 137-8, gives two stories (nos. 32, 33), from a collection of stories about the communities of the Wadi Ḥabīb from Paris arabe 278, 279, *Brit. Mus. Or.* 8738, and the Ethiopic redaction of *Brit. Mus. Or.* 768. It is reviewed, together with CRUM's *Colluthus . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVI (1930), 252) by P. P. in *A.B.*, LI (1933), 157-9.

A very useful article *Monachisme* appears in CABROL-LECLERCQ's *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, XI (1933), 1774-1831 (not complete); the earlier sections (1774-1817) treat of the origins of monasticism and the monastic life in Egypt in some detail.

6. NON-LITERARY TEXTS.

A. A. SCHILLER, *Ten Coptic Legal Texts*, N.Y. (1932), xiii+103, 6 pls., is a study of texts from Jeme now in the Metropolitan Mus. of Art, New York. This edition gives texts, translations, commentary, and indices. It has been reviewed by W. E. CRUM in *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 196-7, by W. TILL in *W.Z.K.M.*, XL (1932), 142-3, and by P. P. in *A.B.*, LI (1933), 169-70. The same writer's *Coptic Law . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 185), is reviewed with the preceding by L. WENGER in *Archiv*, X (1933), 288, who refers also to STEINWENTER'S *Proposition . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 185), given in *Chron. d'Égypte*, VII (1932), 153-6. A. SEGRÉ, *Tre papiri giuridici inediti*, in *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfanto*, III (1930), 419-36, deals with a petition of the exegetes of Alexandria, who ask for the ἀπογραφή of the property of Sabina Apollonaria and enclose a copy of her will. This is reviewed by WILCKEN in *Archiv*, X (1931), 93. W. TILL and A. STEINWENTER, *Neue koptische Rechtsurkunden*, appears in *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), 305-22, and is based on Schiller's *Ten Coptic Legal Texts*.

H. I. BELL, A. D. NOCK, and Sir H. THOMPSON, *Magical Texts from a bilingual Papyrus*, *Brit. Acad.* (1932), 56, 3 pls., shows bilingual (Greek-Demotic) magical texts. It is reviewed by W. T. P. in *J.H.S.*, LII (1932), 146, by P. PFISTER in *D.L.Z.*, LIII (1932), 1165-6, by C. GALAVOTTI in *Riv. di Phil.*, LX (1932), 541-2, and briefly noticed in *Anc. Egypt* (1932), 59. S. EITREM, *Varia*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, XI (1932), 112-14, gives notes on various magical texts. EITREM-AMUNDSEN, *Papyri Osloenses*, II (cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 251), is reviewed by U. WILCKEN in *Archiv*, X (1931), 82-7; by K. PRIESENDANZ in *O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 554-5; and by W. SCHUBART in *G.G.A.*, CCXIV (1932), 279-86. A. Z. AĚŠCOLY, *Les noms magiques dans les apocryphes des Éthiopiens*, in *J.A.*, CCXX (1932), 87-137, makes comparisons with certain Coptic magical names. A. S. HUNT, *The Warren Magical Papyrus*, in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 233-40, deals with a Greek papyrus in the Warren collection. A. M. KROPP, *Ausgewählte kopt. Zaubertexte* (cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 252), is reviewed by W. TILL in *W.Z.K.M.*, XL (1932), 148-51; and by W. E. CRUM in *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 115. H. LECLERCQ, *Magie*, appears in CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dict. d'arch. chrét.* X (1931), 1067-114, and has a section referring to Coptic magic (cols. 1100-4). K. PRIESENDANZ, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (cf. *Journal*, XVI (1930), 253), has been reviewed by W. BAUR in *T.L.Z.*, LVII (1932), 164-5, and vol. II by A. CALDERINI in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 80-1; by W. GRUNDEL in *Hum. Gymnas.*, XLIV (1933), 59-60; and by M. ENGERS in *Museum*, XL (1933), 120-2.

H. I. BELL, *A Christian Stele from Qau el-Kebir*, in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 199–201, with plate, gives a text of 19 lines (in Greek), probably of A.D. 601.

F. BLABEL, *Sammelbuch griech. Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 4 Bd. Heidelberg (1931), vii+170, is reviewed by M. HOMBERT in *R. Belge de phil. et d'hist.*, XI (1932), 140, who describes the work as "very useful and practical". The same writer's *Berichtungsliste der griech. Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, Bd. II (1931), 145, is reviewed, together with the preceding, by E. KOESSLING in *D.L.Z.*, LIII (1932), 1499–1503. JOHNSON-VAN HOESEN, *Papyri in the Princetown Univ. Collection*, Baltimore (1931), xxiii+146, is reviewed by H. A. SAUNDERS in *Amer. J. of Arch.*, XXXVI (1932), 209, and by H. KORTENBEUTEL in *O.L.Z.*, XXXVI (1933), 151–2.

H. FRISK, *Bankakten aus dem Faijûm nebst anderen Berliner Pap.*, Göteborg (1931), 120, 1 pl., deals with a (Greek) bank roll of about A.D. 155. It is reviewed by M. SAN NICOLO in *O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 464–6.

S. G. MERCATI, *Osservazioni sul testo e sulla metrica di alcuni papiri cristiani*, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, VII (1932), 133–201, is mainly concerned with British Mus. papyri published by Milne and Kenyon-Bell, and P. Cairo 44689 (= Copt. 49), an alphabetic hymn.

J. SIMON, *Répertoire . . . MSS. coptes* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 186), is reviewed by F. H. HALLOCK in *J. Soc. Or. Res.*, XV (1932), 143. The author has followed this compilation with a *Répertoire des bibliothèques publiques et privées contenant des MSS. éthiopiens*, in *R.O.C.*, VIII (1931/2), 178–98, material which often has a bearing on Coptic literature.

S. ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica*, fasc. II, *Manoscritti etiopici*, Rome (1932), 176, 6 facsimiles: excellent bibliography (for fasc. I. cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 250); reviewed by G. CERULLI in *Oriente Moderno*, XII (1932), 412, and by J. SIMON in *Orientalia*, N.S., II (1933), 188–91.

7. PHILOLOGICAL.

H. O. LANGE, *Ein faijumischer Beschwörungstext*, in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 161–6, gives 66 lines of text in the Fayyumic dialect. W. TILL in the same presentation volume writes *Zur Vokalisation des Koptischen*, *ibid.*, 181–6. W. TILL, *Der Murremelvokal*, in *Ä.Z.*, LXVIII (1932), 121–2, discusses some problems raised by WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 186).

W. E. CRUM, *Dictionary*, Part III (1932), VII, 253–401, covers $\text{HOY}\sigma\text{C-TOK}$. Part II (cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 252), has been reviewed by S. GASELEE in *Bull. School Or. Stud.*, VII (1933), 243, and briefly by LEFORT in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 174–5: Parts I and II by H. HYVERNAT in the new periodical *Mizraim*, I (1933), 188–9, of which I have not been able to see a copy.

W. CZERMAK, *Der Rhythmus . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 186), is reviewed by F. CALICE in *O.L.Z.*, XXXV (1932), 769–70. G. HEUSER, *Die Personennamen . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVI (1930), 253), is reviewed by W. SPIEGELBERG in *Gnomon*, VII (1931), 222. W. TILL, *Kopt. Chrestomathie* (cf. *Journal*, XVI (1930), 255), is reviewed by LEFORT in *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 175: the same writer's *Dialektgrammatik* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 186), by W. E. CRUM in *W.Z.K.M.* (1932), 146–7; by S. GASELEE in *Bull. School Or. Stud.*, VI (1932), 1095–6; by J. SIMON in *Orientalia*, II (1933), 88–9 and by the same writer in *Nouvelle Rev. Théologique*, IX (1933), 90–1.

ZYHLARZ, *Die meroit. Sprache . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 186), is reviewed by F. LL. GRIFFITH in *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 112–13.

M. A. MURRAY and D. PILCHER, *A Coptic reading book for beginners*, Lond. (1933), 151.

8. ARCHAEOLOGY, ART, FOLK-LORE, ETC.

†H. G. E. WHITE, *The monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrün*, Part II (ed. by W. HAUSER), N.Y. (1932), xlv+495, 8 pls. History of the monasteries, topography of the wady and its vicinity, Macarius the Great visits of St. Jerome, Palladius, etc. Troubles due to heresies, to barbarian raids, the monastic life, Monophysite schism; Patriarchal seat moved to Abu Maqar; the wady under Muslim rule; Syrian, Armenian, Ethiopic monasteries. A complete and detailed history. Special reference to liturgical peculiarities (373 ff.) W's theory, "it is suggested, then, that the ruin of the monasteries was due to the economic results of the Black Death, aggravated by the subsequent famine and plague of 1374" (401). Excursus, "Library of the Syrian Monastery" (439–58). Reviewed by P. P. in *A.B.*, LI (1933), 152–7: a very detailed review, a few defects noted (115); by F. C. BURKITT in *J.T.S.*, XXXIV (1933), 188–92, and in an unsigned article in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 22 June 1933.

C. SCHMIDT, *Das Kloster des Apa Mena*, in *Ä.Z.*, LXVIII (1932), 60–8, deals with the sanctuary (Apollino polis) in the Fayyûm, not Kaufmann's "Menasstadt". Coptic text of 33 lines (P. Berl. 11937. 8–9), transl.

notes: contract by actual (new?) $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ of the monastery and its $\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ or legal representative: undertaking to perform all the duties of a prior and to abide by the wishes of the brethren: monastery = Jeme (?) as in another contract (ed. Schmidt, *Ä.Z.*, LXVII, 102).

H. MUNIER in Azadian-Hug-Munier, *Notes sur le Ouady Mouellah*, Cairo (Schindler, 1932), from *Bull. de la Soc. Royale de géogr. d'Égypte*, XVIII (1932), 47-63, 3 pls., gives notes on the monastery of St. Samuel at Kalamûn.

J. MASPERO, E. DRIOTON, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouit*, fasc. i in *Mém. de l'Inst. français*, LIX (1932), xvi+183, describes the site, gives 550 graffiti (ed. Drioton), with indices of names, etc.

W. HAUSER, *The Christian Necropolis in Khargeh Oasis*, in *Bull. of the Metrop. Mus. of Art*, N.Y., XXVII (1932), sect. 2, 38-50, describes various Christian stelae and inscriptions in the place indicated. The *Illustrated London News* of 2 May 1931 gives a photograph of the Khargah Oasis from the air.

The *Illustrated London News* (1931), 14-16, 10 illust., describes the photographs, etc., in the "International Exhibition of Byzantine Art" in Paris: these show paintings of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries from the Kalamûn Hills.

C. M. KAUFMANN, *Zwei altkoptische Festbrotstempel aus dem Gebiete von Antinoupolis in Oberägypten*, appears in *O.C.*, XXVIII (1932), 107-10.

JOH. GEORG HERZOG ZU SACHSEN, *Neue Streifzüge . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 253), is reviewed by G. DE JERPHANION in *O.C.*, XXVIII (1932), 234-5.

M. S. DIMAND, *Arabic wood-carvings of the ninth century*, in *Bull. of the Metrop. Mus. of Art*, N.Y., XXVII (1932), sect. 2, 135-7, deals with material on which, no doubt, Coptic craftsmen were employed.

E. PAUTY, *Bois sculptés . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 253), is reviewed by A. J. BUTLER in *Burlington Mag.*, IX (1932), 316-17.

G. DUTHUIT, *La sculpture copte . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 187) is reviewed by R. H. in *J.H.S.*, LII (1932), 328-9, the article supporting Duthuit as against de Villard and Dom Leclercq; by S. R. in *Rev. Arch.*, XXXV (1932), 344-5; by J. H. SCHMIDT in *D.L.Z.* (1933), 738-42; and by P. DONCŒUR in *Études*, CCXIV (1933), 248-9.

SIR DENISON ROSS, *Art of Egypt throughout the ages* (cf. *Journal*, XVII (1931), 253), is reviewed by FAULKNER in *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 113-14, but without reference to Coptic art.

L. BORCHARDT, *Eine Holzschachtel mit Darstellung einer ländlichen Szene in Nubien*, appears in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 257-62, plates 25, 26, 1 fig. in text.

M. S. DIMAND, *A recent gift of Egypto-Arabic textiles*, in *Bull. Metrop. Mus. of Art*, N.Y., XXVII (1932), sect. 2, 92-6.

R. PFISTER, *Les débuts du vêtement copte. Les premières soies sassanides*, in *Études . . . à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Paris (1932), vii+568, is an important contribution to the history of Coptic textiles.

T. WHITEMORE, *Two Coptic Cloths*, appears in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 384-7, pls. 59, 60. The cloths in question belong to M. Jacques Matossian of Alexandria.

E. BRECCIA, *Municipalité d'Alexandrie. La Musée Gréco-Romain* (1925-31), Alexandria (1932), 102, 62 pls., makes occasional reference to some Christian antiquities added to the museum; no plate contains Christian material except some crosses in Pl. 38. It is reviewed by A. CALDERINI in *Aegyptus*, XII (1932), 272.

D. COCKERELL, *The development of book-binding methods. Coptic influence*, appears in *The Library*, XIII (1932), 1-19, 6 pls. The article is connected with an exhibition of book-bindings of which an account will be found in the *London Times* of 10 September 1932.

SIMAÏKA PASHA, *Guide to the Coptic Museum . . .* (cf. *Journal*, XVIII (1932), 187), is reviewed by A. J. BUTLER in *Burlington Mag.*, LX (1932), 316-17.

In folk-lore we note E. BONNER, *Demons of the Bath*, in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 203-8, and H. LIETZMANN, *Ein christliches Amulett auf Papyrus*, in *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), 225-8. Noteworthy also in connexion with the Takla Häymänöt cult is E. CERULLI, *Inni della chiesa abissina* (Ge'ez, Text, Trans., and notes on Takla Häymänöt, etc.), in *Riv. Stud. Or.*, XII (1931), 361-407.

A. SCHLLER and W. H. WORRELL, *Tentative Directory of persons interested in Coptic Studies*, appears in *Aegyptus* XII (1932), 393-404.

I have only just now received the third volume of H. G. E. WHITE and W. HAUSER: *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrân; Part III. The Architecture and Archaeology*, New York (1933), xxxiv+272, 93 plates. In form and general character this volume obviously maintains the high standard set by its two predecessors (cf. *Journal*, XIII (1927), 258 and above), and a cursory survey shows that it contains a large fund of interesting and valuable material.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1931-1932)

By MARCUS N. TOD

In the following Bibliography, which continues that for 1929-30 published in this *Journal*, xviii, 105 ff., I attempt a brief survey of the books and articles published in 1931 and 1932 relative to Greek inscriptions found in Egypt and Nubia, mentioning also such reviews as are likely to be of special assistance in their study and adding a few notes on inscriptions which, although discovered elsewhere, are concerned with Egyptological questions.

A fourth volume of F. PREISIGKE'S invaluable *Sammelbuch* has been edited by F. BLABEL (*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, iv, Heidelberg, 1931). Of the 245 documents, all previously published, which it contains, 107 are papyri, 27 ostraka and leaden or wooden tablets, 37 graffiti, and 74 inscriptions in the narrow sense: in this last group the two largest classes are formed by epitaphs and dedications numbering 43 and 17 respectively. G. MANTEUFFEL'S *De opusculis Graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidibusque collectis* (Travaux de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie, Classe I (1930), No. 12), consists of two parts, in the first of which (pp. 1-66) the main classes of *opuscula* are separately discussed, while in the second (pp. 67 ff.) forty-four texts are edited with notes and a full *apparatus criticus*. All these texts are derived from papyri or ostraca save one, the acrostic poem, painted on a wall of the temple at Talmis in the first or second century A.D., recording the vision of Mandulis vouchsafed to the *decurio* Maximus and the short hymn composed by him in honour of the god (pp. 15 f., 198 f.). A chapter of the prolegomena is, however, devoted to a general characterization of the epigrams—epitaphs, proscynemata, dedications and hymns—which have survived on stone (pp. 5 ff.). W. B. DINSMOOR'S impressive work on *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), contains many references to Egypt (see Index D, s.vv. calendar, Egypt, Egyptians), and in particular a long and detailed study of the Macedonian calendar in Egypt (Appendix G, pp. 471 ff.; cf. W. S. FERGUSON, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, 132 ff.), which includes a table (pp. 478 f.) showing the New-Year Days, expressed according to the Julian system, of the fiscal, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, and the regnal years from 268 to 188 B.C. Among the inscriptions utilized in this connexion are that on a Hadra vase (*O.G.I.*, 36), the Canopus decree (*O.G.I.*, 56), and the Rosetta stone (*O.G.I.*, 90): for the references see p. 536. The sections devoted to the Greek inscriptions of Egypt and to the Christian epigraphy of Egypt in the new edition of A. MAU'S Catalogue of the Library of the German Institute in Rome will be found useful for bibliographical purposes (*Katalog der Bibliothek des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom*, II², bearbeitet von F. Matz, 1267 ff., 1442).

Among the rich and varied contents of the GRIFFITH *Festschrift* (*Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London, 1932), three articles call for notice here. H. I. BELL discusses (pp. 199 ff.) a grave-stele of A.D. 601, found at Kâw el-Kebîr (Antaeopolis) and now preserved in the British Museum, commemorating one who died "on the holy Saturday of Easter at the tenth hour, when the Sunday of the Resurrection of Christ was dawning"—a phrase which raises an interesting and difficult problem. P. JOUGUET devotes a detailed examination (pp. 241 ff.) to the inscription (*Sammelbuch*, 4023) found in the temple of Isis at the south-west end of the lake Dêr-Khelouit, recording the appointment of Pamontekysis as *στολοιστής* of the goddess in A.D. 200, and to a companion text relating to the same man. J. CAPART calls attention (pp. 277 f.) to a limestone relief at Bâle showing precisely the double crown which the text of the Rosetta decree (*O.G.I.*, 90) describes as occupying the place of honour on the *vaôs* containing the statue of Ptolemy V.

W. PEEK has undertaken the task of editing a collection of Greek epigrams preserved on stone which have come to light since the appearance of G. KATBEL'S classic *Epigrammata Graeca* (Berlin, 1878), and has published five new inscriptions of this class, three of which (including one in dialogue form) are in the Museum at Alexandria and two in that at Cairo (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VIII, 53 ff.). He has also dealt with a considerable number of epigrams previously published, offering new readings, restorations, or

interpretations, as shown in the table below (in which *H.* = *Hermes*; *B.* = *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*; *Sam.* = Preisigke-Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden*; Breccia = E. Breccia, *Catalogue du Musée d'Alexandrie: Inscriptions grecque e latine*, Cairo, 1911; Milne = J. G. Milne, *Catalogue du Musée du Caire: Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1905; Botti = G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain*, 1900; *I.B.M.* = *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*).

P. ROUSSEL has pointed out (*Rev. ét. gr.*, XLV, 230 f.), that in several cases Peek's suggestions had been anticipated by other scholars, and it may be added that Peek has assigned to Egypt (*Hermes*, LXVI, 317) an epigram (*Sammelbuch*, 5873) which in reality comes from Cyrene (*A.J.A.*, XVII, 161 f.).

Reference.	Provenance.	Peek's discussion.
<i>Sam.</i> 4312	Schedia (Kom el-Ghizeh)	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 321 f., LXVII, 131
5829	Terenuthis	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 317 ff., 336, LXVII, 130 f.
6160	Tell el-Yehûdiyah	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 319 f., 336, LXVII, 131
6178	"	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 320 f., LXVII, 131
6699	Terenuthis	<i>B.</i> VIII, 62
Breccia 219	Alexandria	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 323
279	"	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 322 f.
320	"	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 323 ff., LXVII, 131
321	" ?	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 334 f.
322	" ?	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 325 ff.
323	Schedia	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 321 f., LXVII, 131
326	Alexandria ?	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 335
Botti, 540, No. 11		<i>B.</i> VIII, 60
Milne 9203	Hassaia	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 327 ff., 336, LXVII, 131 f.
9204	" ?	<i>B.</i> VIII, 60 f.
9205	"	<i>B.</i> VIII, 61
9224	Alexandria	<i>B.</i> VIII, 61 f.; <i>H.</i> LXVI, 334, note 1
9253	Tell el-Yehûdiyah	<i>B.</i> VIII, 62
9267	Alexandria	<i>B.</i> VIII, 62
9290	Mellawi	<i>B.</i> VIII, 62
<i>I.B.M.</i> 1084	Naucratis	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 331 ff., LXVII, 132
<i>Rev. ép.</i> , I. 145, No. 4	Egypt (now at Braunsberg)	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 333, LXVII, 132
No. 5	"	<i>H.</i> LXVI, 333 f.

In his full and admirably illustrated survey of the activities and acquisitions of the Alexandria Museum during the year 1925 to 1931 (*Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1925-1931*, Bergamo, 1932; cf. *Boll. fil. class.*, N.S., III, 35 ff.) E. BRECCIA includes thirty-two inscriptions added to the Museum during that period. Five of these—a base of a statue of Zeus Helios, a fragmentary dedication in honour of the prefect Magius Maximus, a votive to Helios Sarapis, a mutilated epigram, and a Christian grave-inscription—come from the excavations of the Iseum and Serapeum at Canopus (pp. 18 ff.), while twenty-two are Alexandrian epitaphs—seven from Mustafa Pasha (pp. 21 f., Pl. x), thirteen from the great necropolis of Hadra (pp. 24 ff., Pls. xii, xiii, xvi), and two from the western cemetery (pp. 35 f.). Other acquisitions include an interesting altar, or votive basis, brought to light in a trial excavation in the district of Maryût, bearing in relief figures marked by the legends *προχρεία*, *ἀγρός*, and *γεουχία* together with a still undeciphered text (pp. 57 f., Pl. xxxvi), a fragment of a statuette found by G. W. Murray among the ruins of a small temple, 35 km. south of el-Dab'a in Marmarica inscribed with a dedication to Isis (pp. 58 f.; cf. G. W. MURRAY, *Journal*, XVII, 82), a bronze cross, dating from the fifth or sixth century A.D., discovered by Prince Omar Toussoun in the Oasis of Dalla, about 500 km. south-south-west of Alexandria (p. 59, Pl. xxxviii), an inscription of the Ptolemaic period honouring a Macedonian who had been gymnasiarch "for the seventeenth year", found by illicit digging at Mendes or Thmuis (p. 68), and a mosaic from the latter site signed *Σώφιλος ἐποίησε* (p. 65, Pls. A, liv). Elsewhere also (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VII, 276 ff.; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.*, XLV, 229 f.) Breccia publishes recent accessions to the Museum, to the growth and development of which he has made an invaluable contribution. These comprise, in addition to some items to be mentioned below, (a) a stele, acquired at Cairo, bearing a dedication of 94 B.C. to the crocodile god, *Σοκνε[π]τύνει θεῶι μεγάλωι μεγάλωι*, erected in honour of Ptolemy X Alexander and indicated as *τόπος τῶν τῶ ἰ (ἔτος) ἐφήβευκῶτων τῆς Παραβάτων*

αἰρέσεως (pp. 277 ff.); its provenance is probably Kôm el-Baragât (Tebtunis), from which comes also a simple epitaph (p. 290); (b) a votive basis of uncertain provenance, dating from the second or first century B.C., dedicated Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀκραίαι Ἀρανόῃ (p. 280); (c) a curious record on a statue-base from Bahnasa, telling how a certain θησαυροφύλαξ, ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξάπινα ἀποδημήσαι, ἤχμαλώθη (p. 288); (d) three short epitaphs from Hadra, and one from Kôm el-Ahmar dated in the thirty-second year of Augustus (pp. 288 ff.); (e) a circular bone *tessera* and a Latin epitaph from Hadra (p. 291), and (f) the epitaph of an Alexandrian deacon, found 5 km. south-west of Abu Mena (pp. 292 f.). In the same article BRECCIA describes a rectangular gold leaf, alleged to have been found at Hadra, inscribed βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης θεῶν εὐεργετῶν Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίαι, and the base of a statue of queen Arsinoe erected at Canopus by a priest of the Nile (pp. 276 f.). In *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.*, 1932, 812, A. WILHELM restores the last two lines of an Alexandrian epigram (*Sammelbuch*, 4315), and in *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, VI, 333, discusses two short inscriptions found between Silsilis and Heschân, in which the name Ἀρταπάτης appears (*Sammelbuch*, 244 f.).

The excavations conducted in 1931 by Samy Gabra in the necropolis of Touna el-Gebel (Hermoupolis Parva) resulted in some interesting epigraphical finds, published by P. GRAINDOR (*B.I.F.*, XXXII, 97 ff.; cf. A. BROUWERS, *Rev. Belge*, XI, 959 f.). Among them are two perfectly preserved poems in elegiac couplets painted on the tomb of Isidora, who in the second century A.D. was drowned in the Nile and so became assimilated to Isis and also, it would appear, to one of the seasons. The verses betray, in Graindor's view, evidences of familiarity with the poems of Callimachus. A third epigram, painted on another tomb, is less well preserved and teems with orthographical, grammatical, and metrical errors. The remaining items are a prose epitaph of the second century A.D., two curious "square words", a dedication to Isis an ostrakon bearing a receipt, and three names painted on vase-handles.

We have seen above that Peek has discussed three epigrams from Tell el-Yehûdiyâh (Leontopolis). One of these (*Sammelbuch*, 6160) has also received detailed treatment from A. WILHELM in a valuable article devoted to a series of inscriptions, for the most part metrical, relating to doctors (*Jahreshefte*, XXVII, Beiblatt, 89 ff.). A fresh epigram, apparently from the same cemetery, recently acquired in Cairo for the Alexandria Museum, has been published by M. NORSA (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VII, 243 ff.): it dates from the first century B.C. or A.D. and takes the form of a dialogue between the reader and the dead Arsinoe, who would appear to have been a Jewess. A. MOMIGLIANO stresses the pagan character of its language and thought, to which he knows no parallel in any Jewish epitaph of the Greco-Roman period (*Aegyptus*, XII, 171 f.).

P. PERDRIZET has published a basis in blue faïence, of unknown provenance, now in the Cairo Museum: it was dedicated about A.D. 200 to some divinity, probably Nemesis-Isis, by a *duplicarius*, a soldier receiving double pay (*Ann. Serv.*, XXXI, 25 ff.).

Three recent accessions of the Alexandria Museum were acquired at Medînat el-Fayyûm (E. BRECCIA, *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VII, 280 ff., 290). In one τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι ἱππέων τῆς θεραπείας honours a certain Ptolemaeus τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐξηγητὴν τοῦ Ἀρανοῖτου at some unknown date later than the reign of Ptolemy V, while the second, dated I B.C., records the permanent inalienability of a *σηκός* and the surrounding property, and the third is a simple epitaph. E. PEZOPOULOS has discussed an epigram (*S.E.G.*, II, 874) found in the Fayyûm (*Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, VIII, 184 ff.), together with another whose provenance is not specified (G. ARVANITAKIS, *Quelques inscriptions grecques inédites*, Cairo, 1904, p. 12 f., No. xi). A circular altar of nummulitic limestone, found at Ashmunên (Hermoupolis Magna) and now preserved in the Alexandria Museum, bears the words βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου in letters not later than the early second century B.C. (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VII, 279 f.).

To G. KLAFFENBACH we owe a careful edition of an interesting, if puzzling, dedication to Isis belonging to the second century A.D., inscribed on a base found at Shêkh Ἀbâde (Antinoopolis) and now in private possession in Berlin (*Archiv*, X, 215 f.). E. BRECCIA draws attention to an article published by J. MASPERO in 1915 on some inscriptions from Denderah, and gives a facsimile of one, now in the Alexandria Museum, honouring a distinguished official who was one τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσειῷ σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VII, 293 f.). Four texts discovered by Reisner in his excavations at Coptos have also found their way to the same Museum (*op. cit.*, VII, 284 ff.). One is in honour of an ἐπιστράτηγος of the Thebaid, the second of an Alexandrian whom it describes as ἄρχοντα γενόμενον ἐξηγητὴν, the third, dated October 12, A.D. 222, is a dedication for the safety and victory of Severus Alexander, and the fourth is a votive altar, erected on October 4, A.D. 159, Εἰσίδι μυριωνύμ[ω]ι θεᾷ μεγίστῃ ἀνανεώσεισιν Τύχῃ Κοπτεῶν.

A dedication of the second or third century A.D., discovered at Medamûd in the course of the excavations

carried on by the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology, has been studied in detail by P. JOUGUET with the assistance of M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF (*B.I.F.*, XXXI, 1 ff.: cf. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im röm. Kaiserreich*, I, 131, 302, *Storia economica e sociale dell'impero romano*, 181 f.; *Rev. Arch.*, XXXII, 351; *Archiv*, x, 160). The text runs thus: *Ἀητοῖ θεῆ μεγίστη* (perhaps the Egyptian Râit-Taoui) | *Αἰλία Ἰσιδώρα καὶ Αἰλί[α]* | *Ἵλυμπίας ματρῶνας* | *στολάται, ναύκληροι κα[ὶ]* ||⁵ *ἔμπο* | *ροὶ ἐρυθραῖκαὶ ἄμ[α]* | *Ἰ* | *πολιναρίω* | *ἐπάρ- χ[ω]* | *Ἵλυμπίδος καὶ* - - - | *ἀμφοτέρων* - - - ||¹⁰ *ἀνέθηκαν* - - -. Rostovitzeff restores the latter part of the inscription thus: *ἄμ[α]* | *σὺν Αἰλίω Ἰ* | *πολιναρίω* | *ἐπάρχ[ω κλάσση]* | *Ἵλυμπίδος καὶ [Ἰσιδώρας]* | *ἀμφοτέρων* | *ἀδελφῶ* ||¹⁰ *ἀνέθηκαν* [*ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ*], and regards Apollinaris as prefect of a detachment of the Roman fleet. Jouguet accepts this restoration, though not without misgivings, and suggests as a possible alternative in ll. 7-9 *ἀνδρὶ τῆς* | *Ἵλυμπίδος καὶ* | *κυρίω τῶν* | *ἀμφοτέρων* | *ἀδελφῶν*. P. GRAINDOR (*B.I.F.*, XXXI, 31 f.) proposes to delete the comma after *κλάσση* | in Rostovitzeff's version and to insert it after [*Ἰσιδώρας*], seeing in Apollinaris the commandant of the trading flotilla of Olympias and Isidora, and also to substitute [*κυρίω*] for [*ἀδελφῶ*]; with this view J. STROUX agrees, though he would restore *Αἰλία* | in place of *κλάσση* | (*op. cit.*, XXXI, 32). Finally, A. WILHELM restores ll. 7-10 as follows: *ἐπάρχ[ω ὑπὲρ τῆς* | *Ἵλυμπίδος καὶ [Ἰσιδώρας]* | *ἀμφοτέρων [σωτηρίας]* ||¹⁰ *ἀνέθηκαν* [*ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ*] (*Wien. Anzeiger*, 1932, 25 ff.). JOUGUET further devotes an article (*Mélanges Glotz*, II, 493 ff.) to some unpublished graffiti cut in the rock of the mountain of Kurnah, near Thebes: one of these, apparently of the second century A.D., runs *παρὰ τῶν θεῶν μεγάλων ἐν ἱερῶ πέτραι*, and there are also three *προσκυνήματα* and an oracle of Amenothis. F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN proposes two modifications in Wilhelm's restoration of a Theban inscription (*Archiv*, x, 17 f.; cf. *Journal*, XVIII, 106).

A large slab of limestone, sent from Aswân to the Alexandria Museum and published by E. BRECCIA (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, VII, 291 f.), records the rebuilding of a wall on the island of Philae, probably in the seventh or eighth century.

To W. RUPPEL we owe a careful publication of the Latin and Greek graffiti and inscriptions of the temple of Dakke in Nubia (*Les Temples immergés de la Nubie: Der Tempel von Dakke*, III, Cairo, 1930): these are for the most part *προσκυνήματα* or *tituli memoriales* and of those in Greek 46 are here published for the first time. The actual texts are preceded by a general survey of the material under the following heads—script, structure of the proskynemata, language, names and status of the writers, dates, administration, military data and cult. U. MONNERET DE VILLARD has published a fragmentary Christian inscription from Nag' esh-Shêkh Sharaf (Maḥarraḳa) in Nubia (*Ann. Serv.*, XXXI, 17).

L. ROBERT has shown (*Rev. ét. gr.*, XLV, 201 ff.) that a votive inscription copied by T. WIEGAND at Smyrna (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 156, No. 14), and on his authority attributed to Thyatira (*I.G.Rom.*, IV, 1190), came in reality from Egypt to the Museum of the Evangelical School at Smyrna (*Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη*, I, 85, No. 60) and thence found its way to Braunsberg Academy (*Rev. ép.*, I, 144, No. 3). To two other Egyptian texts in the Braunsberg collection reference has been made above. A. JACOBY gives a full account (*Arch. f. Rel.*, XXVIII, 269 ff.) of a "gnostic" amulet in the Berlin Museum (*Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägypt. Altertümer*, Berlin, 1894, p. 296, No. 9865), completing the text and adding a detailed discussion, with ample parallels, of all the component elements of the inscription.

I have noticed but few references to Egypt and to Egyptian cults in inscriptions found elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world. P. ROUSSEL's valuable article on the *κυνηγοί* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (*Rev. ét. gr.*, XLIII, 361 ff.) deals first with the *κυνηγοί* who found a special corps in the Ptolemaic army, and in this connexion discusses an inscription from Citium in Cyprus (*O.G.I.*, 20). O. MARUCCI has published a curious epitaph in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, commemorating one who had formerly been a *beneficiarius* of the prefect of Egypt (*Rendic. Pontif. Accad.*, ser. III, VI, 43 ff.). The remarkable discoveries made in the wreck of an ancient vessel located off Mahdia on the Tunisian coast include an inscription dated 363-2 B.C., consisting of a decree followed by an enumeration of the gifts made by the Athenian people to the sanctuary of Ammon in the Piræus, in which the stone itself was originally erected (*Rev. ét. gr.*, XLIV, 292). Unfortunately the text of this valuable document has suffered so severely from its long submersion that it has not yet been sufficiently deciphered to warrant its publication.

Among a group of texts published by D. EVANGELIDES are a thank-offering to Sarapis in the Museum of Chios (*Ἀρχ. Δελπίων*, XI, *παράρτ.* 27, No. 10), a dedication to Apollo by Ὠρος Φάωνος Κανωπίτης in the Museum of Vathy (Samos), and a slab recently discovered in the same island bearing the inscription Ἄρσωνός Φιλαδέλφον (*op. cit.*, XI, *παράρτ.* 31 f., Nos. 2, 4; cf. W. OTTO, *Kulturgeschichte des Altertums*, 113). For the Egyptian cults at Delos see W. A. LAIDLAW, *A History of Delos*, 223 ff.

NOTES AND NEWS

The removal of the Society's offices to 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1., was effected in June. In these new quarters the Society has for the first time adequate accommodation for its books, and it is hoped that the reading-room will soon become a recognized centre of work on Egyptology and kindred subjects. The Library Committee hopes that some of the books most urgently needed may be purchased, if funds permit, and the list of periodicals now taken extended. Exchanges of periodicals might be of considerable benefit not only to the Society but also to those institutions willing to enter into such an arrangement.

An exhibition of the results of last season's excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah was held at the Architectural Association in Bedford Square, by the courtesy of the Council, from June 25 to July 22. A large number of visitors was attracted and a considerable amount of interest was aroused not only by the beauty of the finds but also by the architectural features of the work, particularly among the members of the Association. Besides the objects themselves, excellent casts of those retained by the Cairo Museum were shown, the quartzite head in particular arousing enthusiasm. The success of the exhibition was due largely to the excellent arrangement of the room by Messrs. Lavers, Sherman, and Brasch, who were indebted to the staff of the Association for much assistance.

Two lectures were given by Mr. Pendlebury in connexion with the exhibition. The first was delivered at a general meeting of the Architectural Association on July 11, and dealt with the general problems of 'Amarnah architecture. The second, dealing specifically with the last season's work, was given in the Royal Society's rooms in Burlington House on September 13.

Next season's work, it is hoped, will begin on December 1. The primary object of the expedition will be to re-examine the Sanctuary of the Great Temple, but fresh ground will be broken in the Central City round about the Record Office and the other public buildings. The continuance of the excavations has been made possible by a further donation from the Brooklyn Museum.

Dr. Gardiner reports on the Abydos work as follows:

"The copying of the temple of Sethos I has made progress in spite of sundry mishaps. The three members of our staff, Miss Calverley, Miss Broome, and Mr. Little, arrived at Abydos at the end of November, but owing to various causes it was only Miss Broome who stayed there continuously until camp was closed down at the end of April. In January Miss Calverley had to go to hospital in Cairo for treatment of sinus trouble following upon influenza. Mr. R. Lavers spent most of February at Abydos making a plan of the temple for inclusion in our first volume. In the middle of March an end was put to Mr. Little's work for the season by a very severe attack of typhoid, from which he has now happily recovered. Operations this year were concentrated upon the inner Osiris hall and the three small chambers leading out of it. Miss Calverley and Miss Broome were mainly engaged in making paintings, but only five were completed, owing to the large size and wealth of detail in the scenes chosen. Mr. Little was engaged in touching up photographic enlargements and making

tracings from photographs and line drawings. Thus the third volume of the series is well on its way. The two preceding volumes are practically complete, and the first will be ready for distribution in the course of this autumn."

It may be added that the title of the work is *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, and that the price of vol. I will be £5 to the public and £4 to members of the Society and subscribing libraries.

In conjunction with the University of California, the Society will shortly publish *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. III, pt. 1, edited by Professor A. S. Hunt and Professor J. G. Smyly. This volume, which will be the twenty-third of the Society's Graeco-Roman Memoirs, will be distributed gratis to members of the Graeco-Roman Branch, and will be on sale at the price of 28s. (post free) to other members of the Society and to subscribing libraries. The Society will not be able to supply this volume to the general public. Orders for copies from members and subscribing libraries, other than those enrolled in the Graeco-Roman Branch and thus entitled to receive the volume without charge, should be sent to the Secretary.

The City of Akhenaten II will be published in the autumn. It contains the results of the excavations in the North Suburb and the Desert Altars at Tell el-'Amarnah from 1926 to 1932. It contains eighteen plans, one coloured plate, thirty-nine half-tones, and eight figures in the text. Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury is the author, and there is also a chapter by H. W. Fairman. The price is to be 42s.

In the matter of publication the year promises to be a notable one in the Society's history. In addition to the works already mentioned it will see the publication of the *Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*. This work, which is, indeed, already available, forms the report on the excavations of the Society begun in 1913 and completed in 1930 in the building formerly known as the Osireion. It is in two quarto volumes, and is written by H. Frankfort with chapters by A. de Buck and Battiscombe Gunn. The price is 52s. 6d. to the public and 37s. 6d. to members of the Society if ordered through the Secretary.

The University of Oxford sees a great change this year in the retirement of Professor F. Ll. Griffith from the Chair (originally a Readership) which he has occupied for so long. Fortunately Oxford is not to lose him, for though he will discontinue most of his teaching work he is to be no farther away than Boar's Hill, where his house and library will certainly continue to be as active a centre of work and as favourite a meeting-place of Egyptologists as his earlier home in Norham Gardens. We may rest assured that he has not retired to a life of mere leisure, for he looks forward to the opportunity of having more time free for his own research, and his promised work on the Demotic Graffiti of Philae is already in an advanced stage of preparation.

The Readership rendered vacant by his retirement has been filled by T. Eric Peet, formerly Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool. The Chair of Egyptology thus left vacant in Liverpool is still to be filled.

By a curious coincidence a long and notable chapter in the history of Egyptology was also closed in London this summer, when Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie retired from the Edwards Chair of Egyptology at University College. He has not, however, completely severed his connexion with the College, for he remains Honorary Curator of the Egyptian Collection in the Edwards Library for the purpose of completing the catalogue.

Professor Petrie's place has been taken by S. R. K. Glanville, Laycock Student in Egyptology at Worcester College, Oxford, lately Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, who has been appointed Reader in Egyptology as from the beginning of the October Term.

Dr. H. Frankfort, who for some time directed the Society's excavations in Egypt, has been appointed Professor in the Archaeology and History of the Ancient Near East at the University of Amsterdam. He will continue to excavate for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, but will lecture at Amsterdam during one month on the way out and again on the way back. He has further been appointed Research Professor in Oriental Archaeology in Chicago.

We congratulate Sir Herbert Thompson on his election to be a Fellow of the British Academy.

Professor P. E. Newberry has resigned his Chair of Egyptology in the Egyptian University. He is succeeded by Dr. H. Junker, Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo.

Our contemporary *Ancient Egypt*, issued by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, the only other Egyptological journal published in this country, is to enlarge its scope under the altered title of *Ancient Egypt and the East*. Its field will thus include the whole of Asia. Sir Flinders Petrie will share the Editorship with Professor Margaret Murray and Mrs. Mackay.

On the occasion of his seventieth birthday Dr. Ludwig Borchardt has had the happy thought of presenting his friends and acquaintances with a volume of studies from his own pen entitled *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*. The variety of its contents is a striking testimony to the width of his interests in the Egyptological field.

We had hoped to review in this number no fewer than three publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, namely N. de Garis Davies's *Tomb of Neferhotep*, H. E. Winlock's *Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn*, and Caroline Ransom Williams's *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nēb*. Unforeseen events have made it necessary that these reviews should be held over until the next number. This, however, makes it the more necessary to take this opportunity of congratulating the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum on the speed with which they are now bringing out the results of their long years of excavation and tomb-copying at Thebes, of assuring them of the satisfaction which students of Egyptology regard the appearance of these extremely important works, and of expressing the hope that the present speed may, if it cannot be accelerated, at least be maintained.

Two new periodicals have made their appearance in the Egyptological field during the present year. The first is *Egyptian Religion*, described as a quarterly dealing with the religion of ancient Egypt. It is published under the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation, and edited by Samuel A. B. Mercer, Trinity College, University of Toronto. The other is *Mizraim*, described as a "Journal of Papyrology, Egyptology, History of Ancient Laws, and their Relations to the Civilizations of Bible Lands". It is edited by Professor Nathaniel Julius Reich. The Editorial Foreword makes it clear that the journal will consist mainly of the publication of documents on papyrus. The first issue, which constitutes vol. 1, dated 1933, is in great part

devoted to a study by Professor Reich of three demotic contracts from the Serapeum now in the possession of the New York Historical Society. We hope to review this volume in our next number.

On the eve of going to press we have received a copy of a volume by Professor J. H. Breasted entitled *The Oriental Institute*. It forms vol. XII of the *University of Chicago Survey*. It contains an account of all the activities, in exploration, excavation, research, and publication, of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. The book has 455 pages, with over two hundred illustrations, and is an impressive testimony to the magnitude and the success of the Institute's "organized endeavour to recover the lost story of the rise of man".

The following information, which will not be wholly news to those who attended the Leiden Congress, is taken from a letter, dated May 20, received from Mr. W. F. Edgerton of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, in answer to an inquiry. Mr. Edgerton is working on the production of a Demotic Dictionary based partly on material collected by Spiegelberg. The latter, about two months before his death, actually began the writing of a *Kleines Demotisches Wörterbuch*, intending to proceed later to a more monumental work already planned. Mr. Edgerton, who had agreed to help him in both these projects, is taking over the whole of the material, and hopes to be at work on the smaller dictionary early in 1934, and to devote possibly two years to its completion. He will then start work on the larger project, which, he estimates, may take from fifteen to twenty years to accomplish.

Clearly a dictionary of demotic is one of the most urgent needs of our science, and its appearance will open the study of demotic to many who have not felt the courage to come to close quarters with it in the absence of a dictionary and even, until recently, of a grammar. The eventual publication of the major work will be a fitting tribute to the memory of its originator, who amidst the constant strain of producing work of the highest quality found time to do so much to smooth the path of the beginner both in demotic and Coptic.

Professor Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, writes:

"In his necessarily brief mention of a paper of mine in the last Bibliography of Greek Papyri (*Journal*, XIX, 73) my friend Professor Nock has departed slightly, and certainly unintentionally, from the usual practice of a bibliographer. Without giving my interpretation of an object published by me, he offers one of his own, and one which, as it happens, I cannot accept. In *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, xxv (1932), 362-7, I gave a description of two amulets belonging to the British Museum, the second of which (No. 56260), a Chnubis stone, is inscribed, as Mr. Nock has it, 'with the phrase ὕδωρ διψῆ ἄρτος πεινῆ πῦρ ῥιγοῖ, which is presumably a series of ἀδύνατα'. The accents are his, and that is all he tells of the inscription. It is an interesting view of the words, but it is his, not mine. As his accents indicate, he takes the second, fourth, and sixth words to be verbs. I took them all as nouns, the second of each pair in the dative case, assuming an uncommon but not unknown error, *oi* for *ei*, in the last. They seemed to me to make a litany-like triad of praises of Chnubis, 'Water for thirst, bread for hunger, fire for cold'; and I cited some fairly apposite parallels.

"Those who incline to Mr. Nock's interpretation should, I think, be prepared to show the appropriateness of a series of ἀδύνατα on an amulet of this kind, and, further, they must face a difficulty in the language. One would naturally expect an inscription on such an amulet to exhibit Koine forms; but in the Koine, the verbs διψάω and πεινάω contract in *a*, not in *η* as in Attic. The following illustrations are in point: Deut. xxv. 18; Prov. xxv. 21; Isa. xxix. 8; John vii. 37; Rom. xii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 21 and 34; Phil. iv. 12; Epist. Barn. x. 3. If

it were possible to hold that Attic influence persisted in the case of this inscription, consistency would lead us to expect the Attic $\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\tilde{\nu}$ rather than $\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\acute{\iota}$."

The Director of the British Museum asks us to publish the following notice "in order to save disappointment to Egyptological or Assyriological scholars seeking to make use of the British Museum collections during the period in which they will be unavoidably out of use":

An extensive scheme of reconstruction on the northern wing of the British Museum will involve the closing of all the rooms on the upper floor in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, save the First, Second, and Third Egyptian Rooms. The objects from these exhibition galleries will for the most part have to be packed away, and will be inaccessible until the reconstruction is completed. The attention of scholars is requested to this point, and they are informed that these galleries will be shut on October 1.

This reconstruction will also necessitate the demolition of the present Students' Room. It is hoped to provide temporary accommodation elsewhere, so that scholars may have access to tablets and papyri; but this work will take several months. The Students' Room will be shut as from Monday, October 16, 1933; a statement as to reopening may, it is hoped, be made in the British Press in March, 1934.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. The Monasteries of the Wádi 'n Natrún. Part II. The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis, by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE, edited by Walter Hauser, New York, 1932, fo. pp. xliv and 495 with eight plates. \$15.00.

The late Mr. Evelyn White's vast work on the Western Monasteries of Lower Egypt will be completed in three parts or volumes, of which the first appeared in 1926 and contained the new fragments of Coptic texts which he himself obtained amid appalling discomforts in a final gleaning of the library in the Monastery of St. Macarius, edited, after the author's lamentable death, by Crum and Winlock. The second is the present volume on the History, and the third, devoted to the Architecture and Archaeology, is to be produced under the care of the same editor. When one considers what Evelyn White accomplished in regard to this group of monasteries, one realizes what he might have done for the other great monastic groups in Upper and Lower Egypt had his life been spared. His industry and enthusiasm in the collection of material were inexhaustible, and the experience and knowledge acquired in this task would have fortified him for the immense and profitable labours which faced him in allied fields.

Mr. Hauser evidently shouldered a heavy burden in preparing to edit the materials left by Mr. Evelyn White. Scattered notes had to be revised and connected with the text, the latter had to be purged of repetitions, and all had to be knitted together into a consistent whole. This seems to have been done very successfully; Evelyn White was a good scholar of the ordinary type but knew almost nothing of Arabic and Coptic (except the Boheiric dialect), which were among the principal sources. For these he was dependent either on the printed translations or, failing such, on the generosity of his scholarly friends, and it is marvellous how wide and rich the field is from which he gathered. As might be expected, his few excursions into Coptic etymology are generally unsuccessful and not to be recommended to the student. But, so far as I am able to judge, his historical deductions from what is too often very doubtful material are good. By nature he was sympathetic with the monastic view of life, but he recognizes the tragic disappointments and inconsistencies involved in the practice of it. Those who withdrew from the world, if they were true saints, soon found that, against their will, their sanctity attracted the like-minded and the curious to consort with them, and their poor possessions were always open to the raids of nomadic robbers. Perhaps the most embarrassing situation of all was created when a devout lady of the imperial house applied for admission and could not be refused; yet the saint contrived to admit her as a "monk" without the slightest breath of scandal ensuing, and she died in the fullest odour of sanctity. To begin with the brethren were without a rule, but endeavoured to imitate the saintly Antony (A.D. 251-355), who was the first Christian anchorite. According to White these anchorites and the later monasteries had no historical connexion with any sort of pagan predecessors. Macarius, a disciple of Antony, was the first to gather followers into a coenobium or community at Scete near the middle of the fourth century. He followed the simple but edifying teaching of St. Antony and died in 393-4. There has been considerable confusion, both in early and modern writers, between neighbouring groups of monasteries, but White is able to distinguish three localities in the Nitriote region, (1) the Mount of Nitria or the Desert of Pernuğ (in Arabic Barnuğ), on the edge of the Delta south of Damanhûr, (2) Scetis or Shiêt, the Wadi en-Natrún within the desert, where three monasteries still survive, and (3) Cellia, a place of anchorites rather than monasteries, in the desert region between the other two. A careful investigation on the spot would doubtless reveal remains of both (1) and (3). Nitria and Cellia were the earliest groups; Scetis, more remote from the varying policy of Alexandria and therefore more secure from religious persecution, rose to power in the course of the fourth century and shared with Alexandria and Memphis the ecclesiastical leadership of Egypt, the patriarchs themselves being generally elected from amongst the monks of Scetis, where also were preserved the bones and relics of the patriarchs, especially after the Arab conquest.

This great volume seems to contain all the known material for the history, and treats it from every point of view—organization, daily and religious life, doctrine, periodical distress and ruin, decay of religious enthusiasm combined with seeking after preferment and privileges, coming almost to extinction in the

seventeenth century, learning, growth, and eventual sale of the libraries to European travellers and collectors. The final revival of learning and prosperity towards the end of the nineteenth century lies outside the limits of the work. We look forward with impatience to the appearance of the third volume, which will contain some of the most important evidence for the history in a description of the architectural remains.

Having had the privilege of editing one of the most unexpected archaeological finds made by Evelyn White, namely an inscribed Nubian tray for offerings in the Syrian monastery, I hoped to see a section devoted to the connexions of the Nitrian monasteries with Nubian Christianity. The only references for "Nubians" in the excellent index are of little importance, but a footnote on p. 368 refers to the tray and suggests an explanation for its presence, namely that Nubians shared in the Abyssinian monastery of St. Elias, and one gathers that a fuller account is to appear in vol. III.

F. LI. GRIFFITH.

Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter. Die Geschichte einer Sitte. Von KURT SETHE. (Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1931, xviii.) 24 pp.

Although a considerable body of Egyptian religious texts has been published since the beginning of the science, comparatively little has been written which treats of their general history, and at the present there is no up-to-date and comprehensive account to which the student may turn. He will be all the more grateful, therefore, for the skeleton of such an account provided by Professor Sethe in this short paper, and should find it extremely useful in co-ordinating his own views upon the subject. Within the compass of twenty-four pages the author has skilfully followed the development of the custom of providing the dead with magical literature from the days of the Pyramid Texts down to the Roman period, discussing briefly the history, content, and purpose of each cycle of mortuary texts. In the beginning of things he deduces a long period during which this literature was preserved upon papyrus before it eventually made its appearance upon the walls of the tomb, the process thereafter being one of increasing popularization, culminating during the New Kingdom in the wholesale manufacture of papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead for all and sundry. Unas, last ruler of the Fifth Dynasty, and first king to cause the Pyramid Texts to be inscribed upon the walls of his resting-place, was urged so to do, the author thinks, by gloomy reflections upon the uncertainties of funerary endowment, especially as he himself stood at a turning-point of history, the end of a dynasty. Thus he made certain that those powerful spells, which under normal circumstances would be recited for him by a mortuary priesthood, should also be close at hand within his pyramid, ready for the dead monarch whenever he wished to make use of them, or even able to read themselves on his behalf and thus ensure the eternal welfare of his soul.

A. W. SHORTER.

The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi. By OSWALD MENGHIN and MUSTAFA AMER. Egyptian University, Cairo, 1932, P.T. 60.

This "Preliminary Report" (with 78 plates) on the Predynastic village is so full of detail that one wonders what can be left for a final publication. It is to be hoped (1) that the photographs may be improved upon, as many of them are poor owing, no doubt, to the local printing; and (2) that some line drawings may be added of pottery, and especially of flint implements. The plates would have been easier to use if a general description, at least, had been printed on each. For instance Pl. xxv might have been headed "Black Polished Ware", and so on. References to the text in the list of plates would also have been useful. We must thank the authors for writing in English, a language foreign to both of them; the result is admirably clear on the whole. But what is meant by "holster" on p. 33? Should not this be "halter"? On p. 48 copper "oxide" is no doubt a slip for "carbonate". Most reviewers seem to think that their work is not complete without reference to a misprint. Let us then suggest that LX on p. 36 would be better XL.

As to the conclusions arrived at with regard to the date and context of this new culture there can be no disagreement. Though almost entirely new in its main features it has enough links with the well-known Predynastic civilization of Middle Egypt to make its chronological position certain. The fact that it is so individual is the great interest of the discovery. We can hardly suppose it to be very local; if it extended over the Delta this would tend to negative Scharff's suggestion that the Gerzean culture first flourished in Lower Egypt and thence spread southward. On the other hand the entire absence of the white-on-red painted pottery ("Cross-line"), and of the black-topped wares makes it certain (as had always been supposed) that their origin was not a northern one. M. E. Leclercq, reviewing this report in *Chronique d'Égypte* (July 1933, p. 227), thinks it impossible to suppose that such a primitive culture could exist so close to the (supposed)

advanced civilization of Heliopolis at this age; he would push the date of the Ma'âdi site back to much earlier times. But any one who has, for instance, seen a Beduin, or even an Egyptian village close to Ma'âdi itself at the present day in the vicinity of modern Cairo would have no such objections to offer.

There are some small criticisms which may be made. Firstly, when it is known that these people of early Ma'âdi apparently possessed large quantities of copper (p. 48), is it still justifiable to label their culture "Neolithic"? Next, with regard to the water supply and climatic conditions (p. 8), must we not suppose that the level of river water was lower then than now? The heavier rainfall might have allowed cultivation to some extent on what is now desert, and the now dry wadys could have supplied the needs of the settlement. This heavier rainfall rather invalidates the suggestion that the hut-shelters had no roofs (p. 16); probably there were roofed huts as well as sheltered yards. Denudation by rain may just possibly account for the absence of a cemetery in the immediate vicinity. There is a site near Maṭmar, south of Asyût, where a large Predynastic cemetery, on a nearly flat plain, has been denuded almost completely away, so that some half-dozen only of the deeper graves remain, while bones and sherds are scattered over or just below the surface.

The possibility of there having been a trade-route to Sinai at this time can hardly be questioned when it seems certain that timber was being imported from the far more distant Syria in the Gerzean period, judging from the specimen of coniferous wood from Badâri grave 4606 (*Bad. Civ.*, 62).

The comparison of the Ma'âdi pottery with that of Middle Egypt is not very satisfactory. Two types are singled out (p. 54) as being similar. One, L 55 from Naḳâdah in Petrie's *Corpus*, is apparently a unique specimen; its history cannot now be traced; I have found nothing like it in Predynastic cemeteries; it may quite well be of dynastic date like L 78a and c in the same *Corpus*. Further, this Naḳâdah form is not much like the Ma'âdi "base-ring" pots. Still more unlike is the other type quoted, L 68, which has a round base, not at all like the flat-bottomed "squat" pot of Ma'âdi (Pl. xxxvi, 2). It may be pointed out here that Petrie's new terminology (Amratian, etc.) is intended by him to replace the expressions Early, Middle, and Late Predynastic, and not to supersede the Sequence Dating, though recent workers are agreed that that system cannot be relied on in every detail.

Two of the points of relation between the Ma'âdi and the Merimdah cultures (p. 56) apply equally well to the Badarian and Predynastic of Middle Egypt. The use of potsherds as lids is a very common custom in early and even in dynastic times; and pig-bones were found at Hemamiyah (*Bad. Civ.*, 77, 85). Further, the size of the settlements has no special significance when the great Predynastic city at Hierakonpolis is considered. Predynastic pots, inverted and placed together in holes, were frequently found at Badâri; the suggestion that these were stores of unused vessels (p. 19) is doubtless correct. Whether pottery was polished with the stones shown on Pl. lxxii, 2, may be questioned (p. 56). The native hand-made pottery of South Africa is burnished with small water-worn pebbles.

That the wavy-handled pots (p. 26) were made in Palestine and traded to Egypt seems to be indicated by their presence in Petrie's early settlements at Tell Fara, where they are more plentiful than in any of the Egyptian Predynastic villages.

The painted pottery, small in quantity and fragmentary as it is, is of great importance. Its rarity need cause no surprise; painted sherds in Middle Egyptian settlements are equally scarce. There is nothing in this fact to militate against the theory that these wares have their origin in the Delta. The point of special interest is the discovery of styles of decoration unlike any from Upper Egypt. One sherd with a highly polished yellow surface (p. 28) is particularly remarkable. It is to be expected that further research will elucidate the origin of these wares.

The excavators are to be congratulated not only on the method and quality of their field work, but also on the very full account they have published of the results of their first season's digging. Only a few years ago no Egyptologist would have been interested in such a site. Now we have the young Egyptian University devoting its time, talent, and resources to work which is of the greatest interest and importance but which cannot be expected to yield any of the inscriptions or "artistic" objects which have been the aim of so many excavators in the past. Let us hope that the Egypt of the near future will continue to throw an ever-increasing light on the origins of its people and their culture.

GUY BRUNTON.

Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten. Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler. Von CARL SCHMIDT und H. J. POLOTSKY, mit einem Beitrag von H. IBSCHER. (*Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1933.)

English readers need no announcement regarding the great find of Manichaean documents in Coptic since Sir Herbert Thompson's descriptive account in *The Times* (April 20 of this year). There the immense

importance of the text was pointed out and all relevant facts given: how a box was recently unearthed, in the ruins of a private house in the Fayyûm, containing seven independent papyrus volumes, all in a desperate state of dilapidation; how Professor Schmidt quickly recognized the nature of their contents, and how they were eventually partitioned between Mr. Chester Beatty in London and an anonymous buyer in Berlin. The publication of this official Report has been accompanied by two less technical articles by Professor Schmidt.¹ Scholars may indeed congratulate themselves that texts of first-rate importance should once more have fallen to him to edit.

Now at last we are to have the authentic books of this long-lived and wide-spread religion, known hitherto either from the hostile descriptions of adversaries or from the poor remnants of Asiatic versions.² Two works of Mani himself these new papyri promise us—to make them available, however, will require the skill and patience of years—the *Κεφάλαια*, dogmatic and cosmological dialogues between him and his disciples, and a collection of his letters, the recipients of which are in some cases already known from other sources. A third volume is a book of hymns, some addressed to Jesus, others to Mani, and numbering at least 230—perhaps, Professor Schmidt suggests, the very hymns known, in a Latin version, to Augustine. A fourth is a collection of miscellaneous narrative pieces, telling *inter alia* of Mani's death, which event is recounted again in a fifth, also miscellaneous volume, bearing the title *Homilies*. A sixth volume promises us commentaries upon Mani's *Living Gospel*, while one volume at least remains, not yet in a condition to be described.

To those who saw the papyri before they had had Dr. Ibscher's marvellously skilful treatment it would have seemed scarcely credible that so much should ever have been made of them by Dr. Polotsky, who has by now succeeded in reading a large number of leaves and who assuredly has the good wishes of all scholars for his further progress in a very trying task.

Professor Schmidt would assign the papyri, the fine quality of which, as well as the script, should indicate a relatively early date, to the latter part of the fourth century. I have not succeeded in finding any Coptic manuscript with a script more than vaguely similar to that shown on the plate. *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, Pl. 10, 967, and Pl. 12, 1102, should belong to the same period, whereof Rylands *Catal.*, Pl. 5, 352, would be a non-literary example (dated, if so, too late in the publication). That the Coptic is but a translation of a Greek version from the Aramaic originals would be taken for granted, but Dr. Polotsky appears to have found reason for assuming direct translation from the Aramaic—rare, if not unique, though this would be in Coptic literature.

To the Report are appended specimens of the dialect in which all the texts are written. We see the idiom at present known as sub-Achmîmic (A^2), here leaning now towards the peculiarities of the *Acta Pauli*, now towards those of the *St. John*; sometimes, indeed, agreeing with A against both. Where this dialect should be ultimately located still appears to me quite uncertain.³ It is now represented by three MSS., no more, whereof one (*St. John*) was unearthed at Kâw, another (these Mani papyri) in the Fayyûm, the third (*Acta P.*) at an unknown place—the bulk bought at Akhmîm, but one fragment at Edfû. What relation there *may* be between place of finding and dialect can be estimated by the following indisputable facts. An Achmîmic MS.⁴ was found in the Fayyûm; two or three Fayyûmic MSS. at Balaizah, south of Asyût,⁵ not to mention those from the White Monastery; several Fayyûmic ostraca at Thebes,⁶ while Sa'idic MSS. made their way to Nitria.⁷ Moreover, a number of features regarded as characterizing A^2 (and indeed several of A) are to be met with in so-called Sa'idic texts (S^a in our Dictionary) from Thebes.⁸ It might be maintained that the relations between A^2 and A are hardly closer than those between A^2 and S^a , if not S .

It may be of interest here, since in this *Journal* one regards things primarily from the Egyptian standpoint, to collect what small evidence has survived—or, more accurately, what of it I have noted—as to Manichaeism in Coptic literature.⁹ The “heresy”—for so these authors generally term it—had early got a footing in Egypt. Legend says that the “apostle” had inherited his doctrines from predecessors who had

¹ In *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 1932, 354, and *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1933, 1.

² On these and their importance for rightly estimating the nature of Mani's religion *v.* Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, 1925 (*cf.* Bardy in Vacant, *Dictionnaire*, IX, col. 1895), also Schaefer's review, *Gnomon*, 1933, 337.

³ I do but repeat here what was said in *Mon. of Epiphanius*, I, 234. For Prof. Schmidt's argument at length *v.* *D.L.Z.*, 1928, 1706. See also Till in *Aegyptus*, VIII, 250 ff.

⁴ *My Coptic Manuscripts*, no. 2.

⁵ Bodleian Copt. e 24, f 7 (*v.* Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 39).

⁶ *My Coptic Ostraca*, nos. 500–10, *Short Texts*, no. 440.

⁷ *Wadi Sarga*, p. 8.

⁸ *V. Mon. of Epiph.*, I, 236 ff.

⁹ What follows is a development of the few facts recorded in *J.R.A.S.*, 1919, 208. The evidence from sources other than Coptic has already been brought together in De Stoop's *Essai sur la diffusion*, &c., p. 73 ff.

assimilated the wisdom of the Egyptians and that later in his career he sent missionaries, Papos¹ and Thomas, to proselytize Egypt. Be that as it may—and it has been suggested that this “western” form of the story possibly had its origin there²—the earliest known polemic against the new faith comes from Egypt and that from a non-Christian philosopher, Alexander of Lycopolis, who is thought to have written about the year 300, within a generation after Mani’s death. About the same time the hermit Antony had learned to know and studiously to avoid the sectaries,³ whilst various doctors of the Alexandrian church in the fourth century—Athanasius, Serapion, Didymus—attacked them, and even the hermits in the western desert found themselves at times confronted with Manichæan neighbours.⁴

With the fifth century we reach the writer in every respect the most remarkable to use the native language: Shenoute (*ob.* 451, *aet.* 100+). In his works Mani and his doctrines are several times positively named and are probably referred to in various other places. To begin with the well-known allusion to the *Disputatio Archelai*:⁵ this is an excerpt, which opens with a reference to “Archelaos, bishop of Karcharis in Mesopotamia”, opponent of “Manes, the root of the Manichæans”,⁶ and commenting on the meaning of Lu. v, 37, perhaps as against the perverted interpretation of Mani. Into immediate connexion with this must be brought that passage, published by Professor Lefort,⁷ which Dr. Polotsky has shown to contain a series of quotations from the *Disputatio*.⁸ For there is no doubt that here too the writer is Shenoute: the other texts preserved from this same MS. are demonstrably his.⁹ The extant leaf next in sequence to Professor Lefort’s deals with those who denied that the Baptist knew Jesus as the Christ;¹⁰ but since its place was eleven pages farther on, we cannot be positive that Manichæan errors are here in question. Heretical views as to the Baptist are again condemned in another MS.;¹¹ his “unworthiness” (Mk i, 7) had been ascribed to sins committed by his soul in some previous incarnation; for God, they maintained, had created all souls at once and each at death passes into another body. Heretical fables about the Creation are quoted from another writer (“he said”),¹² who held that God had made 12 worlds (*κόσμος*), unknown to the very angels, then 7 more, outside of these again 5, and beyond them yet other 3: in all 27 worlds beyond ours. The Manichæan repudiation of the Old Testament is clearly referred to in what Shenoute “had found in those books”, where Mt. xi, 13 was quoted with the following apostrophe: “Desist here, O Moses, with thy Law that thou broughtest to the wicked Jews”. “Such”, he adds, “are the words of Manes, the impious Manichæan, that despiseth law and prophets.”¹³ As to the New Testament, those heretics who said that there had been twelve gospels and forty aeons¹⁴ may well have been Manichæans. Again, Shenoute deplores the perversity of those “whose eyes the wickedness of Manes had shut” and who questioned the possibility of God being born of a woman,¹⁵ or who deny that the risen body will be the same as that which died.¹⁶ Elsewhere he reproves the Manichæans for their contemptuous attitude regarding Christ’s miracles.¹⁷ Excepting where, in the above citations, Mani or his followers are named, one would not of course be justified in presupposing them; Shenoute attacks Origenists, Arians, and Nestorians often enough, and I must leave it to others to say in these cases to which group the views reprobated are to be attributed. If the day should ever come when the countless, scattered leaves of Sinuthian MSS. shall have been sorted and palaeographically reordered, then only could we hope to know more precisely to whom his many attacks upon the heresies of his day refer.

Chronologically the next authentic writer to name the Manichæans seems to be Rufus, bishop of Shôtep-Hypsele, who lived apparently in the early seventh century.¹⁸ In his commentary on St. Luke he refers to

¹ Schmidt (*Mani-Fund*, 14), citing Alfariç, *Écritures*, II, 117, suggests a foreign etymology. But Πάπ(π)ος is a common Egyptian name (*v.* Preisigke, *Namenbuch*), surviving in Coptic as ΠΑΠΟ (B.M. 1086), ΠΑΠΩ (Ryl. 361); even as Παᾶπυς it is Egyptian. Alexander does not say that he was a foreigner, though a stranger at Lycopolis(?).

² Nöldeke in *Z.D.M.G.*, 43, 541.

³ *P.G.*, 26, 940.

⁴ Preuschen, *Pallad. u. Ruf.*, 61; *R.O.C.*, XIV, *Hist. des Solitaires*, § 289 = Rosweyde, p. 469; *P.G.*, 65, 204 A (perhaps).

⁵ *C.S.C.O.*, 42, 109.

⁶ One wonders whether “root” is used here in allusion to the special Manichæan significance of that word (*v.* Epiphanius, *ed.* Holl, III, 39 n.).

⁷ *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad.*, 1929, 429.

⁸ *Muséon*, 45, 18.

⁹ For instance Paris, 1314, 86–93, where (90 b), the piece beginning “Righteous art Thou, O Lord”, occurs as no. 43 in the catalogue of S.’s epistles (Wessely, *Stud.*, IX, 167).

¹⁰ On Mt. xi, 3. *Ed.* Amélineau, II, 189.

¹¹ Wessely, *op. cit.*, 144.

¹² Zoega, p. 625. But it is not very probable that Mani’s doctrines are here referred to.

¹³ Amélineau, I, 194.

¹⁴ Wessely, *op. cit.*, 143. For this gospel *cf.* Alfariç, II, 173.

¹⁵ Amélineau, II, 176 (var. I, 333), B.M. 194, 4.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, 192.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 372.

¹⁸ He figures as contemporary with Constantine of Siût (*v.* below, *Anal. Boll.*, XXXII, 467). If so, he cannot be the bishop Rufus, “confessor, theologian and . . .” (*cf.* *P.O.*, v, 204, with Seybold’s Hamburg text 203, 16). On the relics of one or other see Abû Şâlih, 88 a.

the heretical gospel of Marcion and that of "the Manichaean" (μαμανιχαϊος), "who had dared to say words that the Lord never spake".¹ Marcion, Valentinus, and μαμανιχαϊος (*leg.?* μαμ. as above) are named in another fragment, probably by Rufus.² That a bishop of Hypsele should still have to speak of them is hardly more than an accident, though one may remark the coincidence when reading what Professor Schmidt has to say respecting Hypsele and the introduction of Manichaeism into Egypt.³

The tradition which Eutyechius (*ob.* 940) repeats as to the widespread Manichaean leaven in the Egyptian church⁴ has been used by all modern historians, though none, from Renaudot onwards,⁵ has given much credit to such sweeping and obviously ill-informed statements. And yet Benjamin's story (*v.* below), and the insinuation by Nestorius as to Cyril's clergy⁶ might show that the imputation was not without foundation.

His contemporary, Severus of Ashmunain, compiler of the first part of the Patriarchal History, draws, for his account of Mani, upon Archelaus; the Coptic chronicle which he translates embodies an abstract of the *Disputatio*.⁷

What Abû'l-Barakât (*ob.* 1324) has to say upon the subject (*P.O.*, xx, 686) is but an abstract of Maruta's catalogue.

On turning to those "pseudo" authors who figure so largely in extant Coptic literature, I have met with only three references to Mani or his religion. The title of a λόγος ascribed to Gregory Nazianzen⁸ tells us that it was written in response to an inquiry from Eusebius, archimandrite of "Mount Ararat in Armenia, whereon the ark rested",⁹ as to the belief of the Manichaeans, that Michael had replaced the devil in the angelic hierarchy. The conclusion of Gregory's long reply is that the devil had never been an archangel.¹⁰

The sermon of the patriarch Benjamin (*ob.* 662) on the Marriage at Cana¹¹ is hardly less suspect than that of Gregory. It contains an anecdote of certain priests, who trafficked in the sacred elements, confessing themselves to be Manichaeans, and whom the patriarch had delivered over to the civil arm, to be burned alive.

Finally Constantine, bishop of Siût (early seventh century), in an Encomium upon Athanasius,¹² finds occasion to reprobate the usual series of ancient heretics, from the Manichaean maniacs down to Julian (of Halicarnassus), "that miserable old man", whom he classes with the Manichaean phantasists.

As a postscript one may mention—though the piece is Coptic only in having been translated into that language—a Homily (or Epistle) of Severus¹³ wherein we read of a backslider "who had abandoned the books of the Scripture, the breath of God, and read those written by the fabulists, those of the foul heresy of Mané and Thomas his disciple, and who, forsaking the Apocalypse that John, the son of thunder, beheld . . . , had himself contrived books called 'Apocalypse'" [*text breaks off*].¹⁴

These Coptic vestiges of Mani and his followers certainly do not amount to much. But if they do little else, they at least contribute to the arguments for paying yet more attention to Shenoute—to his religious *entourage* and his relations to earlier religious literature. His is the one great figure in the literature of his language and a great deal of his extant work still lies unpublished.

W. E. CRUM.

¹ Vienna Staatsbibl. K 9658. I am indebted to the Director for leave to cite this from Professor Till's copy.

² Zoega, p. 618.

³ *Mani-Fund*, 13.

⁴ *P.G.*, III, 1015, 1023.

⁵ *Hist. Patr. Alex.*, 102. For Eut. "Manichaean" meant the obscurer Monophysites and Severians as well (J. Maspero, *Hist.*, 213), while Severus on his part applies the abusive name to Julian Halic. (*op. cit.*, 68) and to Eutyches (Lebon, *Monophysisme*, 493).

⁶ E. Schwartz, *Acta Concil.*, I, i, 32 = Mansi, IV, 897 D, τὰ Μανιχαίων φρονούντων ἡ τῶν τῆς σῆς Ἰωσὺς διαθέσεως κληρικῶν.

⁷ *V. P.S.B.A.*, xxiv, 73; *P.O.*, I, 195.

⁸ Cod. P. Morgan, xxii, 15 = Budge, *Apocr.*, xxix.

⁹ How far Eusebius and his monastery are mythical I know not. There have been (and are?) monasteries on and around Ararat; there were also other claimants for the ark's resting place, *e.g.* the Phrygian Apamea. There may thus be confusion in various directions.

¹⁰ A hint by the late Abbé Nau (*R.O.C.*, xxi, 112) tempts one to suggest that Satan's fall here might be a reminiscence of Mani's "Book of Giants".


¹¹ De Vis, *Homélies*, I, 81 ff.



¹² Cod. P. Morgan, xxxvii, 260. On Constantine *v.* B.M. 865 n., J. Maspero, *op. cit.*, 317 n., *Mon. of Epiph.*, I, 204 n., *Anal. Boll.*, *ut sup.*

¹³ Cairo, 8010 (*v. Catal. Gén., Coptic Monuments*), where the other foll. of this MSS. are given.

¹⁴ I have not found this passage in any published work of Severus. It is of course not from the homily ed. Kugener and Cumont.

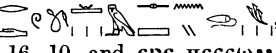
The following comments and suggestions may perhaps be of some interest.


1, 7. *ḏḏtn* N., used not infrequently in legal documents with the meaning "deposition of N." (see e.g. *Pap. Abbott*, 5, 21), has here a strange narrative use, "Then said N.". Closely parallel, of course, to this use of the fem. rel. form *ḏḏmt-n-f* is that of *ⲛⲉⲗⲉ-*, *ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲓ*, in Coptic. That the origin of the form *ḏḏtn* had been forgotten, and that it was regarded as a noun, seems clear in *Pap. Mayer A*, 13 A, 1, where we find *nṣ*  *ḏḏtn nṣ ṯṯw* "the depositions made by the thieves".


1, 7-8. In *ḫ pṣy-tn ṯrt-shr w-tn*, "what signifieth your taking action yourselves alone?", *w-tn* corresponds exactly to the Sarcidic *ⲟⲓⲁⲧⲏ* (Steindorff, *Kopt. Gram.*, §173). In *ḫw-f*  (4, 1), "and he was alone", the form *w-t-f* agrees with the Akhmimic and Fayûmic *ⲟⲓⲁⲉⲧⲓ* (Till, *Kopt. Dialektgram.*, p. 28); the corresponding form in Sarcidic is *ⲟⲓⲁⲁⲓ*. There is another example of *ⲟⲓⲁⲁⲓ* in *Pap. d'Orbiney*, 5, 1: *ḫw-f gmt(i) ḫms-kwi* , "he found me sitting alone", *w-i* (*w-t*?) corresponding exactly to *ⲟⲓⲁⲁⲧ*, i.e. *ⲟⲓⲁⲁⲓ* with 1st pers. sing. suffix. The two examples quoted by Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 14 a, *m w-k* and *n w-f*, the one Middle and the other Late Egyptian, correspond to *ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲁⲕ* and *ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲁⲓ*.

5, 4. In the translation on p. 17, insert "there" after "and judge ye between them", the Egyptian being *mtw-tn wpt-w im*.

6, 5. The description of the shape assumed by Isis, *w ṣri(t) nfrt n ḫw-s*, "a maiden beauteous in her body", finds an exact parallel in the *st-ḫmwut 20 m nfrwt nt ḫw-sn* (*Pap. Westcar*, 5, 9-10), "twenty women who are beauteous in their bodies". Why, by the way, does Gardiner throughout the whole of this publication translate *ḫw* as "limbs"? Does not *ḫw*, pl. of *ḫr* "flesh", mean "body", the members or limbs thereof being *cwt* (sing. *ct*)?

10, 5. *ḫw-sn* , "and they grew into lotuses". For *rd m* "grow into", see *Pap. d'Orbiney*, 16, 10, and *ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲓ ⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲥ* "her whole body is grown into tongue" (Steindorff, *Kopt. Gram.*, pp. *26-27).

10, 5-6. "And he spake unto Pr̄c-Ḥarakhti falsely, *bw-pw-i gm ḫr*  I did not find Horus—although he had found him." Another example of *ḫr ḫw ṣdm-f* with exactly the same meaning occurs in *Pap. Abbott*, 7, 10, *ḫr ḫw wn-i im m pṣ ṯṯy n pṣ ṯṣ*, "Although I was there as vizier of the land."

10, 8. *ḫw-s ḏit nṣ*  *im*. Is not "milk" treated as a plural here because it was put into Horus' eyes in drops? Possibly we should translate: "and she put the (drops of) milk therein."




15, 1. Well worthy of notice is the construction *ḫr-n ḫw-tw ṣṣ-f*, of which I know no other instance.

1, 11. *nn ḫw-n r rh pṣ grgy*. Would not "Shall we not ascertain (who is) the guilty one?" suit the context better than Gardiner's "We shall not be able to discern the guilty one"? For *nn* = Latin *nonne* see Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 65 a.

6, 6. *wn-in Stṣ ḫr ḏwn-f ḫw-f ḫms ḫr wnm ḫw ḫnc ṯṣ psḏt ct*. Should not this be rendered: "Thereupon Seth arose from sitting eating (or, as we should say, "from where he sat eating") bread with the great Ennead"? This translation suits the preceding sentences better than Gardiner's "Thereupon Seth rose up and he sat and ate bread with the great Ennead". Compare the somewhat analogous Coptic construction *ⲁⲓⲟⲓⲱ ⲉⲓⲙⲟⲓ* "he is already dead".

8, 13. *ḫw-s ḫwt-f r pṣ mw r ṯṣ st ḫrp ḫr ḫr ḫnc Stṣ*. Gardiner renders this: "She threw it into the water in the place of the plunging which Horus and Seth had made." Is not the more correct translation: "She threw it into the water at the place where Horus and Seth had plunged in"? This construction occurs again in *Doomed Prince*, 7, 9, only with *ḫr-n* instead of *ḫr*: *ḫt ḫr-f ḫr pṣ ḫw n ḫt ḫr-n pṣ ḫrd m pṣ ṯṣ n Kmt*, "Now on the day when the lad came from Egypt", and cf. also *Pap. d'Orbiney*, 6, 8. It is common in demotic, e.g. *pṣ mṣ n ḫy a' r N. a pṣ yr n'm-f*, "the place where N. had fallen into the river" (*Setne*, 4, 13); *ṯṣ wwt n ṣḏy a' r pṣ wḫ* "in the hour in which the priest had spoken" (*ibid.*, 4, 10; see also Spiegelberg, *Demot. Gramm.*, §551).

9, 1. In *mṣ n-i mwt-i ṣst*. Is not "Help me", preferable to "Come unto me"? Cf. the French *à moi*.

13, 4. *ḫr ḫr pṣ nty ḫw-f*  *m pṣy-f ṯry*, "And whoso shall prevail over his fellow". Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 54 a, n. 13, 4 a, would delete the  before *ṯry*, as in all other instances of this expression *ṯṣ* and not *ḫṯ* is the verb. But cannot  stand here for the *r*, Coptic *ⲉ*, of the *ḫw-f(r) ṣdm* form, which we certainly have here? Cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, i, p. 27, 15.


14, 13. *ḫw ḫwḫ ḫr tn m nḫtw* must surely be "seeing it is I who have made you strong", not "who make you strong". Are not late-Egyptian participles always past?

p. 14, n. 6. For "the claims of R̄c" read "the claims of Seth".

While all the love-poems will deeply interest the student of ancient literature, three of them (*verso*, G1, 1–G2, 5), if not more, will appeal to any lover of poetry, ancient or modern. He cannot fail to be delighted with the similes of the royal envoy travelling post-haste, of the proud steed from Pharaoh's stable, and of the hunted gazelle bounding over the desert hills. Such language has hitherto been unknown in pre-Hebraic love-poetry.

I would now like first to draw attention to, and in some cases comment upon, a number of rare and interesting words and expressions occurring in the poems, and then venture upon a few suggestions with regard to translation.

C1, 4. *it* meaning "surpass", with direct object, apparently occurs once or, at the most, twice elsewhere; see pp. 30–1, n. 3.

C1, 5.  "midst" or "waist", has hitherto, according to *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, only been found in Ptolemaic texts.

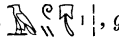
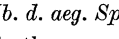
C2, 7. Gardiner points out that *wstn* is also used transitively in *Maximes d'Anii*, 6, 113.

C3, 1. *bw wnh-i bhn* "I do not attire myself with my fan". Judging from *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* this word, Coptic ⲃⲟⲩⲏ , appears here for the first time outside Ptolemaic texts, in which it is only to be found in the combination *hbs bhn* "protect". The usual word for "fan" in Late Egyptian is *bht* or *bh3*, and to "carry a fan" is *hbs bht*. Here *wnh*, "put on" a garment or ornament, takes the place of *hbs*.


C4, 6–C5, 2. In the poem about the love-sick swain several technical medical words are employed. Some of them such as *n urw swnw* "the master physicians", *phrt* "remedy", *ts dmdyt* "the entire compendium (of medicine)", are known from other sources. But far less common, if not altogether new, in this particular employment are *ckrk m* "creep on" some one (of a malady), *wdr* "diagnose" a disease, *wst* lit. "way", *i.e.* "method" of curing. It might here be observed that *tsi* "seize", "take", is used in the first poem (C1, 8) of "catching" a complaint; only in Egyptian, be it noted, the complaint "catches" the person, not the person the complaint.

G1, 1–2. The expression *is hsty n N. m-s3*, "N. is impatient for" something, is not recorded in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* Gardiner notes one other instance, but without *m-s3*, *i.e.* *n is ib-i* "I have not been impatient" (*Naville, Todtenbuch*, 125, 31).

G1, 2. With the use of *nhb* here in the sense of "requisition", a meaning which Gardiner (p. 35, n. 1), considers unique, compare, perhaps, its use in the expression *nhb-n nb trwy k3-f* "one whose rank the lord of the Two Lands assigned" or "appointed" (Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 63); see also *iw nhb-n-i minw-i ds-i m rnhwt(-i)* "I appointed my own herdsman to my goats" (*Ann. Serv.*, xv, 207, l. 4, *qu. Journal*, xvi, 197).

G1, 5–6. , *grwyw*, "steeds". Gardiner, p. 35, n. 2, says that this is an unknown word. The compilers of *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, however, record a variant form . Gardiner observes that *thr*, which occurs in the same poem, is possibly a Hittite word meaning a warrior who drives a chariot. Is *grwy* of similar origin? If so, seeing that the Hittite language is now thought to have certain Indo-European affinities, *grwy* might just possibly be compared with the Latin *equus*. Mr. H. W. Bailey of the School of Oriental Studies, London, has given me the following note, which somewhat supports the suggestion. The Armenian for "horse" is *ji* (*j = dz*). The Sanscrit *haya-s* is usually explained as from **ghejo-* or **ghaio-* (*gh* = palatal aspirate *g*).

While on the subject of horses it is worth noting that, thanks to the two poems contained in G1, 1–8, we now know that in Egyptian "crack of the whip" is *hrw isbr* (G1, 7), "draw level with" a galloping horse is *iri n-hst*+suffix or noun¹ (G1, 8), and the place where the post-horses halted and were changed is *hpt* "resting place" (G1, 2).²

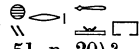
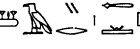
G2, 1. *mi ghst*  *hr mrw* "like a gazelle bounding over the desert". *H3p* "bound" is, according to Gardiner, a new word. Can it be the same word as *šp*, which occurs in *Pap. Lansing*, 2, 1, and *Pap Anastasi IV*, 12, 3? *H* does occasionally become *š*, though not nearly so frequently as does *h*. In all three examples "bounding", "leaping", or "flinging oneself about", gives the required sense.


G1, 8–G2, 1. *rh-wy sy ib n snt pry:f tm w3w r snt*. "How well knoweth the heart of the sister that he is not far from the sister." *Rh* followed by the possessive article and infinitive and meaning "know that some one is doing such and such a thing" is a use not recorded in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* The same construction apparently

¹ In *Contendings* 6, 6, *iri n-hst* is used of Seth overtaking Isis. The expression seems not to occur outside these two texts.

² In G2, 3, it means a "resting place" for a hunted gazelle. Neither use of the word is recorded in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*

occurs with *cm*.¹ *tw-i hr cm pꜣ dꜣt i-ir-t šꜣdꜣ-tw pꜣ cš* n *Pr-cꜣ* "I know that thou (fem.) didst cause the cedar-tree of Pharaoh to be cut down" (*Pap. d'Orbiney*, 17, 7).

Recto, 16, 10. Can the obscure word  possibly be the same as  "gateway", "keep" (*Peet, Tomb Robberies*, p. 51, n. 20)?

Recto, 17, 8. This is apparently the first time that  occurs in an Egyptian text with the meaning of the Coptic verb τωϥαι, "knock" on a door.

Recto, 17, 11. *ms hmww* "carpenter lad". This use of *ms* is not uncommon in Late-Egyptian, e.g. *ms hm* "slave boy" (*Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10052. 2 A, 4), *ms wrb* "young priest" (*Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10053, vs. 2, 17). The use is not recorded in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* The construction *ms hmww* is analogous to that of *hwrw n rhꜣy* "wretch of a washerman" (*Peasant*, B 169); the difference is that in the former the direct genitive is employed, in the latter the genitival *n*.

Verso, B1, 31-2. It is interesting to find once more the phrase "cry aloud unto the Lebanon", hitherto only met with in *Wenamūn*.

Gardiner supplies here a useful note on the last word *scꜣ*, which, he suggests, means "writhe in birth pangs".

C1, 3-4. Why is *wbht kbꜣt* translated "radiant of nipple"? Though *εῤῥῖθε* can mean nipple, it more commonly means "breast" (*Crum, Copt. Dict.*, p. 54). Surely it is the breast rather than the nipples of a woman that would be described as "radiant" or "smooth".

C1, 5. *ḏꜣ mnty-s nfrw-s*, "her legs show forth her beauty". Gardiner remarks in a note (p. 31) that "show forth" is a little doubtful. The usual meaning of *ḏꜣ* is "stretch out", "extend". It will be observed that the poet in enumerating the physical charms of his lady-love begins with her eyes and lips (ll. 2-3) and ends with her feet: "Fair of gait she treadeth upon the earth" (l. 3). I would suggest that the expression under discussion means "her legs extend her beauty", i.e. carry it on, prolong it, from her waist and buttocks, which are mentioned in the immediately preceding passage.

C1, 6. *ḏꜣ-s vn nhꜣwt tꜣꜣꜣ nb msnꜣ n mꜣꜣ-s*. Ought not this to be translated: "She maketh the necks of all men to be turned round at the sight of her"? The poet surely means that when the girl passes them in the street all the men turn their heads round to get another look at her, and not, as Gardiner supposes, turn their faces away dazzled by her beauty.

C2, 2-3. *bw rhꜣ-f nꜣꜣꜣ i sꜣꜣ hꜣtꜣ-f mtwꜣ-f hꜣb n tꜣꜣꜣꜣ mwt*. "He knoweth not my desire to embrace him or he would send to my mother." So Gardiner translates the passage. But I venture to suggest that it should be rendered: "He knoweth not my (frequent) desires to embrace him and that he would send to my mother," my view being that *mtwꜣ-f* continues the governing force of *sꜣꜣ*—"my desires to embrace him and for him to send."

C2, 6. *bw rhꜣꜣ i tꜣꜣꜣꜣ m bꜣhꜣ-f snyꜣꜣ hrꜣ-f m wstn*. *Ptr itꜣ mꜣ wst, n rhꜣꜣ(i) st rdꜣꜣꜣꜣ*. May I suggest a slight change in Dr. Gardiner's translation and render: "I know not how to get me from his presence, so that I may pass him boldly by. Lo, river is like road, I know not a place for my feet"? The girl is so overcome by her love for the young man that she cannot drag herself away and pass him boldly; she is in a state of confusion and cannot distinguish river from road, and does not know how to put one foot before the other.

C2, 10. *bw ḏꜣḏꜣꜣꜣ f šmꜣꜣ m rmꜣꜣ*. Gardiner translates: "nor suffereth me to walk in human wise." I would suggest, however, that *mꜣ rmꜣꜣ* has the same meaning here as *zē in-nās* in modern Egyptian Arabic, i.e. "properly", "as I (you or she) should"—a meaning that suits the context.

C3, 2-3. Is the emendation *hms(k)* necessary? Is not the imperative *hms* equally satisfactory?

Can what Gardiner, pp. 32-3, n. 2, regards as an utterly unintelligible sentence be rendered "(though) my glance(s) are many likewise" (or "moreover")? The girl has just bade her heart "sit still and keep cool when the brother comes to thee", and then goes on to tell it not to let people say she is a woman distraught with love. In a parenthesis, however, she confesses that she keeps casting glances—to see if her lover is coming or, perhaps, at him when he has arrived. For *irt* "glance" cf. the use of *hr* in the same sense in *Doomed Prince*, 6, 4. One great objection to this rendering is that *knw* would have to be old perfective, and I cannot recall any instance of *knw* occurring as an adjective verb.

C4, 9. *pꜣ ḏꜣ-nꜣ i m-k syꜣꜣ pꜣ nꜣꜣ sꜣnꜣꜣꜣ*. Gardiner translates: "That which I have said, behold it is what reviveth me", though the love-sick young man has said nothing yet to which the words "That which I have

¹ There is no need to insert *ir* before *pꜣ dꜣt i-ir-t*, as Gardiner suggests (*Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 27 a, n. 17, 7 b).

² Written $\frac{1}{2}$ c, as also in l. 10.

said" can bear any reference. Have we not here the infinitive \underline{dd} preceded by the article pr , and should not the passage be rendered: "To say to me, Here she is,¹ is what reviveth me"? This remark is exactly parallel to that which follows: "Her name it is that can lift me up."

Recto 17, 10. Can the word $\overline{\text{ⲉ}} \text{ⲉ} \text{ⲓ}$, 'd, which Gardiner leaves untranslated, be the name of that peculiar ancient Egyptian bolt, still found in use in Abyssinia, which is discussed and illustrated by D. Krencker and H. Schäfer in *Ä.Z.*, XLIII, 60 ff.? The string and the wood determinatives give some support to the suggestion.



One last remark. The printing and plates are of the first quality, Dr. Gardiner's translations are masterly, and his introduction and general notes most illuminating. The sole matter for regret is that the publication does not include a full philological commentary, which, coming from such an authority, would have been invaluable to those of us who want to know a great deal more than we do about Late-Egyptian syntax and grammar. It is to be hoped that such notes will appear elsewhere in the not too distant future.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

¹ *Cf.* C3, 7 (end of line).

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