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THE STELA OF NEBIPUSENWOSRET: BRITISH MUSEUM NO. 101.

BY A. M. BLACKMAN

With Plate i

THIS stela is published in *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, 1, London, 1912, Pl. 1 f., and is briefly described in *British Museum: A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, London, 1909, 52 f.¹ On p. 5 of the former publication we are informed that it is of grey limestone, that it belonged to the Salt Collection, and that it measures 3 ft. 7½ in. in height and 2 ft. 1¾ in. in width. The hieroglyphs are said to be "incised on a yellow ground", while the lower part of the stela is "painted with black and yellow bands".

In the *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* the height is given as 3 ft. 3½ in. and the width 2 ft. 2 in. Mr. Alan Shorter, who has kindly examined the stela for me, says that these are the more correct measurements, though exactitude is hardly possible as the tablet is enclosed in a wooden frame and glazed. Mr. Shorter also informs me that "the background of the stone, where the hieroglyphs are cut, is yellow, but it is difficult to see how the signs themselves were originally coloured. Traces of red remain on the flesh of the figures of the deceased, etc.". He adds that the two bands of colour below the horizontal lines of text (they are quite clear in the photograph) are not black and yellow, but red and yellow, the upper one being red. The seven horizontal lines of text in the lower section of the stela are reproduced in K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, Leipzig, 1924, 89 (i), and appear also, with an accompanying translation, as a reading lesson in A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, 168 f. My sincere thanks are due to the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum for permitting me to use and publish the photograph on Pl. i.



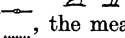
The stela represents what is really the façade of a house, this being framed in a torus ornamented with a pattern of binding, and surmounted with a palm-branch cornice.² The surface within the frame is divided into three parts. In the uppermost, on either side of eight vertical lines of text, is a standing figure of Nebipusenwosret³ in relief, with a single vertical line of text behind it. In the right-hand half of the central portion are nine vertical lines of text, and in the left-hand half Nebipusenwosret is depicted sitting before a table covered with slices of bread,⁴ in front of which, laid upon the ground, are two slaughtered bullocks, a couple of ducks, jars of drink, loaves of bread, vegetables and vessels containing unguent. This scene, which is in relief, is accompanied by a few lines of text and some descriptive labels.

The lower portion is filled with the seven horizontal lines of text, of which mention has already been made.

All the hieroglyphic signs in the texts, apart from four below the offering-table, are incised.

¹ The Stela is just mentioned in *Guide to the Collections in the British Museum*, London, 1909, 218.

² W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, 97 ff.

³ See H. Ranke, *Die aegyptischen Personennamen*, 184, no. 15. In view of no. 14,  and no. 16, , *Nb'i-pw-Snwsrt* is clearly the correct transliteration of  the meaning being *Senwosret-is-my-master*, a most suitable name for a man in the position of the owner of this stela.

⁴ See A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, III, 33, n. 5.



THE STELA OF NEBIPUSENWOSRET : BRIT. MUS. No. 101

Translation.

TEXTS IN UPPER SECTION OF STELA

Above the central vertical lines of text are the signs $\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$ placed between the two \curvearrowright -parts of a pair of \curvearrowright -eyes and below them the words, *Good God, Kherkawrer* (Sesostris III), *justified*.

On the east face of the pyramid capstone of Amenemmes III,¹ which is of the same date as this stela, below a representation of the winged solar disk, a similar pair of eyes and the word $\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$ are placed above the sign \odot . On either side of \odot is a cartouche of Amenemmes with accompanying titles. As Schäfer has pointed out,² this inscription must read: *Amenemmes beholds the beauty of the sun*. The two columns of text on our stela and the signs above it must therefore be rendered: *Beholding* (*ptr*,³ infinitive) *the beauty of the Good God, Kherkawrēc, justified, beloved of Osiris Onnophris, Lord of Abydos, (and) beloved of Wepwawet, Lord of the High Land (t; dsr)*.⁴

Opposite the left-hand figure of Nebipusenwosret is written: *The sight of the Keeper of the Diadem, Henchman of the Great House, Nebipusenwosret, is opened⁵ that (2) he may see Osiris when he is justified in the presence of the Two Enneads, when he resteth (3) in his palace, and his heart is glad for ever.⁶ "I am content therewith", saith the Upland.⁷ Behind the figure we read: Adoring Osiris in his beautiful festivals for ever and ever.*

¹ G. Maspero, *Annales du Service*, 3, 206 ff.; J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (1906), Fig. 94, op. p. 202.

² H. Schäfer, *Z.Ä.S.*, 41, 84.

³ For this reading of \curvearrowright cf. K. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den aegyptischen Lesestücken*, 93 (63, 18); see also *Pyr.*, 259 a; 396 c; 468 a; 476 a; 852 d; *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 565. It appears that whereas \curvearrowright , the two eyes without eyebrows, occur both as the determinative and as a summary writing of *mꜣꜣ* (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 7; K. Sethe, *ibid.*), the two eyes with eyebrows, \curvearrowright , are the regular determinative of *ptr* and may also be employed (K. Sethe, *ibid.*) as an abbreviated writing of that word.

⁴ See A. Ember, *Z.Ä.S.*, 51, 120 (99).

⁵ A text beginning *wn hr* appears on the east face of Amenemmes III's pyramid capstone, in a line below, and of equal length with, that containing the royal names and titles attached to the pair of \curvearrowright -eyes and $\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$. It reads: *The sight of King N. is opened that he may see the Lord of the Horizon when he crosseth the sky; may he grant that the Son of Rēc, N., appear as the god, the Lord of Eternity, who perisheth not*. The close juxtaposition of these two bands of text certainly supports Schäfer's interpretation of the upper band and the associated signs just above it. The same text, *i.e.* that beginning *wn hr N. mꜣꜣ nb ꜥꜥt*, occurs again on the coffin of Sobkro in the Berlin Museum (G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des mittleren Reichs*, II, 5 and Pl. 1), where, moreover, it is associated with the representation of the façade of a house and a large pair of \curvearrowright -eyes, and it also occurs on the east face of the pyramid capstone of Khendjer beneath a similar pair of eyes and representations of the day- and night-boat of the sun-god (G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Deux Pyramides au Moyen Empire*, 1933, 21 ff.).

⁶ These and similar words in the corresponding right-hand text, as also the words behind either standing figure of Nebipusenwosret, refer to episodes in the Osirian mysteries periodically celebrated at Abydos (H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostris III* in K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, IV, 49 ff.) and exemplify the oft-expressed desire of the Egyptians of this period to participate in, or be a spectator of, them after death.

⁷ For the personification of *smt*, cf. *Stele of Thethi*, l. 17 = *Journal*, 17, Pl. viii, p. 57; *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, II, Pl. 9, l. 10 f. For the words "I am content therewith" put into the mouth of the personified Upland, Professor Gunn refers me to two of the texts on the pyramid capstone of Amenemmes III (G. Maspero, *ibid.*) and one on that of king Khendjer (G. Jéquier, *ibid.*); see also a text on the already mentioned coffin of Sobkro (G. Steindorff, *ibid.*). On the pyramid capstone of Khendjer the Horizon, and on that of Amenemmes both the Horizon and the Goodly West, are represented as saying *ꜥꜥt-kꜣꜣ hr-s*, "I am content therewith". On the coffin the Horizon is made to say, "I am content with Sobkro", and the Western Upland, "I have given the Goodly West to Sobkro". For a pictorial personification of *smt* see A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, Pl. x, where *smt imntt* the "Western Upland" is represented

In front of the figure on the right are the words: *The sight of the Keeper of the Diadem, Henchman of the Great House, Nebipusenwosret, is opened, that (2) he may see the beauty of Wepwawet in his goodly procession,¹ when he returneth in peace (3) unto his Palace of Delight, the priesthood of the temple being in gladness. Behind it is written: Adoring Wepwawet in his goodly procession for ever and ever.*

TEXTS IN MIDDLE SECTION OF STELA

Above the offerings laid out upon the ground is rather roughly incised: *Osiris, Wepwawet, (and) the gods of Abydos, may he (sic) grant every good thing to the spirit of the Keeper of the Diadem, Nebipu,² justified.* The two slaughtered bullocks are labelled, the one a young long-horned ox, the other a young gw-ox.

Between the deceased and the offering-table is written: *Offerings (and) food*; while below the table, in relief, are the signs for *a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand (jars) of beer.*

Above the table is the following invocation: *A coming-forth-unto-the-voice, the gift of Osiris to the spirit of the honoured one, Nebipusenwosret.*

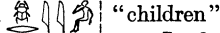







Under the chair, without an accompanying representation, are the words: *His beloved brother, the justified³ Ipep.*

The biographical inscription occupying the right-hand half of this portion of the stela reads: *The Keeper of the Diadem, Henchman of the Great House, (2) the justified Nebipusenwosret, a child⁴ who grew up at (lit. under) the feet⁵ of the King, a disciple⁶ (3) of Horus, Lord of the Palace, says: I acted as companion who carries (4) the King's foot-ewer⁷ at the Festival of Years,⁸ as a standing woman holding the ∫-sceptre in her right, and the ♀-symbol in her left, hand, and wearing on her head the hieroglyphic sign for the west, but without β on the ∟-portion of the hawk's perch. The same personification appears as a seated woman, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxvii, as does also the personification of *smt i:bt* the "Eastern Upland". In the text accompanying the first mentioned representation of her (*op. cit.*, Pl. x) the Western Upland welcomes Amenemhēt and promises to protect him and enfold him in her arms for ever. In a ceiling text associated with the second representation of her (Pl. xxvii) we read: *The Upland reaches out her arms to thee (the dead Amenemhēt), the West rejoices at thy beauty, she makes obeisance at thy approach after years of revered old age, she assigns thee a place among her followers who exist eternally.**

¹ For the procession of Anubis as an episode in the Osirian Mysteries see Schäfer, *op. cit.*, 21 f.

² Cf. H. Ranke, *Die aegypt. Personennamen*, 184, no. 14.

³ *Mꜣc(-hrw)*. For the name *Ipp*, see H. Ranke, *Die aegypt. Personennamen*, 24, no. 6.

⁴ I am much indebted to Professor Gunn for drawing my attention to the word  "children" (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 265), which, like  in our text, is evidently a participle of the verb , , "grow up as a child" (*ibid.*, 262). The writing  is most unusual. Either it has been adopted on calligraphic grounds, or it indicates that the final *r* has already disappeared; cf.  for *Km-wr* (*Merikerer*, 99), and the personal name  (H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs*, no. 20089, [M.K.]); cf. also  for *wꜣd-wr* (A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV, 37 [Dyn. 6]).

Both Ikhnofret (*Stela of Ikhnofret*, 6) and Sinuhe (*Sinuhe*, B, 88) were, like Nebipusenwosret, brought up at Court under the tutelage of the reigning sovereign. So, too, was the *Imy-hnt* Semti, who says of himself: *His Majesty set me at his feet (r rdwy-f[y]) in childhood (Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum, II, Pl. 8).* The same custom prevailed in the Old Kingdom, see e.g. G. Daressy, *Rec. de trav.*, XVII, 136; H. Kees, *Z.Ä.S.*, 64, 93.

⁵ Cf. *r rdwy-f(y)* in the preceding note; see also B. Gunn, *Bull. de l'Inst. franç.*, 30, 802 (Dyn. 25).

⁶ Ikhnofret represents the king as speaking of him as "the one disciple of my Palace" (*sbꜣty wr n chꜣi*).

⁷ For this word see A. M. Blackman, *Journal*, 5, 119; note, however, that the word is *bꜣy* (as here), not *by*; see also *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 417.

⁸ I know of no other mention of a "Festival of Years", and Professor Gunn tells me that he can recall none either. Is it a term for the *Sed*-festival? If so, this and the next sentence are merely an instance of parallelism.

under the Majesty of (5) Horus *Obaw*. I acted as Chief of the Tens of Upper Egypt,¹ Prophet (6) of *Dwꜣ-wr*,² at the Jubilee festival, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (7) *Nemacatrēc*, may he live for ever! This tablet went south in charge (8) of the Eldest Lector,³ *Ibi*, when the priesthood (9) of the temple came to see the King in his goodly Festival of Eternity.⁴

TEXT IN BOTTOM SECTION OF STELA

The Keeper of the Diadem and Henchman of the Great House, *Nebipusenwosret*. He says to the priesthood of the temple of Abydos and of its chapels of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt:⁵ The King shall become young (2) in your life, the monuments of your city gods shall stand fast for you, ye shall enjoy the favour of your sovereign, ye shall hand on (3) your offices to your children, your children shall abide upon your seats in your offices of eternity; ye shall not hunger, (4) ye shall not thirst, nay, the Great God has ordained that ye continue⁶ upon earth in possession of his favour; ye shall not be held back in (5) the Place Difficult through the favour of your city gods; according as ye shall say: May the King be gracious and give (to) Osiris, Lord of Abydos, the Great God *Onnophris*; a thousand of (6) bread, beer, bulls, fowl, a coming-forth-unto-the-voice at every⁷ feast, to the spirit of the Keeper of the Diadem, and Henchman of the Great House, *Nebi-*

In both the same king, Amenemmes III, is referred to, in the former under his Horus name, in the latter under his prenomens. It is also to be observed that the washing of the King's feet by Companions, one of whom poured water from this particular ewer, was a feature of the Jubilee festival, according to the reliefs in the "sun-temple" of *Newoserrēc* (F. W. von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, Pl. 19, 45 a, b; H. Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum*, I, 107; *Re-Heiligtum*, III, 23; A. M. Blackman, *Journal*, 5, 120).

¹ For this title see K. Sethe, *Z.Ä.S.*, 44, 18; LV, 66. Erman-Ranke, *Aegypten*, 96, are of the opinion that the title was purely honorary, the holder taking no active part in the administration of Upper Egypt.

² Sethe in L. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sashu-rc*, II, 97, favours his colleague's view that the god *Dwꜣ-wr* is the divinized royal beard. This divinity is certainly connected with the royal toilet, e.g. *Pyr.*, §§ 1428 a, 2042 b. In *Pyr.*, § 1329 c, the dead King's mouth is said to be opened by *Dwꜣ-wr* in the House of Gold, i.e. the sculptor's workshop. It should be pointed out in this connexion that *Dwꜣ-wr* is also a name for one of the sacred adzes employed in the Rite of Opening the Mouth (E. Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, I, 103; A. M. Blackman, *Journal*, 9, 54, Fig. 4. As Sethe, *ibid.*, observes, the god's name is connected with the word *dwꜣw* "morning", the time, of course, when the royal toilet was performed. Since *Nebipusenwosret*'s function in the Festival of Years was to assist in the washing of the King's feet, his office of Prophet of *Dwꜣ-wr* in the Jubilee festival may well have been associated with the royal toilet also. It is possible, of course, that the *Dwꜣ-wr* of whom *Nebipusenwosret* was prophet, is the *Dwꜣ-wr* of *Pyr.*, § 1329 c, for the House of Gold and the Opening of the Mouth of Statues are mentioned together in connexion with the royal Jubilee (*Urk.* I, 114).

³ *Hry-hbt smsw*; for this title see J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, II, Pl. ix, 4; C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara (Teti Pyramid Cemeteries)*, I, 154 f.; see also K. Sethe, *Z.Ä.S.*, 70, 134, for the reading *hry-hbt*.

⁴ We know from other sources that the divinities of Egypt, accompanied by their priests, assembled at the capital on the occasion of a royal Jubilee, see e.g. A. H. Gardiner, *Z.Ä.S.*, 48, 47 ff.; H. Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, III, 3 and 31; A. W. Shorter, *Liverpool Annals*, 17, 74 f.

⁵ Are these "chapels", lit. "houses" (*ḥwt*; see H. Ranke, *Z.Ä.S.*, 63, 149), the temple and cenotaph of Sesostris III (see below, pp. 5, 7)? If, as Sethe suggests (*Erläuterungen zu den aegypt. Lesestücken*, 89, 16), the royal cenotaphs of the earlier kings were meant, the word *n-sw-byt* would surely be in the plural; see e.g. A. Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 43.

⁶ For gemination in a *2ae* gem. verb when used with prospective meaning in a noun clause, see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 442.

⁷ Apparently *hb nb*. ☉ is clearly distinguished from ☽ in lines 4 and 6 in the middle section. According to Gunn this is not an uncommon M. K. writing of *hb nb*.

pusenwosret, son of Ita. The breath of the mouth is profitable to (7) a noble ghost; that is not a thing wherewith one is wearied.¹ Ye shall be as an Imperishable Star,² a star that is in Khabas.³

Conclusions.



As the short biographical inscription informs us, Nebipusenwosret was brought up as a child at the court of Sesostris III, of whom he was a "disciple" (*sbꜣ*). Later in life he functioned at the jubilee of this Sesostris' successor, Amenemmes III, as Chief of the Tens of Upper Egypt and Prophet of the god *Dwꜣ-wr*. On this occasion, in company with all the other Egyptian priesthoods, the priesthood of Abydos came to the capital "to see the King in his beautiful Festival of Eternity", that is, to pay their homage to the Pharaoh and to participate along with their divinities, whose images they had brought with them, in the many and complicated jubilee ceremonies.⁴ In accordance with a practice much in vogue during the Middle Kingdom Nebipusenwosret wished to erect a memorial-tablet to himself at Abydos. The presence of the priests of Abydos at the capital gave him the opportunity of carrying out his desire without the trouble and expense of journeying thither in person. Accordingly, having employed a local craftsman to make this stela for him, he had it conveyed to Abydos by the Eldest Lector, Ibi, who undertook, of course, to set it up for him there.

But in what part of the Abydos cemetery was the stela erected? The British Museum publication merely states that it came from Abydos, and that probably is all that its first European owner, Mr. Salt, knew about its provenance. However, the appeal to *the priesthood of the temple of Abydos and of the Houses of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt* suggests that the place in which Nebipusenwosret wished his memorial-tablet to be erected was somewhere in the precincts of the great temple of Osiris or of the temple or cenotaph of Sesostris III.⁵ As we shall see, the place chosen was probably Sesostris III's temple.

It was noted that on the capstone of Amenemmes III's pyramid the words *nfrw Rꜣ*, "beauty of Rꜣ", were placed directly under the pair of eyes, but that on this stela Rꜣ is replaced by the name and attributes of Sesostris III. Accordingly that group of signs and

¹ See B. Gunn, *Syntax*, 142, and for a further example, *Bull. de l'Inst. franç.*, 30, 799; cf. also *op. cit.*, 30, 860 f. (both Dyn. 25).

² *I. e.*, a circumpolar star (*ihm-sk*). Sethe has pointed out (*Altägypt. Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne = S.B.A.W.*, 1928, xxii, 282 f.) that in some of the old religious texts the *ihmw-sk* and *ihmw-wrꜥ* are represented as forming the two ships' crews of the sun-god. According to an inscription in the Berlin Museum (G. Roeder, *Aegypt. Inschr. aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin*, II, pp. 132 f.), dating from the New Kingdom, the Imperishable Stars (*ihmw-sk*) man the sun-god's day-boat (*mcndt*), while the Unwearying Stars (*ihmw-wrꜥ*) man the night-boat (*mskt*). It is, perhaps, a point deserving of notice, especially since the compiler of the religious texts on our stela was evidently acquainted with a group of texts similar to or identical with those inscribed on the pyramid capstones of Amenemmes III and Khendjer, that in the text on the east side of these capstones the sun-god is asked to allow the deceased king to "appear (*hr*) as the god, the Lord of Eternity, who perisheth not (*itm sk*)", while it is promised to those who attend to the wants of the dead Nebipusenwosret that they shall be as an Imperishable Star (*ihm sk*).

³ The name *hꜣ-bꜣ-s* must mean "thousand are her soul(s)" and refer to the countless stars appearing by night on the body of Nut, the sky-goddess. Of this goddess it is said: *Thou hast taken unto thee every god bearing his boat, that thou mayest make them stars (?) in Khabas, that as stars they may not be distant from thee. So cause not Piꜣpi to be far from thee in thy name of Firmament (Pyr., § 785)*. *Hꜣ-bꜣ-s* also appears in the text on the north face of the two pyramid capstones mentioned in the preceding note, which states that *the bai of King N. is raised aloft to the height of Orion and consorteth with the Tꜣ. Rꜣ setteth the bodily son of Rꜣ, N., over Khabas, Mehet* (, var. , the personification of the Lower Egyptian half of Sais; see K. Sethe, *Z.Ä.S.*, 44, 27 f.) *being content therewith*. See also H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, Copenhagen, 1927, 49.

⁴ See above, p. 4, n. 4.

⁵ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, 57 f.; Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall, *Abydos*, III, 11 ff.

the two central columns of text below them were rendered: *Seeing the beauty of the Good God Khe^ckawrēc, true of voice, beloved of Osiris, etc.*

The desire of the ancient Egyptians for union after death with those they had loved or served on earth finds frequent expression in their written records. For example, among the "Coffin Texts" occurs a spell for restoring the whole of a man's family and household to him in the netherworld;¹ Sinuhe hoped still to serve his Sovereign Lady after both he and she had been laid to rest in the royal necropolis;² and Djaw, a Sixth-Dynasty ruler of the twelfth Upper-Egyptian nome, caused himself to be buried in the same tomb as his father in order that he might *see him daily and be with him in one place*.³

Now it is evident that Nebipusenwosret was very proud of having been a youthful protégé of Sesostriis III. What is more likely, therefore—especially in view of the passage, referred to above, in the Story of Sinuhe—than that he should wish, when his turn came to die, to be associated once more with his royal master?

Like many other primitive peoples the Egyptians believed that there was a close connexion between the representation and the person or thing represented. The gods and the dead could become immanent not only in their statues⁴ but in their portraits painted or carved on the walls of their temples⁵ or tomb-chapels⁶ respectively. To ensure this close association of a divinity or human being with his or her statue was the object of the Rite of Opening the Mouth.⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that an inscription in the tomb of Amenemhēt at Thebes⁸ informs us that the stela no less than the *bai* was a form of a dead person's immanence. This belief, which explains why so many stelae of private persons were set up in the sacred precincts of Abydos, sometimes finds expression in the inscriptions engraved upon them. Thus Semty tells us that he fixed his name at the place where Osiris is *for the sake of the bliss there, that I may eat of his offering-bread and come forth by day, and that my bai may assume forms(?)*;⁹ Ikudidi and Khusobk each erected a cenotaph at the Stairway of the Great

¹ P. Lacau, *Textes relig.*, LXXII.

² *Sinuhe*, B, 170-3.

³ N. de G. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, II, Pl. xiii, p. 15 ff.

⁴ E.g., *Shabako Stone*, 60-1 = K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 68; E. Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 13 (paroi est), 16 ff., 22, l. 11-12 (left); H. Junker, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, 42 f.

⁵ H. Junker, *Stundenwachen*, 6 f.

⁶ A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, 19 ff.; A. M. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, II, 16. As the late Professor Spiegelberg pointed out to me a few years ago, the belief in the magical potency of the tomb-chapel reliefs and paintings seems to find expression in the tomb of Nefermaat at Medum (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. xxiv), where in front of a representation of that passage is written *šwt irr nṯrw:f m šš n sin:f*, "He it is who makes his gods in writing which cannot be obliterated". Spiegelberg suggested that the word "gods" meant the figures and hieroglyphs painted on the walls. He later embodied this suggestion in an article, for which see *Z.Ä.S.*, 65, 119 ff.

Worthy of notice in this connexion is a passage in the *First Tale of Khamuas* (VI, 3 f.). Neneferkaptah says to Setne, "Thou knowest that Ahure with Merab her child, they are in Coptos and are also here in this tomb by the craft of a good scribe". These words seem to refer to the representations of the mother and child (with descriptive legends) painted or carved upon the walls of Neneferkaptah's tomb-chapel at Memphis rather than to the use of spoken spells, as is suggested by the late Professor Griffith (*Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 38, n.) The above-mentioned belief is doubtless the reason for depicting on the walls of tomb-chapels voyages to Abydos that had no objective reality (see A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, 47 f.). By being represented as making the voyage a man hoped to receive the same spiritual benefits that he would have received had he actually made it.

⁷ A. M. Blackman, *Journal*, 5, 15, with n. 8; x, 57.

⁸ A. H. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 119 f.

⁹ *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c.*, in *Brit. Mus.*, II, Pl. 9.

God, the former that he might *be in the god's service*,¹ the latter that he might *smell² the incense that has issued forth from within* and so *be furnished with the god's dew*.³

These quotations, as well as numerous prayers referring to ceremonies connected with Osiris that were performed at Abydos, make it clear that the Egyptians believed that such persons as set up stelae there during their lifetime would, after death, be able to visit the site at will, serve Osiris there, be present at and derive benefits from the temple liturgy and other ceremonies, and above all witness, or even participate in, the periodical performances of the mysteries.

Let us now revert to the subject of the pair of sacred eyes, the significance of which has already been alluded to on pp. 2 and 5 f. I pointed out in this *Journal*⁴ some years ago that just as the purpose of the eyes on the pyramid-capstone was to enable the deceased to watch the sun sailing across the sky, so those on his coffin were to enable him to see out of it, and those on a stela or tomb-chapel wall were to enable him to look forth from the world of the dead into the world of the living. Thus, among other possibilities, he would be able to see who were the visitors who entered his tomb-chapel or cenotaph, and view the various rites performed therein by his funerary priest for the well-being of his soul.

But the words associated with the eyes on the stela of Nebipusenwosret show that the eyes in question were primarily meant to enable him to see Sesostri III. Why then did he have the monument erected at Abydos? It is quite clear from the three lines of text opposite either standing figure in the upper section of the stela, that the eyes were also intended to ensure Nebipusenwosret's beholding certain episodes in the Osirian Mysteries, such as the justification of Osiris before the Two Enneads and the Procession of Wepwawet. This he could certainly see at Abydos; but why should he hope especially to see Sesostri there?

As the excavations of Randall-MacIver and Mace in 1900, and Currelly and Weigall in 1901, have shown,⁵ this king constructed for himself at Abydos a temple and a cenotaph. According to Egyptian belief Sesostri would have been really and essentially present in the portrait-reliefs and portrait-statues of him with which these buildings were adorned. Accordingly I would suggest that Nebipusenwosret instructed the Eldest Lector, Ibi, to erect his stela somewhere in the precincts of this temple, where he would be able both to *see the beauty of the Good God Khekkaurêr* and whence he could be a spectator of the Osirian Mysteries. Indeed, it is not impossible that certain episodes in the Mysteries may at this period have been performed actually in Sesostri III's temple.

Let us sum up briefly the desires and beliefs which prompted Nebipusenwosret to erect this stela at Abydos. He wished, when dead, to be able to witness the Osirian Mysteries and also to be able to see the face of his old master Sesostri III, who had built there for himself a temple and a cenotaph.

Like other Egyptians of his time he believed that his personality was so closely connected with a stela bearing a representation of him, accompanied by his name and other appropriate words, that, wherever that stela was, there, after death, he himself could be at will.

But Nebipusenwosret wanted to be certain of seeing all that he wished to see when present at Abydos. That, one might well imagine, would have been ensured to him through the medium of the representations of him carved upon the stela. However, he wished to be

¹ *Aegypt. Inschr. aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin*, 165.

² T. E. Peet, *Stela of Sebek-khu*, Pl. ii, ll. 8-10 = K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 82 f.

³ K. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den aegypt. Lesestücken*, 133 (82, 21).

⁴ III, 252. For further examples of eyes on sarcophagi and the west wall of a tomb-chapel, see E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, I, Pls. xx and xxii f.; P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. xiii.

⁵ See above, p. 5, n. 5.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SITE OF AVARIS

BY RAYMOND WEILL

(Translated by ETHEL W. BURNEY)

With Plate ii

1. Researches and theories prior to 1929

A VERY old question in Egyptology is that of the localization of the Avaris of the Hyksos of Greek tradition, found in its hieroglyphic writing, as is well known, by de Rougé, and mentioned fairly often in New Kingdom texts. The position of the geographical problem had hardly changed since the early days when de Rougé, following Champollion, recorded the mention of "Seth, Lord of *H3-t Wcr-t*" on certain Tanite monuments and stated that Tanis must be the same as Avaris,¹ and when Brugsch objected, for a reason which he gave, that this identification was impossible.² De Rougé certainly went rather far in describing the designation "Seth, Lord of Avaris" as "so frequent on the monuments found at Šān"; even to-day we know only two statues from Tanis bearing this formula, twin statues moreover whose testimony has the force of a single testimony (we shall return to this later); to these should perhaps be added one other, the Tanite provenance of which is merely probable; and it should be noted that at the very moment when de Rougé was speaking, Mariette, who, for excellent reasons, had found the name *H3-t Wcr-t* only once at Šān, viewed the identification of the sites with cautious reserve.³ Other solutions moreover were suggested at the same time, notably that which Chabas, following Lepsius, adopted, placing Avaris at Tell el-Her near Pelusium, or at Pelusium itself.⁴

After that time the geographical problem of Avaris lay almost entirely dormant for a very long while. General histories, for the next forty years, touched on the question only to say that the position of the place was unknown. When Daressy observes in 1917, without indeed sanctioning the view himself, that "most Egyptologists are inclined to identify Avaris with Tanis",⁵ is it really true that this inclination is shown? In 1906 Petrie had placed Avaris at Tell el-Yahudiyeh, not far from Heliopolis.⁶ About 1910-11, I had myself been able, so complete was the lack of authoritative opinion, to challenge briefly the old Tanis theory, and to suggest that Avaris might be Heliopolis itself, making the suggestion guardedly, however, merely as an interpretation and a hypothesis.⁷

¹ De Rougé, *Œuvres diverses*, v (*Bibl. égyptologique*, 25), 124-5; his course of lectures at the Collège de France in 1869. To de Rougé's mind this localization of Avaris was an old one; see Maspero, *Histoire*, II, p. 52, n. 5.

² Brugsch in *Z.Ä.S.*, 10 (1872), 19-20.

³ Mariette in 1868, see *Rec. de trav.*, 9 (1887), 5.

⁴ Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, p. 45, n. 1; Chabas in *Les Pasteurs en Égypte* (1868), see *Œuvres diverses*, III (*Bibl. égyptologique*, 11), 418-19. Bibliographies of the Avaris problem, supplementing one another: Maspero, *Histoire*, II, p. 52, n. 5; Clédat in *Recueil Champollion* (1922), p. 191, n. 1; Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, IV, 57; Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (1933), 15-17, 21.

⁵ Daressy in *Ann. Serv.*, 17 (1917), 166-7.

⁶ Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), 9-10.

⁷ Weill in *Journal asiatique*, Series 10, vols. 16, 17 (1910, 1911); see the 1918 publication, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, 131-2, 172-3, 173 n. 1, 208.

After this we find Gardiner, in 1916, in a far more interesting way analysing Manetho's account, and finding there the indication of a strong probability that "Avaris lay quite close to the caravan-route to Syria, which is now known to have started somewhere near Kantarah";¹ and when we add to this that Brugsch had long before, for very good reasons, recorded that this was exactly the situation of *Tꜣrw*, capital of the fourteenth nome, "the starting-place of the Egyptian expeditions to Asia, in the neighbourhood of the present El-Ḳanṭara",² we see that it would have been perfectly possible and logical in 1916 to identify Avaris with this same town of *Tꜣrw*, of which the exact site is now known, quite near Ḳanṭara, at the extreme north of Lake Ballāḥ. But this localization of Avaris was only to be put forward later, by Clédat, on the basis of somewhat involved arguments,³ which were none the less fully approved and accepted by Naville.⁴ As for Gardiner, he had from the first turned his attention, in the matter of Avaris, in quite another direction, thinking that there were "reasons which urge us to seek it as far north as possible, and as nearly as possible on the fringe of the desert, *i.e.* anywhere between Kantarah and Pelusium", a very cautious formula, which was to be crystallized during the following years into that identification with Pelusium to which Gardiner held with remarkable persistence.

Gardiner thus revived the localization formerly suggested by Lepsius and accepted by Chabas, for reasons not very different from theirs, in an association of ideas which is very apparent when one notices that the identity of Avaris and Pelusium is a primary consideration, of fundamental importance for the line of argument, in the theoretical complex in which the subject (for Gardiner) is involved, and of which it is most interesting to disentangle the threads. These threads are simple and easy to recognize in the vast mass of explanations and discussions of documents which envelope them, mostly concerned with the *Delta Residence of the Ramessides* and with the *Geography of the Exodus*.⁵

Gardiner's investigation had in view two unknown factors, one of secondary interest, Avaris, only called in question by the need of determining the other, the principal one, which is Pi-Rameses, the place often mentioned in the texts of Ramesses II and his successors. Brugsch had formerly believed that Pi-Rameses was Tanis; Gardiner will have none of this and proposes to identify Pi-Rameses with Avaris, because the god Seth, or Sutekh, appears as principal divinity in the town which is called by the one or the other name. The localization of Pi-Rameses, or of Avaris, is thenceforward a single problem, and as it may be assumed, in consequence of the investigation of 1916, that Avaris is at Pelusium or in the immediate neighbourhood, the situation of Pi-Rameses is established at the same time. This whole chain of argument is to be found in the earliest and most elaborate of Gardiner's articles;⁶ he repeats it twice later, in 1922 and 1924,⁷ ending with the conclusion that Pi-Rameses and Avaris are actually the same town, and that this town is situated either at Pelusium itself or in the vicinity of the latter.

This impressive demonstration was accepted for some years.⁸ The question was reopened by Montet, in consequence of his excavations on the site of Tanis from 1929 on.

¹ Gardiner in *Journal*, 3 (1916), 99–100.

² Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 643, 992 ff.; *Die Aegyptologie* (1891), 36.

³ Clédat, *Le site d'Avaris* in *Recueil Champollion* (1922), 185–201. ⁴ Naville in *Journal*, 10 (1924), 24–6.

⁵ Gardiner, *The Delta Residence of the Ramessides* in *Journal*, 5 (1918), 127–38, 179–200, 242–71; *The Geography of the Exodus* in *Recueil Champollion* (1922), 203–15; *The Geography of the Exodus*, etc., in *Journal*, 10 (1924), 87–96.

⁶ See already Gardiner in *Journal*, 5 (1918), 38 (*The Expulsion of the Hyksos*); and *op. cit.* (see preceding footnote), 128, 246, 250, 254–5.

⁷ Gardiner, in *Rec. Champollion* (1922), 209; in *Journal*, 10 (1924), 90–2.

⁸ Cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, 4 (1927), 57.

II. Montet, 1929 to 1933

Discussion

Montet, in 1930 and later, states in various articles that both Pi-Rameses and Avaris should be identified with Tanis. Gardiner, at the end of 1933, gives his assent to the new theory. The Egyptological and Oriental school of the present day is very naturally impressed by the agreement of these two eminent investigators who meet, in the matter of Avaris, on the ground where de Rougé, arguing quite simply from the evidence immediately accessible, had taken his stand three-quarters of a century ago. The general feeling is that of a kind of logical harmony, of agreement, of a facility in interpretation, of intellectual satisfaction in short, of which a particularly interesting expression may be found in the short "Précisions" which Dussaud has lately devoted to the subject.¹ Such a wave of definite assurance leads us to wonder whether the new theory has not some dangerously seductive side, whether indeed in its very construction the attraction of a probable general agreement was not yielded to at some point. And it now seems necessary that we should examine the reasons which influence Montet and Gardiner, as we did those considerations which guided Gardiner during the earlier period.

To Montet, in 1930,² the equations *Avaris = Tanis* and *Pi-Rameses = Tanis*, both having reference to Tanis whose position was well known, presented themselves as two independent questions. We shall here separate them as far as possible, adding our comments, like marginal notes, to the author's points where these call for them.

A. IS AVARIS IDENTICAL WITH TANIS?

(a) Montet takes up the topographical discussion of the well-known passage of Manetho in Josephus, on the Hyksos and Avaris, a town situated *in the Saïte nome . . . to the east of the Bubastite branch . . .* (He comes back to the question in 1933.) He justifies *Saïte*, which is usually emended to *Sethroïte*, as correct and simply synonymous with *Tanite*, according to Herodotus and Strabo. The conclusion, as regards Avaris, is that "no town agrees with these data better than Tanis".³

(b) Moreover, "traces of Asiatic influence are numerous in this town [Tanis]. The principal temple is surrounded by a wide enclosure wall of unbaked brick", along which were found on the inner side two skeletons, one lying in the sand under the bricks, the other in a large pottery vessel. "We stand in the presence of a foundation-sacrifice. The Egyptians did not practise this custom, which has not been recorded in their country, so far as I know, except at one place in the Eastern Delta, Tell er-Retab. . . . On the other hand this custom was common in the land of Canaan. . . ." Similarly in 1933, on the two bodies buried under an angle of the wall, revealing "customs foreign to Egypt. On the other hand the custom of foundation sacrifices is well attested among the Semites, both textually and archaeologically. We have here then a proof of Semitic influence at Tanis".⁴

(c) Consideration of the monuments of the Seth-cult at Tanis in inscriptions of the Hyksos on the earlier monuments and in inscriptions of Ramesside times, special attention being paid to the formula "beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris", found on the two Twelfth Dynasty statues usurped by Menepthah, on the offering-table (the Tanite provenance of which is

¹ Dussaud, *Quelques précisions touchant les Hyksos* in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 109 (1934), 113 ff.

² Montet, *Tanis, Avaris et Pi-Ramsès*, in *Revue Biblique* (1930), 1-28.

³ Montet, *op. cit.* (1930), 15-17; *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (1933), 22-7.

⁴ Montet, *op. cit.* (1930), 18-19; *op. cit.* (1933), 43-4.

merely probable) of 'Aḳnenre Apopi, and on the statue of King Neḥsi at Tell Moqdam: "But Seth has no other monument in this locality, whereas at Tanis his cult is still flourishing in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Tanis is therefore, if I may so call it, the mother-house of the cult of Seth, that is to say Avaris, and Tell Moqdam only a daughter-house".¹

(d) Great importance is to be attributed "to the fact that the officer charged by Ramesses II with the making of the Stela of Year 400 left the fortress of Zaru which was under his command, beyond El-Ḳanṭarah, to come to Tanis. A monument of such beauty and size was truly not in its right place anywhere but in the special city of the god Seth, that is to say Avaris".²

Comments

On (a). It does not appear that the substitution of *Sethroite* for *Saite* in the text of Josephus, or even the retention of *Saite*, is of any importance for the precise localization of Avaris. Let us remember, however, the terms of the discussion, very interesting from the point of view of the history of the text. The correction to *Sethroite* is generally made on the strength of the variant in the Armenian, and above all of the well preserved text of the Epitome handed down by Africanus and Eusebius, which has in this place *in the Sethroite nome*.³ Montet makes the very illuminating objection that in Herodotus the Tanitic branch is called *Saitic*, and that Strabo knows that the two names are used interchangeably,⁴ from which results a toponymic equation *Saite* = *Tanite*, which is tenable philologically, and allows us to retain *Saite nome* in the text of Josephus, taking it to mean simply *Tanite nome*. Let us add, however, that we are still left with the indisputable *Sethroite* in the Epitome, and perhaps in an ancient version of Josephus himself, to which the Armenian version testifies; so that if Montet is right, we are obliged to admit that "in the *Saite* (= *Tanite*) nome" and "in the *Sethroite* nome" were both written, and probably in manuscripts of the same period.

But as far as Avaris is concerned, does not this come to just the same thing? We do not know exactly what the *Sethroite* nome is, placed by Ptolemy east of the Pelusiac branch, that is approximately in the zone of the nome of *Tῑrw* (so in Gardiner's map in *Journal*, 5, Pl. xxxv), while Strabo knows it to be in the Delta, and it may be noted in this connexion that the ancient *Sethroe* is to be found on the modern map, twenty kilometres north of Tanis, on the edge of Lake Menzālah.⁵ From the north of Ṣān to the east of the Suez Canal leaves a margin of some fifty kilometres, but does saying "in the *Tanite* nome" localize a place with more precision where there is not even the certainty that *Tanite* and *Sethroite* do not coincide?⁶

The most precise information given by the text of Josephus, when all is said and done, is the statement "to the east of the Bubastite branch", which implies, as every one agrees, a site on the eastern frontier. It is a serious matter, at least from the point of view of the principles of methodical criticism, that arguing from this one very simple text, Gardiner in 1916 should have been led to Pelusium, and Montet now to Tanis, with equal assurance.

On (b). "A proof of Semitic influence at Tanis": this is very true. Gardiner understands Montet to say rather more, and to speak more definitely, as we shall see presently.

¹ Montet, *op. cit.* (1930), 15; *op. cit.* (1933), 27-9.

² Montet, *op. cit.* (1930), 20.

³ Gardiner, *op. cit.* in *Journal*, 3 (1916), 99, and see especially Ed. Meyer, *Aeg. Chronologie*, 81.

⁴ Cf. Daressy in *Bull. de la Soc. royale de géographie d'Égypte*, 16 (1933), 235.

⁵ J. de Rougé, *Géographie de la Basse-Égypte*, 96-7.

⁶ J. de Rougé, *op. cit.*, 90 ff. The nome of the "Front of the East", the 14th in the usual numbering, of which *Tῑrw* is the metropolis, is called *Sethroite* by Gardiner, *op. cit.*, in *Journal*, 5 (1918), map on Pl. xxxv, but *Tanite* by Erman-Grapow, *Handwörterbuch* (1921), 231.

On (c). Where are the "monuments of . . . Tanis" which mention "Seth, Lord of Avaris"? The only ones usually cited, as is done by Montet, and in fact known, are *two statues* usurped by Meneptah and inscribed by him in honour of Seth named in this manner; I took them into account some time ago¹ for the same text, and quite correctly, but without considering and comparing them attentively, as would have been desirable then. Let us see exactly what these two statues, at Berlin and Cairo, have on them; precision here will be all the more valuable because one of the two monuments, that of Cairo, has been the subject of a misunderstanding of a multiplicative nature, with very harmful results.

The statue in Berlin, No. 7265, has long been in that museum, being mentioned by Brugsch in 1855; its inscriptions, consisting of titularies of Sesostri I (the original part) with texts of Meneptah superadded, have been completely published, and its Tanite provenance is given as certain.² The Cairo statue is less well known; it was originally discovered by Mariette, found again by Petrie, who published the inscription in a somewhat summary form, carried to Cairo with the great monuments of Tanis in 1904, quoted by Gauthier (following Petrie), then by Daressy, and lastly by Montet himself.³ Usurped by Meneptah like the preceding one, the statue is attributed to Amenemmes II by Petrie, whose hypothesis Montet seems to follow, but to Sesostri I by Daressy, perhaps from analogy with the Berlin statue. Immediately after Gauthier and Daressy, this Cairo statue was cited in 1918 by Gardiner⁴ in a list of references to the god Seth on various Tanis monuments from the Berlin publications, from Petrie's *Tanis*, I, and from Daressy's notes quoting *Tanis*, I; and Gardiner had made the mistake, in interpreting Daressy's notes, of duplicating the statue in question.

This incident in documentation shows how badly we were informed as to this important object. It is to be noticed, moreover, that the statue is difficult to identify in Barsanti's transport list of 1904, that Montet in 1933 stated that it was present in the museum, having consulted the museum register and all the documents, and that this statement was very satisfactory, since without it the existence of the statue at Cairo would not have been clear either from Gauthier's quotations or from Daressy's. To eliminate all uncertainty and confusion for the future, it seemed to me worth while to ask for exact and complete information from Cairo. My colleague Gauthier, in the name of the Direction Générale du Service, answered me with his usual kindness, informing me that the statue had indeed entered the museum in 1904, coming from Tanis (probably No. 37842 of the *Journal d'entrée*), and that there was reason to think "that it is the fourth statue, of dark granite, appearing in Barsanti's list in vol. 5 of the *Annales*, p. 210". I had further asked that the inscriptions on the monument might be photographed for me; this was not possible, because of its position and the difficulty of moving it, but squeezes were made of which photographs were sent to me. These are the photographs which the reader will find accompanying this article (Pl. ii), grouped together, with references to the diagram showing positions on p. 15, to which an explanatory note is added.

Every elucidation having been thus obtained, and the two statues with the text of Seth of Avaris both satisfactorily published, we are struck on bringing them together by the

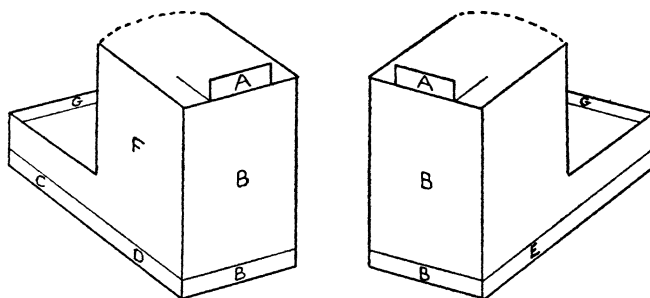
¹ Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 172 with n. 1.

² Brugsch in *Z.D.M.G.*, 9 (1855), p. 212 and Pl. 4, no. 25 (in *Aegyptische Studien*), for the text "beloved of Seth, Lord of Avaris"; *Ausführliches Verzeichniss* (1899), 79-80 (giving the Tanite provenance), and *Aeg. Inscr. Berlin*, I, 141-3, and II, 19-22. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, does not mention it.


³ Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments* (1869), p. 275, no. 3 (list of the monuments from Sān "which are destined for the Museum"); Petrie, *Tanis*, I (1885), photographs on Pl. 13, nos. 3, 4, texts on Pl. 2, 5 A-5 C, 8 A, 8 B, cf. p. 5; Barsanti in *Ann. Serv.*, 5 (1904), 210-12; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III (1914), 122; Daressy in *Ann. Serv.*, 17 (1917), 170 (*L'art tanite*); Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (1933), 9-10.

⁴ Gardiner in *Journal*, 5 (1918), 255.

extremely close resemblance of the inscriptions of Meneptah which they bear, and also of their beautiful original Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions. Confining ourselves here to the usurping additions, we see first that the principal inscription, on the back of the seat—a royal titulary in a group of six columns, arranged symmetrically in threes, with the two columns next to the centre (in each group of three) turned towards the outer column, which itself




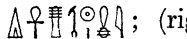
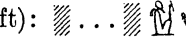

Key to the positions of the inscriptions reproduced on Pl. ii. In the Plate A-E are grouped in their relative positions on a two-dimensional projection, to show the continuity of the horizontal line C-D-B-E. G is on the front of the upper surface of the base; H, not seen in the sketches, is on the front vertical surface of the base. I, also not shown above, is on the front vertical surface of the seat, beside the left leg of the statue. F, G, I are the original Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions, the cartouche of G having been surcharged by Meneptah.

faces them—is identical, except for a few details, on the two monuments. The two outermost columns, facing the centre, are highly interesting to us; we will transcribe their identical text, the whole set of titles containing twice over, symmetrically arranged: . . . Meneptah, etc. . .  ¹ that is: “Meneptah, etc., beloved of Seth (or Sutekh) of Meneptah”.

Immediately below this panel, and forming a low border to the pedestal, runs a horizontal line of text, found on the back and two adjacent sides of the Cairo statue, two inscriptions symmetrically arranged, abutting on each other in the line of the axis: in the case of the Berlin one, on the back and adjacent left side only. There remains of this horizontal text:

In Berlin (left to right): 

In Cairo (left to right): 

; (right to left): . On the Berlin statue may also be seen the god receiving the sacrifice, with the text: .

Thus the two statues, at least as far as their re-use in the time of Meneptah is concerned, have been treated in such similar fashion that one cannot but feel that they were usurped and inscribed at the same time so as to figure symmetrically or side by side; and that therefore their evidence is really that of a single document. As for the god, Seth or Sutekh, they present him to us under the three appellations, *S. of Meneptah*, *S. Lord of Avaris*, and *S. Great of Power*. Are any of these epithets characteristic of the Tanite region?

“Sutekh Great of Power” is very often met with elsewhere in the New Kingdom. Let us point out, once and for all, that at Tanis itself this title of the god is found on two other

¹ Earlier quotations of the text, as far as the Cairo statue is concerned, are all faulty; a detailed account of the mistakes is now of no interest.

Twelfth Dynasty statues, also usurped by Meneptah, who uses here the single epithet "beloved of ,¹ or "beloved of , etc."²

"Sutekh of Meneptah" occupied Gardiner's attention in 1918, and again in his article of the end of 1933,³ with which we shall deal later; the god is evidently the same as the *Sutekh of Ramesses* or of *Rameses-meri-Amūn*, found at Tanis itself on the Stela of the Year 400, and on a sphinx of Ramesses II which has long been known. There are many divinities besides Sutekh who are presented to us as of *Ramesses* or of *Meneptah*, and moreover in widely separated places: *Sutekh of Ramesses* with *Ptah of Ramesses* at Bubastis; *Amūn of Meneptah*, *Ptah of Meneptah*, and *Sutekh of Meneptah*, at Tell el-Yahudiyeh; this *Ptah of Meneptah* also on a lintel from Memphis, while *Ptah of Ramesses*, unquestionably the same god, is found on a palette from Thebes. Finally, at Tanis we have from the last excavations, *Ptah of Ramesses* accompanied by *P-Rē of Ramesses*, elsewhere *Amūn of Ramesses*, *Sutekh of Ramesses*, *Horus of Ramesses*, *Ptah of Ramesses*, *Atum of Ramesses*, and *Buto of Ramesses*. To sum up, gods of Ramesses, like gods of Meneptah, were very numerous and are met with, usually in groups, at several points in the Eastern Delta, sometimes at Memphis and Thebes: and with regard to Sutekh and his royal epithets in particular, he occurs outside Tanis as *Sutekh of Ramesses* at Bubastis, as *Sutekh of Meneptah* at Tell el-Yahudiyeh. It is clear from this that Sutekh thus named has from no point of view any special or particular Tanite character: and this seems extremely natural when one observes, from analogy with the cases of Amūn, Ptah, and all the others qualified in the same way, that this *Sutekh of Ramesses* or of *Meneptah* is no other than the ordinary Sutekh of the whole of Egypt.

There remains "Sutekh Lord of Avaris", a rather rare title found elsewhere only on the offering-table of 'Aḳnenre Apopi, which may have come from Tanis (but this is quite uncertain), and on the statue of King Neḥsi from Tell Moqdam. As far, therefore, as we can be certain of the various provenances, the god so named is invoked once at Tanis by Meneptah on the twin statues, and once in the "Hyksos" period at Tell Moqdam. This is not enough—Mariette would still say so to-day—to establish the identity of Avaris with either of these towns.

What must we now think of Montet's chain of reasoning which has led us into this inquiry into documents? "Seth has no other monument in this locality [Tell Moqdam], whereas at Tanis his cult is still flourishing under the Nineteenth Dynasty. Tanis is therefore . . . the mother-house of the cult of Seth, that is to say Avaris." Let us first note that Montet speaks as though we were obliged, in attempting to identify Avaris, to choose between Tanis and Tell Moqdam. This necessity does not exist; let us simplify the discussion by leaving Tell Moqdam on one side, and deal with the question of identity with Tanis, according to the evidence duly set out.

"At Tanis the cult of Seth is still flourishing in the Nineteenth Dynasty": that is true, but Seth is very far from being the only god to enjoy this position, as we have abundantly seen. It is also true that Seth seems indeed to have held a privileged position at Tanis, judging from the number of monuments on which he appears, and most frequently alone, and it must be admitted without doubt that Seth was the chief god of the city in Ramesside times. But does it follow that Tanis was "the mother-house of the cult of Seth"? It may very well be that there were other important places in the Delta of which Seth was likewise the chief god. But even that is of secondary importance for the point that concerns us,

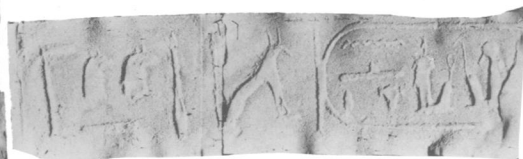
¹ Statue of Senusret I; Petrie, *Tanis*, I, p. 5 and Pl. I, 4 A-4 D; quoted by Daressy, *Ann. Serv.*, 17 (1917), 170 (Cairo, "Guide no. 634"), then by Gardiner in *Journal*, 5, 255.

² Statue of Amenemmes III, Berlin 1121: *Aeg. Inscr. Berlin*, II, 18; quoted by Gardiner, *ibid.*


³ Gardiner in *Journal*, 5 (1918), 255-6; 19 (1933), 123.



Squeezes of inscriptions on the seat and base of a statue of
 Meneptah in honour of the god Sutekh, from Tanis. Cairo Mus.
 inscriptions see the diagram in the text



the seat and base of a statue of Sesostris I, reinscribed by
Sutekh, from Tanis. Cairo Museum. For the position of the
fragments see the diagram in the text.

namely the identity of Avaris. Let us also concede—provisionally—that Tanis is the Lower-Egyptian capital of Seth, and the only one, and let us continue: “the mother-house of the cult of Seth, that is to say Avaris”. Here we reach the heart of the argument, and we put our finger on the *petitio principii*: it is considered necessary as a premise that the “primary seat” of Seth was *Avaris*. But why should this be? Because of the four instances—three if the twin inscriptions of Meneptah are counted as one—of “Seth Lord of Avaris”? Seth is not Lord of Avaris only, even in the formulas, and at Tanis itself, and at the very moment that a king Neḥsi invokes “Seth Lord of Avaris” at Tell Moqdam we find a prince of the same name calling himself “beloved of Seth, Lord of ”.¹ This *Gate of the Fields*, unknown elsewhere, has all the appearance of being a place in the neighbourhood, a district of the Tanite nome. Is one to infer in the same way, on the basis of the other title of the god, that it was the celebrated Avaris? This would not be permissible and logical unless “Seth Lord of Avaris” were met with only at Tanis. It is true that we are led to assume that Avaris was somewhere in this part of the frontier, in the Tanite-Sethroite district, but for entirely different reasons—see above, in (a) of these Comments.

On (d). On the subject of the Stela of the Year 400 “truly . . . in its right place . . . in the special city of the god Seth, that is to say Avaris”. We have just given our opinion of this certainly quite gratuitous view of Avaris as pre-eminently the house of Seth. Gardiner, however, will bring us back to the Stela of the Year 400 for more careful consideration; we shall come to this presently. Let us now give further attention to Montet, on the second point of his identifications of 1930–1933.

B. IS PI-RAMESSES IDENTICAL WITH TANIS?

Contrary to the results arrived at for the preceding equation, this one is extremely probable, indeed almost inevitable, and though the strongest reasons were only supplied by Gardiner a little later, Montet has the great merit of having recognized and formulated it.²

In the system long upheld by Gardiner, as we have seen, Pi-Rameses and Avaris are considered to be identical, in the first place because of the similarities of cult in these two cities, and this single town is situated at Pelusium, Tanis having been previously abandoned for various reasons, of which the most decisive is that of the list of Delta towns published some time before by Golénischeff,³ where Pi-Rameses and Tanis both appear, separated by five or six names of other places, for the most part known to us. It would indeed appear that Tanis and Pi-Rameses were clearly differentiated by such evidence. Montet, nevertheless, shows that given the character of this document, and of its more or less confused list, this conclusion is not inevitable, and he cites as evidence on the other side the important fact that *the gods of Pi-Rameses are the selfsame gods as those of Tanis*.⁴ Here is his general conclusion, intended to solve the double problem of Avaris and of Pi-Rameses.⁵ “Tanis, which is the most important ruin of the district, offers us large and beautiful buildings of Ramesses II and also traces of the Hyksos. The name of Pi-Rameses and that of Avaris may be read on its monuments. The most reasonable solution, one might say the simplest, is to identify the two towns known by the texts with the town whose ruins may be visited and admired by every one. Failing this solution, we are condemned to move Avaris and

¹ Petrie, *Tanis*, I, 8–9, Pl. 3, 19 A–19 D; cf. Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 171–2.

² Montet, *op. cit.* (1930), 21 ff., 26–7; *op. cit.* (1933), 29–30.

³ Golénischeff in *Z.Ä.S.*, 40 (1902), 105; Gardiner, *op. cit.*, in *Journal*, 5, 198–9.

⁴ Montet, *op. cit.* (1930), 26–7, and *Les dieux de Ramsès-aimé-d'Amon à Tanis*, in *Griffith Studies* (1932), 406–11.

⁵ Montet, *op. cit.* (1933), 32.

Pi-Rameses indefinitely up and down the Egyptian frontier, and we do not know what to do with Tanis."

Were we reduced to such an extremity, it would not be a sufficient reason for identifying Avaris and Pi-Rameses, as is thus suggested; geographical localizations are not to be made with an eye to the convenience of interpretation. But we do not seem to be reduced to this; Pi-Rameses has now every possibility of being Tanis itself, and this is a pleasant haven of rest: why not content ourselves with it, leaving the position of Avaris in the uncertainty which still attaches to it? Moreover, the time has not come for us to form a conclusion; we must still read and ponder Gardiner, who has been convinced by the new results from Tanis, in his article of the end of 1933.

III. Gardiner in 1933

Discussion

(a) Gardiner, in this last article,¹ begins by explaining that he was converted from his former localization of Pi-Rameses at Pelusium by "M. Montet's discovery that the gods of Pi-Ramesse were really the gods of Tanis". And he completes the demonstration of the identity of Pi-Rameses and Tanis: "That the Golénischeff Glossary mentions Tanis and Pi-Ramesse separately is a fact for which I have no explanation", but the conclusive force of this disappears before that of another considerable point to which Montet has not given its full importance: "No Egyptian city but Thebes itself can boast a greater number of stelae, statues, sphinxes, and architectural remains bearing the cartouches of Rameses 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 Rameside 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 Rameses III, besides Pi-Ramesse and an unlocated town. . . . Is it thinkable that Tanis should have been completely overlooked in this ostensibly complete survey?"

The point is certainly very striking, and it seems as if, as a matter of historical necessity, it must carry the conviction that Pi-Rameses is indeed absolutely identical with Tanis.

Gardiner did not rest content with this settlement of the problem of Pi-Rameses. The problem of Avaris, though evidently secondary in his eyes, is nevertheless still an important one, and he gladly acquiesces in the solution Avaris = Tanis affirmed by Montet. Why should we be surprised when we remember that at the base of Gardiner's earlier theory lay the identification of Avaris and Pi-Rameses, on the strength of their common cult of Seth? Now this consideration and the conclusions that it involves still obtain for Gardiner; they are now placed in juxtaposition with the considerations of more general communities of cults which first determined the identification Pi-Rameses = Tanis, to which Avaris can now be joined, most naturally, as a third term.

(b) In support of this Gardiner refers his readers "to M. Montet's article for the evidence that the great fortified wall of Tanis was of Hyksos, or at least Palestinian, construction"; in another place again: "M. Montet has found definite evidence that the great fortifications were built by the Hyksos. Tanis and Tell er-Retābah are apparently the only sites in Egypt where the well-authenticated Palestinian custom of burying an infant beneath the walls has

¹ Gardiner, *Tanis and Pi-Ramesse: a Retraction*, in *Journal*, 19 (1933), 122-8.

been observed, and M. Montet in the one case, and Sir Flinders Petrie in the other, have recorded their opinion that these fortifications were built by the Hyksos. . . .¹

(c) Finally, a special argumentation, a kind of compulsory inference to corroborate the identity of Avaris with Tanis, is based by Gardiner on the Stela of the Year 400, in conjunction with the remarkable interpretation of the document which Sethe had produced in 1930. The inscription is, as is well known,² signed by Ramesses II, who states in the preamble that he has commanded it to be made in order to exalt the names of "the father of his fathers" and of King Sety (Sethōs) I, his own father, and it appears from the scene in the upper part of the stela and the arrangement of the text which follows that this "father of his fathers" is really no other than the god Seth himself, after whom King Sethos was named; what the text relates is the solemn act performed by an exalted personage, also named Sety, the vizier and governor of *Tjrw*, and son of a certain Pe-Raemeses who had been vizier and governor of *Tjrw*, which said Sety "came" (evidently to Tanis, where the stone was set up) to do homage to the god. Now this event had taken place on a certain day in the year 400 of a King *Seth Great of Power, Seth of Ombos* (in cartouches), who is evidently the god Seth, treated ceremonially as a living king of Tanis, or else of Egypt, so that it is fairly clear that the visit of the governor Sety had had as its object the celebration of the fourth centenary of this kingship of Seth, that is to say, actually of the enthronement of the god in this place. All this is straightforward, but one still would be glad to be informed of the circumstances and historical position of this accession of Seth in the great city. Here comes in the ingenious and bold explanation of Sethe,³ who interprets the event at the beginning of the four centuries as being "evidently" the foundation of the town of Tanis (we will not stop to discuss either this view, or the word "offenbar" which is certainly a little dogmatic) and suggests as regards the exact determination of the date that we should take it that the journey of the governor Sety was not made at the actual time of the stela, that is under Ramesses II, but at some former time, and that this Sety was Ramesses II's own father at a time when he was not yet King Sety (Sethōs) I, and when, moreover, Sety's father was as yet only called the vizier and governor Ramesses (to be exact Pe-Raemeses), and was not yet King Ramesses I; a state of affairs which implies that the devotional act commemorated by Ramesses II took place about the time of Horemheb, round about 1330, which puts the origin of the four-hundred-year period ending then at somewhere round 1730. This would be the date of Seth's accession—of the foundation of Tanis, as Sethe does not hesitate to interpret it—and this date "might possibly coincide with the beginning of the Hyksos domination".⁴

Tanis founded by the victorious Hyksos, and identical with Avaris, one might well think at once. Sethe, however, maintains an attitude of quite remarkably plain and candid reserve, saying, for instance, of the god Seth that he is "the god of the Hyksos cities Tanis and Avaris". But Gardiner takes the leap without hesitation: "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-Raemesse but also with Avaris. . . . The

¹ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 125, 127.

² Published by Mariette, *La stèle de l'an 400*, in *Revue archéologique*, 11 (1865), 169 ff. and Pl. 4, the latter afterwards reproduced, notably in Sethe's article in 1930, which we shall quote below; the stone rediscovered at Tanis by Montet and published by him, *La stèle de l'an 400 retrouvée*, in *Kémi*, 4 (1933), 192–215 and Pls.

³ Sethe, *Der Denkstein mit dem Datum des Jahres 400 der Ära von Tanis*, in *Z.Ä.S.*, 65 (1930), 85–9.

⁴ Sethe wisely states here that he does not mean to embark on the question of any relation between the foundation of Tanis by the Hyksos and the foundation of Hebron, suggested by the well-known account in Numbers xiii. 22.

various conclusions suggested by Sethe would lack their essential foundation, 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 Djarnet are three successive names of one and the same city".¹

At the point to which the previous discussions have already led us, we have no difficulty in separating the elements of this argumentation in the comments that follow.

Comments

On (a). I will merely repeat that when a god is adored as lord in two towns, this by no means suffices to show that the two towns are but one, and that we have ample proof that the fact of Seth of Avaris being invoked in this or that place of the Delta is not enough to localize Avaris.

On (b). Was not Montet more cautious, merely regarding these foundation-burials as "a proof of Semitic influence at Tanis"? (See above, pp. 12, 13.)

On (c). Let us see, point by point, what Gardiner's views are. To understand the document he considers it necessary:

1. That *Setekh of Ramesses* of the Stela should be identical with *Setekh of Avaris*. But of course! Either this is obvious, or else we do not understand the statement: is it not always a question of the same god, under the cloak of different titles? (See above, pp. 15-16.)

2. That Tanis, where the stela was set up, should be the town having this Setekh, of Ramesses or of Avaris, as its local god. Quite certainly, again. This god Seth or Setekh was the great god of Tanis; the stela, with many other monuments, bears signal testimony of this.

3. That "in other words" Avaris should be Tanis itself! Not so. It is agreed that Seth is the great god of Tanis; he is also "Lord of Avaris" and appears so styled both at Tanis and at another place; no conclusion as to the position of Avaris can be drawn from that. (See above, the present notes, on a.)

Moreover, the most important information given by the Stela of the Year 400 does not consist in this at all. That information consists in the fixing of the date of the installation of Seth at Tanis, in accordance with the explanation that we have set forth. The date thus fixed seems certain, although the lines of Sethe's brilliant interpretation are, we must point out, far from being in all cases equally assured; but the best established and most generally accepted element of the combination is precisely the date of the vizier and governor Pe-Rameses, father of the vizier and governor Sety who came to pay homage to the god at Tanis, because of his practically certain identity with the vizier Pe-Rameses who, according to the necessary interpretation of his statues at Karnak, had been designated by Horemheb for the kingship, and became Ramesses I.² He was already old, and reigned only a few years, as we know, and it is extremely likely that his son Sety, the future Sety (Sethōs) I of history, was already invested with exalted functions under Horemheb, and that it was then that the solemn journey recorded on the Tanis stela took place. Let it be noted, moreover, that once the position of Pe-Rameses the father is thus established, it becomes a matter of indifference for the chronology which concerns us whether his son Sety, who performed the act of worship mentioned on the stela, is or is not the future King Sethōs I;³ this being said with

¹ Gardiner, *op. cit.* (1933), 124.




² Sethe, *op. cit.*, 86-7 (for the Karnak statues see Legrain in *Ann. Serv.*, 14, 1914, 29-38; cf. for the historical setting, Maspero, *Histoire*, II, 368-9); Montet, *op. cit.*, in *Kémi*, 4 (1933), 210-13.

³ Cf. the doubts expressed on this point by Montet, *op. cit.*, 213.



due recognition of the fact that since the purpose of the monument is to exalt, with the name of the god, that of King Sethōs I himself, mentioned by name, it is extremely probable that it was the latter in person, although not yet king, who is represented in front of the god on the upper part of the stela.

It seems on the whole that all that the Stela of the Year 400, better interpreted as it is to-day, does for us is to display in a very striking way Seth as the great god of Tanis under the Ramessides, and to fix the date of the god's installation in the city at round about 1730. This is important for the history of the god Seth and for that of Tanis; it may also throw light on the history of Avaris by force of analogy, perhaps of proximity, more exactly doubtless of similarity of function between the two places in their earliest period.

IV. Present position of the problem

We possess one hieroglyphic document—one only—in which Tanis and Avaris are mentioned together, a valuable testimony which Gardiner and Montet have alike completely ignored in their articles. It is a list of Lower-Egyptian districts, found long ago in the temple of Ptah at Memphis,¹ and showing on the fragment that remains fourteen localities as human figures with names above them, each offering the name of Ramesses II between two vases , with texts repeating for each place that the king presents it as an offering to the god Ptah. The third and fourth of the localities in this scene are  *Tanis*, and  *Avaris*. Brugsch, who cited the monument many times in his *Dictionnaire géographique*,² stated as early as 1872 that this mention of the two towns side by side, but as two fundamentally distinct units, proved “in the most striking fashion” that they were by no means identical.³





It is, however, necessary to examine the matter closely, for any evidence of the kind that we have here may be misleading, and we have seen that the apparently very clear distinction between Tanis and Pi-Rameses in the list of the Golénischeff papyrus does not prevent people from agreeing that the two names designate a single town. Let us see then which places are given in the Memphis list, and in what order.

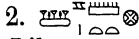
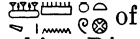
1.  *Ššf*, is the  *Trrw*, etc., of the Graeco-Roman lists, the agricultural territory of the ninth Lower-Egyptian nome (Busiris).⁴

¹ *Monuments divers*, Pl. 31 and text, p. 8.

² An echo in my *Fin du Moyen Empire*, p. 172, n. 3, for *Tanis* and *Avaris*.




³ Brugsch in *Z.Ä.S.*, 10 (1872), 19–20 (*Beiträge zu den Untersuchungen über Tanis*). This is the place to emphasize the fact that Brugsch never, after pointing this out, advanced the view that Avaris was identical with Tanis, as an erroneous and singularly persistent bibliographical tradition would have us believe: Maspero, *Histoire*, II, p. 52, n. 5; Gardiner in *Journal*, 5, 128; Clédat in *Rec. Champollion*, p. 191, n. 1.

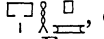
⁴ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, v, 100. “Field of the bounteous wave”, cf. , , etc., *Wörterbuch*, IV, 118; the determinative  is explained by the word  which denotes a textile (*Wörterbuch*, IV, 274). A text which is interesting for the geography of the Eastern Delta is that of a statue of the Greek period (Daressy in *Rec. de trav.*, 15, 150–1), telling of the management of a canal which did not sufficiently supply the needs of the region of *Trrw*, being exhausted in its upper reaches by the watering of *Ššf* and of all the lower part “from the territory of Mendes as far as the *hinterland* (*phw*) of Tanis”; the fields of *Trrw*, below Tanis again and at some distance to the east, are perhaps what the text means by the “*hinterland* of Tanis”, inasmuch as the canal-work in question was ordered by the governor of Tanis, very clearly the capital of the nome. The canal branched off, as we see, from the great Damietta arm of the Nile near Busiris and proceeded eastwards in the direction of Mendes, Tanis, and *Trrw*-Sile; the water-courses on or about this very line are in existence to-day.

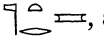
2. , problematical; could it be the  of the third nome of Lower Egypt, the Libyan nome in the extreme west (see Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, v, 103)?

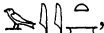
3. , Tanis.




4. , Avaris.

5. , the probable reading, in spite of the strange form of the sign in its two occurrences. A problematical locality; it can hardly be the well-known  in the Great Oasis. I hazard the suggestion that it might be read as  *Im-t*, Nebesheh.


6. , one of the two well-known places called *Nilopolis* in the north, either that of Lower Egypt, which is the sixteenth nome (Mendes), or that near Babylon of Cairo. See Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, II, 110; IV, 17.

7. , a great city of Lower Egypt which might be Behbit el-Hagar (in the twelfth nome, the Sebennyitic; the ancient *Per-hebit*, Iseum); see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, III, 107.

8. , unknown.

9. , "Bank of *Wsd-t* of Lower Egypt", not yet localized, might I think be the  of *Anast.* I, 27, 5, itself doubtless identical with  of Karnak (L., *D.*, III, 128);¹ a place on the Asiatic frontier, very probably on the coast-road, that is to say, in the neighbourhood of Pelusium.²

10. Lacuna.

11. , unknown?

12-14. Lacuna.

Given that the list was drawn up at Memphis, it is natural that it should record the names of the most scattered regions of the Delta, and the Nilopolis of No. 6 might equally well be Mendes or Babylon, just as No. 2 might very likely be the capital of the Libyan nome. Confining ourselves, however, to the well-attested sites in the eastern half of the Delta, we see that the document takes us from Busiris (No. 1), in the centre of the Delta, to Tanis and Avaris right in the east, comes back later on to the neighbourhood of Sebennytos (No. 7), not far from Busiris, and leaps from there to the extreme east on the Mediterranean coast (No. 9). The territory covered is thus very large, and this first conclusion may be drawn, that considering the immense choice offered to the writer, and that repetition would be useless and uninteresting, there is every reason to admit that Tanis and Avaris of Nos. 3 and 4 are indeed separate towns. We find in the second place that the geographical order of the list is extremely capricious and irregular, and this precludes us from basing any suggestion as to propinquity on the fact that Tanis and Avaris are placed side by side in it.

Only one fact relevant to our argument emerges from this: Avaris is not Tanis, for the very reason that Brugsch gave, and which seems as conclusive as proof based on documents can be. It may be challenged; Gardiner, led to admit that Tanis and Pi-Rameses are one and the same place, did indeed write: "That the Golénischeff Glossary mentions" them "separately is a fact for which I have no explanation", and left it at that: nowadays it might be said "Let us still leave Avaris at Tanis, and not try to make out why the Memphis list differentiates them", but let us not overlook the fact that a great deal would thereby be left unexplained.

It will be readily understood that for my part I decide to take the opposite course. Believing that we have shown, in this lengthy examination of the views taken by Montet and Gardiner in the last four years, that the documentary data called in review do not

¹ Gardiner, *Egn. Hieratic Texts*, I, p. 29, n. 6, and Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 181.

² Clédat in *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.*, 21, 69-70; 22, 155.

justify us in presuming the identity of the two places, we propose to admit that the Memphis list contains the proof that Avaris and Tanis are indeed two different places. We need not, moreover, limit ourselves, as regards Avaris, to recording this negative conclusion. Whether widely separated or not, Avaris and Tanis are none the less washed by the same tide of historical events, the importance of which relates them to each other in conditions into which topographical considerations do not enter but which we are able to grasp through the evidence of facts of a different order. The evidence that we have reviewed allows us without great difficulty to define this relation of the two towns as a matter of history; it seems possible to express it with some precision in the following terms:

1. Seth or Sutekh, the great god of Tanis under the Ramessides, was already on the spot at the time of the "Hyksos" (chronology of the Stela of the Year 400, confirmation provided by the obelisk of Neḥsi at Tanis).

2. Avaris is a domain of Sutekh under the Ramessides, according to the inscriptions of Meneptah on the Tanis statues, and already under the kings called "Hyksos" according to the offering-table of Ḳḏnenrē Apopi and the statue of King Neḥsi at Tell Moqdam.

3. Sutekh is the great god of the kings called "Hyksos" (the aforesaid monuments of the two Neḥsis and of Ḳḏnenrē Apopi). The tradition of the concomitant points of 2 and 3 was very much alive under the New Empire (King Apopi a devotee of Seth and *in Avaris*, according to the story of *Sallier Pap. I*).

4. There is an approximate agreement of date between the enthronement of Sutekh at Tanis, fixed by the Stela of the Year 400, and the installation at Avaris of the Hyksos in the Manethonian account (authentic Manetho in Josephus), when the events of this installation are put in their proper place.

The conclusion may, very probably at least, be drawn from these four interrelated points, that Tanis and Avaris were occupied, and the god Sutekh installed in both places, by the people called "Hyksos", not necessarily kings of the family of the Apopis, whom Manetho's narrative identifies with the invading Hyksos, but rather these invaders themselves, at the time of their first settlements in the Delta, before the time of the Apopis so far as we have succeeded in reconstructing the historical scene.¹

In other words, the installation of Seth at Tanis (Sethe understands by this the *foundation* of Tanis) and the installation of the Hyksos at Avaris (Manetho himself does not go so far as to talk of a *foundation* of Avaris) were two episodes of a far greater historical event, the arrival and settlement of the Asiatic new-comers, which certainly covered the whole Eastern Delta, and certainly manifested itself in all places in the same way. The true relationship between Tanis and Avaris lies equally certainly in this community of functions, if one may so call it, in the fact that in the early days of their history they were both involved in this great political, religious, and doubtless also military organization.²

¹ It would be merely of secondary interest to insist again here on the historical discrimination between the kings Apopi and the "Hyksos", with which I have dealt in previous articles. Let me merely recall that it now appears—see my *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 182 ff., 198, and *Cinquantenaire de l'École des Hautes Études*, 37–40 (in *Kamès de Thèbes*), as well as *Journal asiatique*, 202 (1923), 124–7—that the "Asiatic" or "Hyksos" period in Lower Egypt extends chronologically beyond the dynasty of the Apopis at each end, and that thus this dynasty was but an episode in a much vaster development in time and perhaps in territory. Let me observe further in support of this statement that since 1929 it has been recognized that the "Hyksos" period, that is to say the incursion of Asiatics and Egypto-Asiatic culture in Lower Egypt, will have begun immediately after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, if not during that dynasty itself (Weill in *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.*, 32, 1932, 8, 40–4).

² From the specially military point of view, this relationship, this functional connexion, stands out very clearly when it is realized that Tanis in its marshy and desolate plain could never have been more than a

Let us hasten to observe at this point that in later times the tradition of the arrival of the foreigners, and of the settlements of the Seth worshippers in the Delta, was liable to be adapted and distorted to suit the most diverse tendencies, and even to be diverted in the most surprising way, if it became necessary for the explanation of some situation, whether political, or royal, or divine. In the Greek period, according to the tradition received by Manetho, we find the Apopis and their dynastic congeners completely merged with the hated invaders, and under the Twentieth Dynasty we feel that the fusion is already in process, and that the Seth-worshippers of the North are in course of becoming the detested Hyksos that we shall later find them to be, when we come to the story of the Apopi who had adopted the cult of Sutekh and defied the king of Thebes. But at exactly the same time, under the Ramessides, it becomes absolutely necessary that the history of Sutekh in the Delta should be presented in quite a different way, for Tanis has become a Ramesside capital, and Sutekh of Tanis a family god of the Theban Pharaoh, and so obviously it cannot still be true that the god came there as a foreigner, and by right of conquest. On the Stela of the Year 400, which here plays the part of chief witness, Ramesses II invokes Sutekh of Tanis as "father of his fathers"; he seems indeed, as Sethe understands it, to claim direct descent from the god, so that one is led to wonder whether the Ramesside family, in which the name of Sety is a hereditary legacy, did not derive from Tanis itself.¹ Perhaps we shall be fortunate enough some day to learn how the priests of Tanis, for the glorification of Ramesses and his line, related the story of the origins of Sutekh in the city.

As for the position of Avaris, duly separated from Tanis, the only evidence, the one piece of information remaining at the end of our analysis, is still that of Manetho, *Sethroite* nome in the Epitome, *Saite* or else *Sethroite* nome in the text of Josephus (Greek and Armenian), it being noted that, as we have recalled (see above, p. 13), *Saite* is synonymous with *Tanite*, and that *Tanite* and *Sethroite* are, as territorial terms, practically equivalent; in the text of Josephus, furthermore, "to the east of the Bubastite branch", which is no other than the Pelusiac branch, throwing a site placed there on to the very frontier. From this may be drawn the general conclusion that the place belonged more or less closely to the Tanite nome, but at the extreme tip of the eastern side, in the zone of Tell Defennah, of the ancient *Trrw* on the edge of the lakes, or of Tell el-Her farther north, without any more precise localization being possible.



Let us be wise and patient. The problem of the site of Avaris is quite a small one, the solution of which is by no means urgent; let us not press the documents too far, but wait for the fresh information which will naturally and simply make all the rest clear to us.


Additional Notes

A. *The Asiatic Sutekh in Lower Egypt already in the Middle Kingdom.* In the nome of Şaft el-Hineh, at the western outlet of the Wādi el-Tūmilāt—the Twentieth Nome of the usual enumeration, "Arabia", an Egyptian gateway looking out on this highway towards Asia—the chief god worshipped is Sopdu, "Lord of the East", in whom is usually vested, as is well known, the office of god of the eastern foreign countries. Now this god is also met with in Asia itself, with name and title as elsewhere but in the form of Seth. The monument in question is a large carving of Amenemmes IV at the Sarabiṭ el-Khādīm mines, Sinai;² it frontier-station, established for a set strategic purpose at this point, so admirably protected by nature. Cf. on this subject H. Kees in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), col. 203 (on Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis*).

¹ Sethe, *op. cit.*, in *Z.Ä.S.*, 65 (1930), 88.

² Gardiner-Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, I, Pl. xlii, No. 119.

gives the usual legend  close to a picture of the god represented as a man standing in a bark and having the characteristic head of Seth with the long erect ears, and the king himself is called . Thus we have here either Sopdu of the Twentieth Nome identified with Seth, or else Seth (or Sutekh) introduced in the person of the Egyptian god of the eastern marches. The assimilation is extremely remarkable, in view of the fact that in the older period there is no evidence of local cults of Seth in Lower Egypt, where he was first installed, in all likelihood, by the "Hyksos" kings (in Tanis, Avaris, etc., see p. 23, above). This identification in the time of Amenemmes IV seems to indicate clearly that these Asiatic intruders and all the things that came in with them were already present in the Delta during the Twelfth Dynasty; and it thus appears to demonstrate the truth of the view recently put forward that the settlement of these foreigners in Egypt began at least as early as that central period of the Middle Kingdom (see p. 23, n. 1, above).

B. *The king of the usurped Twelfth Dynasty statues at Berlin and Cairo.* It has been noted above (pp. 14-15) that on these two similar statues from Tanis, the inscriptions added by Meneptah are so much alike as to give the impression of a simultaneous usurpation, as though the two monuments had been found symmetrically placed or side by side. This may well have been the case in reality. The original inscriptions of the Berlin statue are, as I have mentioned, of Sesostri I. On the Cairo statue the first inscriptions are much less complete—F, G, I on Pl. ii are all that is left of them; but in a titulary which is partly preserved (fragment G), and in which the name of the original dedicator, in a cartouche, has been covered over by that of Meneptah, may be seen intact, at the beginning, the first Horus name , which is that of Sesostri I, and places the attribution beyond any doubt. The Cairo statue is thus, like the Berlin one, of Sesostri I; this confirms and completes what has been said above as to their points of resemblance, and the circumstances in which they were re-used, both together without doubt.

THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—I

By H. W. FAIRMAN

THE Myth of Horus is justly one of the most celebrated of Egyptian myths, yet hitherto no complete translation of the various texts which compose it has appeared in any language, though the actual texts and reliefs have been published long since by Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le Temple d'Edfou*, Geneva, 1870. Now that the magnificent new edition of Chassinat has appeared, it seems an opportune moment to attempt to remedy this deficiency by giving a complete translation of all these texts, accompanied, however, by the minimum of notes. This and the following articles aim solely at providing a connected translation, and do not offer or pretend to offer a detailed commentary.

The translations are based on the texts published by Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vi, 60–90, 108–36, 213–23, and have been controlled by reference to the photographs published by Chassinat, *op. cit.*, XIII, Pls. cccxciv–dxiv, dxviii–dxxxv; xiv, Pls. dlxxvi–dlxxxiv. I have also utilized the Berlin series of photographs which were placed at my disposal by Dr. A. H. Gardiner. Unfortunately, pressure of work while I was in Egypt during the past winter prevented me from checking one or two minor points on the walls of Edfu itself. It is, however, a pleasure to pay a tribute to the remarkable accuracy of Chassinat's edition, which is a vast improvement on previous copies, and which may be trusted absolutely. In quotations in this paper, reference is made to volumes, pages, or plates of Chassinat's edition. Thus vi, followed by a page number, refers to Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, tome vi. Where a reference is given to individual lines, the reference is to the lines of Chassinat's text, and not to the lines of the original.

The Myth of Horus as preserved in the Temple of Edfu is inscribed on the inner faces of the east and west enclosure walls. Though it is habitual to refer to the "Myth of Horus", the myth is not a simple story, but comprises five texts (*cf.* the analysis in Roeder's article *Set* in Roscher's *Lexikon*). These five texts are:

A. The Legend of the Winged Disk. The chief actors are Horus of Behdet and Seth. Rē and Thoht provide a running commentary and numerous, somewhat tedious puns which detract from the flow and interest of the narrative. The language is stilted and formal, and somewhat restricted in vocabulary and forms of expression. (Naville, *op. cit.*, Pls. xii–xix; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 108–32; XIII, Pls. dxviii–dxxxiii.)

B. The story of a fight between Horus, son of Isis (who is assisted by Horus of Behdet), and Seth. This portion of the myth follows immediately after the Legend of the Winged Disk, and is entitled *hnk hrw-r*. (Naville, *op. cit.*, Pls. xx–xxi; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 132–6; XIII, Pls. dxxxiv–dxxxv.)




C. This section is not worded in the form of a connected story, but is perhaps rather the text of a dramatized version of the exploits of Horus which was enacted at his festival. After texts referring to the ten harpoons with which Horus attacked his enemy, come songs by the Royal Children and by the princesses of Upper and Lower Egypt together with the women of Mendes, Pe, and Dep, and finally two versions of the dismemberment of Seth and the distribution of the parts of his body among various gods and cities. (Naville, *op. cit.*, Pls. i–xi; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 60–90; XIII, Pls. cccxciv–dxiv.)

D. Seth, son of Nut, assumes the form of a red hippopotamus and goes to Elephantine. Horus, son of Isis, pursues him and overtakes him near Edfu, and after the ensuing fight Seth flees northwards and Horus assumes the office of his father. (Naville, *op. cit.*, xxii–xxiii; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 213–19; xiv, Pls. dlxxvi–dlxxx; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 608–9.)

E. A very battered text. Horus is mentioned as lord of Lower Egypt, living at Memphis, and Seth as lord of Upper Egypt, living in Shas-hetep. Horus and Seth fight, the one in the form of a youth, the other as a red donkey. Horus finally triumphs and cuts off the leg of Seth. This story is written in a pronounced Late-Egyptian idiom. (Naville, *op. cit.*, xxiv; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 219–223; xiv, Pls. dlxxxii–dlxxxiv; Brugsch, *Thes.*, 609–10.)

A. THE LEGEND OF THE WINGED DISK

The text of this portion of the myth is inscribed on the second register of the inner face of the west enclosure wall of the temple. This part of the wall is divided into sixteen scenes, of which those referring to the Myth of Horus (Nos. 5–13 in Chassinat's numbering) run from north to south, whereas the scenes which precede and which follow them run from south to north. Thus it would appear that some attempt has been made to keep the scenes of the myth separate from the others. The same state of affairs obtains on the lower register of this wall, where the greater part of the remaining portion of the myth is inscribed (*cf.* Chassinat's remarks on the order of the scenes, vi, 54, 104).

The individual scenes of the legend bear no titles, but the first scene (Chassinat's No. 5) bears the title *Lifting heaven*. The texts read: *Lifting heaven. Utterance. Thy heaven belongs to thee, O Bḥdti, brightly coloured one. Thou flyest (emend ∩ for ∪) therein as [the Winged Disk], thou alightest on the prow of the barque of Rē̄-Harakhte, thy two uraei* After the name of the king, and epithets of the Winged Disk: *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt*  *is on his seat, lifting up heaven, supporting the god of Behdet.  is introduced to the barque of Rē̄-Harakhte as a divine winged disk of gold (ktm). He is like Shu who lifts up (emend ∩ for ∪ in k3wt) heaven, who holds (?) the head of* For , for which I can offer no certain transliteration, *cf.* II, 8. Is it a word for "king"?

Of the scenes which precede the myth, the title of the first is lost, the second is called *ḥnk šmty*, and the third and fourth *fꜣi iḥt*. The Legend of the Winged Disk occupies Nos. 5–12, and No. 13, which, as noted above, is included in the myth series, is concerned with the offering of *ḥrw-ꜥ* and grapes, and with a fight between Horus, son of Isis, and Seth (Story B).

The succession of Scenes 14–16 from south to north would seem to indicate that they are to be treated apart from the other scenes concerning the myth. Nevertheless they are closely connected with it in content. No. 14 is divided into two parts, *ir(t) sntr* and *šḥr(t) Skr*, and has been published by Naville, *op. cit.*, xxv. No. 15 is entitled *smꜣ Smꜣ*, and No. 16, which has no title, concerns the slaughter of the wild animals of the desert.

The text of the Legend of the Winged Disk is published by Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 108–32; line plates cxlvi–cxlviii (in the unpublished portion of vol. x), and photographic plates dxviii–dxxxiii in vol. XIII. A complete copy of the texts and reliefs was originally made by Naville, *op. cit.*, xii–xix. The hieroglyphic text and some of the reliefs were published, together with an English translation, by Budge, *Legends of the Gods* (London, 1912), 52 ff.; he gave a more recent translation in English in his *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1934), 467–80. German translations have been published by Brugsch, *Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe* (in *Abh. kgl. Ges. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xiv, 173 ff., Göttingen, 1869); by Wiedemann, *Die Religion der Alten Ägypter* (Münster, 1890), 38 ff., an English version

of which is published in his *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1897), 69 ff.; and by Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des Alten Ägypten* (Jena, 1915), 120 ff.

I had the advantage, during the early part of the past winter, of reading this portion of the Myth of Horus with Dr. A. H. Gardiner, Dr. J. Černý, and Mr. R. O. Faulkner, and to them I owe many fruitful suggestions.


Translation

[5, 5]¹ Year 363² of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rē-Ḥarakhte, may he live for ever and ever. Now his majesty was in Nubia (T3-sti), and his army was with him without number, [and there was no?] plotting against their lord <among them>.³ It is called Ta[seti]⁴ to this day. [5, 6] Rē sailed in his barque, and his followers were with him. He landed in the nome of Wts-Ḥr, to the east of this nome, and east of the canal which is called "The royal [canal]" to this day. And Horus of Behdet was (also) [5, 7] in the barque of Rē, and he said to his father Rē-Ḥarakhte: "I see enemies who plot against their mighty lord. May the . . . of thy uraeus prevail against them". [6, 2]⁵ The majesty of Rē-Ḥarakhte said: "As thou desirest, O Horus of Behdet, thou son of Rē, exalted one who camest forth from me. Overthrow <my> enemy before thee in an instant." Horus of Behdet flew up (rpi) to heaven as the Great Winged Disk (rpi wr), and therefore he is called "great god, lord of heaven" to this day. When he saw the enemies in heaven he approached them as the great Winged Disk. He stormed against them before him, [6, 3]⁶ and they neither saw with their eyes nor heard with their ears, but (each) one slew his fellow in the twinkling of an eye, and not a soul lived. Then Horus of Behdet came as šnbtī, the many-coloured, as the great Winged Disk, to the barque of Rē-Ḥarakhte. Thoth said to Rē, the lord of the gods: "The god of Behdet is come as šnbtī, the great Winged Disk, who destroys(?) the rebels and foes". [6, 4] Therefore is he called Horus of Behdet to this day. Then Rē-Ḥarakhte said: "I see [Horus?]. Edfu (D̄b) shall be called <the city of> Horus of Behdet from this day." Then Rē embraced him closely,⁷ and said to Horus of Behdet: "Thou hast put grapes into the water which comes from it that thy heart may be pleased thereby". Therefore do men offer

¹ Inner face, west wall, 2nd register, scene 5: Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, 109–110; XIII, Pls. dxviii, dxix; Naville, *op. cit.*, XII.

² Cf. Newberry, *The Set Rebellion of the IIInd Dynasty in Ancient Egypt*, 7 (1922), 40–6. Newberry sees in this date and in this story an echo of the Seth rebellion and re-conquest of Egypt by Peribsen. Year 363 of Rē-Ḥarakhte according to him would be 363 years after the accession of Menes. Kees, however (*Kult- und Urgeschichte in Nachr. Ges. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1930, 346 ff.), claims that these legends have no historical value. Newberry's theory, whether true or not, is certainly an attractive and plausible one, and it must be admitted that my own reading of these myths has convinced me that, while one must of necessity treat all statements with the utmost caution and reserve, there seems to be a certain substratum of historical fact on which they are based. But this is obviously a subject for a separate paper, and further discussion would be out of place here.

³ Reading [n]n iw (⊖ = iw) wꜣwꜣ r nb-sn <im>.

⁴ ; the most likely emendation is T3-sti. There seems to be a corruption of the text here, for the pun is on wꜣwꜣ, and one would have expected the country to be called Wꜣwꜣt: cf. for instance p. 35 = VI, 128. 8, where Horus of Behdet spies the enemy in tꜣ wꜣwꜣt ḥr wꜣwꜣ r nb-sn. The error, if error it be, seems to be corrected in the epitome of the myth published in VI, 8–9 (= Dümichen, *Altägyptische Tempelinschriften*, I, cii; Brugsch, *Thes.*, 1340; J. de Rougé, *Inscr. et Not. rec. à Edfou*, II, lxxxv), where we read: "when Rē came to Ḥt-ms-nḥt-f when the enemies plotted (wꜣwꜣ) against him in Wꜣwꜣt". The text then proceeds to enumerate the various stages of the campaign.

⁵ Scene 6: Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, 111–13; XIII, Pls. dxx, dxxi; Naville, *op. cit.*, xiii.

⁶ A duplicate of this passage, from this point to the end of the sentence, in I, 357, without, however, any important variants.

⁷ Wn-in Rr ḥpt-f ḥr šnbt-f.

hrw-ꜥ¹ to Horus of Behdet to this day. The is called šnbti, many-coloured, to this day. [6, 5] Then Horus of Behdet said: "Come, O Rēꜥ, that thou mayest see how thy foes are fallen before thee in this land". And his majesty went, Astarte being with him. He saw that the enemies were fallen to the ground with broken heads. Then Rēꜥ said to Horus of Behdet: [6, 6] "This is a place of pleasant life" (nḏm rnh pw) and therefore men call the palace of Horus of Behdet Nḏm-rnh to this day. And Rēꜥ said to Thoth: "This means that my enemies are punished" (ḏbꜣ), and therefore this nome is called ḏbw to this day. Then Thoth said to Horus of Behdet: "Thy protection is great" (mkt-k ʕ) [6, 7] and the barque of Horus of Behdet is called "Great-of-protection" (ʕ-mkt) to this day.

Then Rēꜥ said to the gods who were in his train: "Now let us row in our barque on the water, and let us rejoice over our foes who are fallen to the ground". The great god [sailed] (hn ?) in it (? the canal) [6, 8] and it is called P-hn ("The canal") to this day.

Now the foes descended into the water and became crocodiles and hippopotami. And Horus of Behdet in his barque voyaged on the water. Then the crocodiles and hippopotami came and opened their mouths in order to attack (?) the barque of Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhte. [6, 9] Then Horus of Behdet came with his followers who were in his train as harpooners,² with harpoons and ropes in their hands, each one at his name. They smote the crocodiles and hippopotami and brought away at once 651 enemies. [6, 10] They were slaughtered before this city. Then Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhte said to Horus of Behdet: "This is my image in Tꜣ-šmꜥ;³ this is one whose palace is mighty (nhꜥt ḥ pw)", and the palace of Horus of Behdet is called Nhꜥt-ḥ to this day.

[7, 5]⁴ Thoth said after he had seen that the foes were fallen to the ground: "Rejoice, O ye gods of heaven! Rejoice, O ye gods of the earth! The divine youth is returned in peace. He has performed wonders in his journey.⁵ He has acted according to the book of repulsing the hippopotamus (i.e. Seth)." Thus the harpooners of Horus of Behdet came into existence to this day.

Then Horus of Behdet assumed the form of the Winged Disk on the prow of the barque of Rēꜥ [7, 6] and he took Nekhbet and Uto with him as two uraei who terrify the enemies in their limbs,⁶ both crocodiles and hippopotami, in every place visited in Upper and Lower Egypt.

Then those foes fled before him, their faces being turned to Upper Egypt,⁷ their hearts being faint through fear of him. Horus of Behdet followed after them in this barque of Rēꜥ, with harpoon

¹ Hrw-ꜥ: a drink made of grapes and water (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 134). $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{⊖} \\ \text{⊖} \\ \text{⊖} \end{array} \right\} = \text{ꜣrrt}, \text{ελοολε}$. For the offering of grapes cf. I, 460; VI, 133; VII, 122. For the offering of hrw-ꜥ see I, 462; II, 70, 183; IV, 256; V, 162; VI, 132, 345; VII, 199, 283; Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara*, I, 14; II, 198; III, 175. The most interesting instance is VI, 132, a translation of which will be given with Section B of the myth.

² The precise nature of the *msntyw* has long been a matter of dispute. Maspero, *Les forgerons d'Horus et la légende de l'Horus d'Edfou* in *Bibl. Égyptol.*, II, 313 ff., called them "les forgerons". The latest treatment is by Sethe, *Die angeblichen Schmiede des Horus von Edfu* in *Z.Ä.S.*, 54, 50-4, whose view is adopted here.

³ For Horus of Behdet as the image of Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhte in Tꜣ-šmꜥ, cf. the *Beischrift* to this scene (VI, 113, 5) and also I, 10, 358, and compare Junker's remarks on the same subject in his *Die Onurislegende*, 20.

⁴ Scene 7: Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, 114-17; XIII, Pls. dxxii, dxxiii; Naville, *op. cit.*, xiv.

⁵ *dī-f ḥꜣw ḥꜣ nmt-f*: lit. "he has lengthened (or added to) his stride". Cf. also II, 34, 17-35, 1.

⁶ This phrase again in I, 358.







⁷ It is interesting to note that though the preceding actions took place in or near Edfu, they were not considered to have taken place in Egypt. When the enemy fled (northwards) from Horus they turned to Upper Egypt, hence Edfu is outside Tꜣ-šmꜥ. There can be no question here of a pursuit to the south, for the next episode in the fight takes place near Thebes, and all the present portion of the myth tells of the steady driving of Seth and his confederates from Nubia to the sea. Not until the sea has been reached does Horus retrace his steps to Nubia (p. 35) to deal with a rebellion which had apparently broken out in his absence.

and rope in his hands and (in those of) his followers, they being armed [7, 7] with arrows and ropes, and the harpooners were prepared for them. [Then] he saw them to the south-east of Thebes at a distance of¹(?) two schoenoi. Then said Rēr to Thoth: "Those foes, may he destroy (ḏdb) them!". And Thoth said to Rēr: "Therefore shall this town be called Ḍdm from this day". Then Horus of Behdet inflicted great slaughter upon them. And Rēr said: "Stop, Horus of Behdet, that <I> may see thee". Therefore is this town called Ḥt-Rr to this day, and the god who is in it is Horus-of-Behdet-Rēr-Mīn.

[7, 8] Then those foes fled before him, their faces being turned to Lower Egypt, their hearts being faint through fear of him. Horus of Behdet followed after them in this barque of Rēr, with harpoon and rope in his hands and (in those of) his followers. [7, 9] He was equipped with arrows and ropes, and the harpooners were prepared for them. Then he spent a whole day prepared for them, and he saw them on the north-east of Dendera. Then said Rēr to Thoth: "The foes are here, do thou [slaughter?] them". [7, 10] And the majesty of Rēr-Ḥarakhte said to Horus of Behdet: "Thou art my son, the exalted one who came forth from me. Do thou make the enemy weak in thy own (good) time". Then Horus of Behdet inflicted great slaughter (ḥꜣyt) upon them. And Thoth said: "The name of this town shall be called Ḥꜣ-dī-ntr, [7, 11] and men shall say of Horus of Behdet: 'He to (?) her majesty, with his face turned to the south' as the name of this god. Šnd and nbs are the names of (his) sacred tree(s)."

Then those foes fled before him, their faces being turned to Lower Egypt, from Lahūn [7, 12] to the edge of the sea,² for their hearts were faint [through fear of him]. Horus of Behdet followed after them in the barque of Rēr, with harpoon in his hands, and (in those of) his followers. He was equipped with arrows, and the harpooners were prepared for them. [7, 13] He spent four days and four nights sailing after them and they saw not one of those foes, whether crocodile or hippopotamus, in the water before him. And then (at last) he saw them.


Then Rēr said³ Ḥebenu, Winged Disk, great god, lord of heaven: [7, 14] "Repulse (ḥnb) them from the bank of Ḥebenu".⁴ And he hurled his lance at them and overthrew them. He inflicted great slaughter upon them and brought 142 of the enemy before the barque [of Rēr] male hippopotamus [7, 15] who was in the midst of those foes. He killed them with his knife, and gave their intestines to those who were in his train, and their flesh to every god and goddess who was in this barque of Rēr by the bank of Ḥebenu. Rēr said to Thoth: "O see⁵ [7, 16] Horus of Behdet in his image on those foes. Lo! he has smitten them. He has opened his [mouth] against the male hippopotamus which is in their midst, and has smitten him⁶ while (standing) on his back." Thoth said to Rēr: "Therefore shall Horus be called 'Winged Disk, great god, [7, 17] who slays the enemy, pre-eminent in Ḥebenu' from this day. And the name of

¹ : I can offer no certain transliteration for this sign. In some other places, e.g., VI, 124. 1, the sign closely resembles . The rendering given here, which seems to be demanded by the context, is a pure guess. For  as *itrw*, cf. such writings as    (Wb. d. aeg. Spr., I, 147).

² Roeder (*Rel. Urk.*, 125) substitutes "canal" for Lahūn and takes *phw wꜣd-ur* to be some marshes called *Wꜣd-ur* situated near Dendera (cf. Wb. d. aeg. Spr., I, 269). The same phrase, however, is repeated in almost identical terms in VI, 118. 1 (see p. 31 below) after the fighting at Hebenu, and since in this latter case there can be no possible question of Dendera it seems better to take the present instance in the same way. For *ḥnt* "canal" cf. VI, 123. 1 = p. 33.

³ In the lacuna one would expect some such phrase as ["to Horus of Behdet, lord of] Ḥebenu", but the very damaged traces do not agree with such a restoration.

⁴ Read *ḥr wdb n Ḥbnw*.

⁵ For the particle  see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 250; Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2nd ed.), § 361; Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, § 245.

⁶ *ir-n-f iḥt r-f*. This usage of *ir iḥt* does not occur in the *Wörterbuch*, but the general sense of the passage is quite clear. *Ir r* in the sense of "to do evil against some one" is, of course, well established. In VI, 127. 12 (see below p. 34) *ir iḥt* followed by *n* has the general sense of "to make a meal for some one": cf. also III, 125. 14.

the priest of this god shall be called Hri-s¹ because of this from this day.” Now all these events took place in the district of Hebenu in (an area of) 342 rods to the south, north, west, and east.

[8, 10]² Then those foes swam before him, with their faces turned towards Lahūn in order to reach the sea by going northwards, for [Horus?] . . . in their hearts. And they fled, and turned back from the water and betook themselves to the waters of the western Mrt.³ They reached the waters of the nome of Mrt, and that company of Seth which is in this town. And Horus of Behdet swam after them equipped with all his weapons for fighting them. [8, 11] Horus of Behdet sailed downstream in this barque of Rēr together with the great god who is in his barque and the gods who were in his train. He sailed after them (the enemies) very rapidly. Then he spent a day and a night sailing downstream seeking for them, but without seeing them, for he did not know the place in which they were. He reached Pr-rhḥwy.⁴

Then the majesty of Rēr said to Horus of Behdet: “Lo! those enemies, they have reached the western waters of the nome of Mrt, to that company of Seth [8, 12] which is in this town, to the place in which (?)”⁵ Then Thoth said to Rēr: “Therefore shall the nome of Mrt be called Wsb-wst from this day, and the water that is in it shall be called Dmīṭ”.

Then Horus of Behdet said to his father Rēr: “Let this thy barque be sent against them that I may do what Rēr desires among them”. And all was done as he wished. Then he reached them in the western waters in this town. Then he saw them on the southern bank of the nome of Mrt at a distance of (?) a schoenus.

[8, 13] Horus of Behdet together with his followers, equipped with all weapons of warfare, went in against them, and he inflicted great slaughter upon them. He brought away 381 captives and slew them before the barque of Rēr. [8, 14] He gave each one of them to each one of his followers. Then Seth emitted a fearsome roar, uttering a cry at this which Horus of Behdet had [done] in slaughtering the enemy. Rēr said to Thoth: “What mean these cries of Nhḥ-hr who protests loudly at this which [8, 15] Horus of Behdet has done against him?” Thoth [said] to Rēr: “It shall be called from this day ‘The place of savage (nhḥḥ) cries’ because of this”.

Thereupon Horus of Behdet waged warfare with the enemy for a (considerable) time. He threw his spear at him, and overthrew him on the ground⁶ in this town, [8, 16] and it is called Pr-rhḥwy to this day.

Then came Horus of Behdet bringing the enemy, his collar⁷ (?) being at his throat and his rope



¹ Hri-s: written with the figure of a man standing on the back of a bull and stabbing downwards with a spear. In view of the context hri-s is probably the correct transliteration (cf. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, 1376). Another possibility, but hardly so likely in the present instance, is dwnti: cf. Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, 37 for this reading, and for further information about Hebenu.






² Scene 8: Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, 118–20; XIII, Pls. dxxiv, dxxv; Naville, *op. cit.*, xv.

³ Mrt: capital of the nineteenth (Oxyrhynchite) nome of Upper Egypt: cf. Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géog.*, III, 53.

⁴ Pr-rhḥwy: cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, II, 167.

⁵ Brugsch translates, “an der Stelle wo die Spitze unseres Szepterstockes ist”. The passage is obviously intended as an explanation of the name of Wsb-wst (cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, I, 175), but I have failed to grasp its exact meaning. Brugsch’s rendering, in any case, does not entirely agree with the hieroglyphic text.

⁶ Chassinat (VI, 119. 8) gives  here. The original is badly damaged (cf. the photograph XIII, Pl. dxxiv) and one wonders whether the original reading could not have been , a writing of sṯw, (cf. the variants given in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 423). In the photograph the sign behind the bird’s head does not suit Δ very well. Sṯw seems an obvious emendation, and I have translated accordingly.

⁷ , kh: the Ptolemaic form of the Late Egyptian   . According to *Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, v, 66 it is a “hölzerne Klammer ö. a. am Halse des Gefangenen”. The word occurs in Harris 500, vs., 2, 5; 2, 13; 3, 4, and has been translated by Goodwin (*Trans. S.B.A.*, 3, 347) as “collar”; and by Peet (*Journal*, 11, 226) as “handcuffs” (Harris 500, vs., 2, 5; 2, 13), and “stocks” (Harris 500, vs., 3, 4). In Pap. Ch. Beatty I, rt., 15, 12, Isis is told to bring Seth bound fast, m khw, and as a prisoner, and Gardiner (*The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, p. 26) translates “bonds”. The determinative in all these cases is , and the kh must clearly

(binding) both his hands, and the staff of Horus fell to close his mouth. He brought him before [his] father. Then said Rēc: "O Horus, Winged Disk, [8, 17] how great is this fury (dndn) which thou hast manifested, thou hast purified this town". And Rēc said to Thoth: "Therefore shall the palace of Horus of Behdet be called 'The pure place' from this day, and therefore shall the name of the priest be called 'Great of fury' (wr dndn) from this day". [8, 18] Then said Rēc to Thoth: "Let the company of Seth be given to Isis and her son Horus that they may do whatever their hearts desire with them, for she stood fast with her son Horus, and their spears were (turned) against him in the strife in this town". And the sacred lake is called "The Lake of Combat" [8, 19] to this day.

Then Horus son of Isis cut off the heads of his enemy and his confederates before his father Rēc and the whole great Ennead. He dragged him by his feet in his district and thrust his spear into his head and back. And Rēc said to Thoth: [8, 20] "Behold the son of Osiris has dragged out (itḥ) the Rager from his districts". And Thoth said: "Therefore shall the name of his district be called 'Itḥ from this day'. And Isis the divine said to her father Rēc: "Let the Winged Disk be given as a protection for my son Horus, for he has cut off the heads of the enemy and his confederates".

[9, 7]¹ Then Horus of Behdet and Horus son of Isis slew that craven foe and his confederates and those enemies when he reached them <in> the western waters of this town. Horus of Behdet was like a man of proved valour,² with the head of a falcon, crowned with the white crown, the red crown and the double plumes, with the two uraei on his head, his back being that of a falcon, and his spear and rope being in his hands. Horus son of Isis transformed himself after the same manner that Horus of Behdet had assumed [9, 8] before him. They slew the enemy together on the west of Pr-rḥḥwy on the edge of the water. And this god sails on this his lake to this day, (this day) on which those foes reached (dmi) it. Now all these things took place on Tobi 7. Then Thoth said: "Therefore shall this town be called 'The town of slaughter' from this day, and the water that is in it shall be called Dmi [9, 9], and Tobi 7 shall be called 'The feast of rowing' from this day".

Then Seth turned himself into a roaring serpent and entered the ground in this town, and was seen no more. Rēc said: "Be³ has turned himself into a roaring serpent. Put Horus son of Isis as a staff in its upper end⁴ to prevent him from ever coming forth". [9, 10] Then said Thoth: "The name of the serpent⁵ in this town shall be called 'The roarer' from this day, and Horus son of Isis is the falcon-headed spear in its upper end, and he is here in this place with his mother Isis". And all these things came to pass.

The barque of Rēc moored at the town of Pr-rḥ. [9, 11] Its prow was of ỉm and its stern of šnd, and they are sacred trees to this day. Horus of Behdet went to the barque of Rēc after the completion of the journey, and Rēc said to Thoth: "Lo! thou art . . . rowing. The barque of Horus of Behdet shall be called 'Lord of rowing' from this day." [9, 12] Therefore all these things are done in this place to this day.

be a wooden object used in securing prisoners. The instance in the Horus Myth shows that it was used at the neck, and hence "bonds", "handcuffs", or "stocks" seem hardly suitable translations. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the *kḥ* was some sort of collar or *cangue* such as is used on prisoners in China. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that no such appliance seems to be found on the monuments, and Dr. Nelson informs me that he has observed nothing of the sort in the representations of prisoners at Medinet Habu or Karnak.

¹ Scene 9: Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, 121-2; XIII, Pls. dxxvi, dxxvii; Naville, *op. cit.*, xvi.

² \int : *kms pḥti*? This phrase does not occur in the *Wörterbuch*. Possibly it is derived from *kms* "to beat metal".

³ Be, a name of Seth: cf. *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 410; Mariette, *Dendera*, III, 72; Dümichen, *Geog. Inschr.*, I, lxxx; III, xcii; IV, cxvii.

⁴ Read *m mdw m gs-f ḥri*.

⁵ , *s3-t3*.

Then said Rēc to Horus of Beḥdet: "Lo! we have fought with the company <of Seth> and it is exhausted¹ (?) and its strength likewise, and the company of Seth (now) swims (away). Would that we might go northwards after [them]" Then the Winged Disk said: "All that thou commandest shall come to pass, [9, 13] O Rēc, Lord of the gods. Let this thy barque be sent against them to whatsoever place they may go, and I will do what Rēc desires with them". And it was done according to all that he had said. Then the Winged Disk boarded the barque of Rēc which was on the stream his . . . , his spear (?) and all ropes for fighting. [9, 14] Then he saw one of the enemy with him in the same place, and he threw his lance at him immediately, and brought him at once and slew him before Rēc. (Thus) he brought it (the fight) to an end: there were no Be, there were no in this place at that time.²

[10, 1]³ Thoth said: "This place which Horus of Beḥdet has made because of them shall be called St-ḏb-ī".⁴ Then he spent six days and six nights moored on its waters without seeing one of them. Then he saw them overthrown in the canal, and he prepared this place as St-ḏb-ī, it being by the water's edge, and it faced south. [10, 2] All rites are performed for Horus of Beḥdet on Thoth 1, Tobi 7 and Mechir 21 and 24:—these are the festivals in St-ḏb-ī on the southern side of Neref.⁵

He moored his barque (in order to act) against them as one who watches as a king over the great god who is in Neref, in this place, driving off the Enemy and his company when he comes by night from the district of Mr on the west of this place. [10, 3] Horus of Beḥdet was as a man of proved valour, with the face of a falcon, crowned with the white crown, the red crown, the double plumes and the double crown, the two uraei being on his head, and his arms were strong while bearing his spear, while slaying the hippopotamus of red jasper⁶ which was in the desert with him. And Rēc said to Thoth: "Lo! Horus of Beḥdet is the lord of combat who slays his foreign (foes) daily". And Thoth said to Rēc: "Therefore the priest of this god shall be called 'Lord of combat' from this day".

[10, 4] Thereupon Isis performed all the magic spells for driving back Be from Neref in this place, and Thoth said: "Therefore shall the songstress of this god be called 'Mistress of Magic'". And Thoth said to Rēc: "How happy is this place now that thou retest within it as one who watches as king over the great god who is in Neref, at a distance of (?) four schoenoi". [10, 5] And Thoth said: "Therefore the name of the palace in this place shall be called 'The happy place' from this day. It is on the south-west of Ncr⁷ at a distance of (?) four schoenoi".


Then Rēc said to Horus of Beḥdet: "Hast thou searched (ḥḥ) these waters for the enemies?". And Thoth said: [10, 6] "The name of the sacred lake in this place shall be called 'Waters of Seeking'" (mw ḥḥ). Then Rēc said: "How numerous are thy boats, O Horus of Beḥdet, on the lake (dmīṭ) [in this place]". And Thoth said: "The name of [the boat] of [this] god shall be called 'Great [of Terror]',⁸ and the name of this water shall be called Dmīṭ". [10, 7] As for St-ḏb-ī, it lies on the water's edge: the name of its palace is "The happy place", "Lord of Combat" is the name of the priest, ["Mistress of Magic"] is the name of the songstress, "Waters of Seeking"

¹  = wšr?

² Brugsch's translation: "Da war [der Kampf] beendet und kein [Feind war mehr] an dieser Stelle von Minute an" does not accord perfectly with what is still visible of these damaged phrases.

³ Scene 10: Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 122-6; XIII, Pls. dxxviii, dxxix; Naville, *op. cit.*, xvii.


⁴ *St-ḏb-ī*: "The place which I have desired"? cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, v, 69, where references to the many variants of the name are given. Naville (*Z.Ä.S.*, 8, 123-8) considered that *St-ḏb-ī* was specially connected with Horus and Isis, while Neref, to which *St-ḏb-ī* was obviously very close, was connected with Osiris.

⁵ : Neref, the necropolis of Abusir el-Meleḳ (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 916; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, III, 66-7).

⁶ *Ḥnm*: red jasper, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, I (Leipzig, 1911), 41*, n. 10 = Koller, 4, 2. Seth is also called a red hippopotamus (*ḥb*—or *db*—*dšr*) in other parts of the myth, e.g., vi, 216. 2; 217. 3, 9.


⁷ *Ncr*: the twentieth nome of Upper Egypt, the nome of Heracleopolis (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 208; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, III, 71).

⁸ Restore *wr* [*nrw*] from vi, 124. 6.


heaven, who overthrows the enemy in the east in the course of [every] day. Adoration of this [god]. Utterance. Hail to thee, Morning Star! Hail to thee, Horus! Hail to thee, Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of heaven! [12, 5] Thou overthrowest Apopis and the enemies [on] the east of heaven, in heaven, earth, water, and the mountains, and they shall never raise their heads. Thou overthrowest all the enemies of the Son of Rēc  in heaven, earth, water, and the mountains.

As for [on] the west of Pwenet, who rises in the evening on the west of heaven, and whose rays pervade the Two Lands, [12, 6] he is Horus of Behdet, he is called "The Lone Star"¹ and men see by his beauty. Adoration of this god. Utterance. Hail to thee, Lone Star, thou star on the west of Pwenet! [Hail to thee] Horus, who strides (?) (twn·f). Hail to thee, Horus of Beh[det], thou living and great one, who camest forth from the Nūn. Thou overthrowest Apopis and the enemy on the east of heaven, in heaven, earth, water, and the mountains, [12, 7] and they shall never raise themselves (n twn·sn r nhḥ). May thy fair face be kindly to the Son of Rēc, Ptolemy, who lives for ever, beloved of Ptah.

As for the Winged Beetle which is on the shrines of all the gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, he is Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of heaven, who overthrows [A]popis and the enemies and foes and the evil council in their ways. The living and the dead [12, 8] are inscribed with his name, as is done for his father Rēc-Ḥarakhte to this day.

The king shall act (?) on the day on which trouble and strife occur. A winged beetle in writing shall be made on his breast when he sees trouble, just as Rēc-Ḥarakhte did [when he saw] the trouble of the Son of Rēc , its face being that of a falcon, <its> lips those of a vulture, [12, 9] and its body that of a beetle. Be ye far from him, O ye foes, ye evil council, ye men, gods, spirits, and dead, Apopis, thou foe of the Son of Rēc, Ptolemy, who lives for ever, beloved of Ptah. He is the god's avenger (?) who came forth from Behdet, and Horus of Behdet is his name. Be ye far from him, O ye who are in the train of Rēc, ye who are in the train of Shu, ye who are in the train of Gēb, [12, 10] ye who are in the train of Horus, ye who are in the train of Seth! The Son of Rēc, Ptolemy who lives for ever, beloved of Ptah, he is the god's avenger (?), who came forth from Behdet, and Horus of Behdet is his name (4 times). Then shall the king himself say: "I am the god's avenger (?) who came forth from Behdet, and Horus of Behdet is my name" (4 times).

Let this utterance be recited when trouble occurs, [12, 11] and the king shall not be afraid, but his foes will be slain before him, and his heart will rejoice over them immediately, and (each) one will slay his fellow immediately, as befell the enemies of Rēc-Ḥarakhte when Horus of Behdet [flew] against them as the great Winged Disk. This image shall be made with the face of the king to this day.

¹ * , sbꜣ-wrti: cf. Pyr., 251, b; Wb. d. aeg. Spr., IV, 82. In this case it is clearly the Evening Star.

STUDIES IN THE EGYPTIAN MEDICAL TEXTS—V


By WARREN R. DAWSON

(Continued from *Journal*, 20, 185-8)

21. The plant " "

THIS drug, with many variations of spelling, is frequent in the medical texts. It occurs as follows:¹

External Uses

For the scalp ( of *m.*), H 2. 1 (17) = E 86. 15 (712).

For the eyes (ditto), E 60. 14-15 (384).

For the teeth (ditto), E 89. 2 (739).

For the belly (for "heat"), E 35. 4 (175); H 1. 7 (8).

As contraceptive (fumigation), B *verso* 1. 1 (192).





To make hair grow, E 67. 2 (472).

To quiet the nerves, H 8. 8 (105); H 8. 10 (108).

To ease the muscles, H 15. 10 (230).

For the bones, H 15. 5 (226).

For swellings in the feet, B 11. 1 (125).


For the anus or rectum, Ch. B., vi, *recto*, 5. 4; 6. 13a (6. 7 has   "  " .

For thirst, Ch. B., xv, *recto*, 7.








For pain in the right side, E 90. 12 (759).

For the womb, E 96. 6 (820).

For swellings, E 30. 3 (129); E 74. 9 (572); E 75. 1 (582).



For wounds () , E 30. 4 (130).

For aphrodisiac (anoint phallus), Ch. B., x, *recto*, 1.

For various unidentified diseases:     , E 25. 21 (109);    , E 79. 2 (625);
E 75. 1 (582).


Internal Uses

For "influence" in the belly, E 35. 1 (173); E 35. 3 (174); E 45. 15 (231).


For   of the belly, E 54. 13 (322).










For the breast (), B 9. 11 (115).

For the bladder, H 5. 5 (70).

For the pubic region (), H 7. 10 (88).

For the rectum, H 7. 13 (93).

For the stomach () , E 41. 1, 3 (215).

For various uses: cough (), E 54. 5 (318); for    and    , E 27. 17 (125); drink for   , B 20. 5 (186).

¹ *Abbreviations.* The letters B, E, H, and L refer respectively to the Berlin, Ebers, Hearst, and London Medical Papyri, and the numbers in brackets to the sections into which the text is divided in Wreszinski's edition of these texts (*Die Medizin der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1909-13). Ed. S. = the Edwin Smith Papyrus (ed. J. H. Breasted, Chicago, 1930); Ch. B. = the Chester Beatty Papyri; CC. = the Coptic Medical Papyrus of Cairo (ed. E. Chassinat, Cairo, 1921).

The determinative is always $\overset{\circ}{\text{𐀀}}$ (or 𐀀𐀀), showing that the seeds only were used, from which a powder or meal ($\overset{\circ}{\text{𐀀}}$) was sometimes made. These seeds were an article of commerce, kept in granaries with other vegetables and cereals (Anastasi iv, 18. 11 = Lansing, 11. 5). The word, however, does not occur in the lists in the Great Harris Papyrus nor in the list of marketable products carried by the Eloquent Peasant. The word occurs as early as the Old Kingdom, for "two sacks of *mm*" are mentioned in the Tomb of Ptahshepses (P. Montet, *Scènes de la Vie privée*, p. 132, n. 1).

The word *mm* is probably Nubian, as it occurs in the Famine Stela (l. 17), just as its homophone, 𐀀𐀀𐀀 "𐀀", "giraffe", is the name of a typically Nubian animal.

Brugsch (*Z.Ä.S.*, 29, 1891, 27) identifies *mm* with Ethiopian Cumin, which is referred to by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xix, 47) as a kind distinct from that of Greece and Egypt, *i.e.* 𐀀𐀀𐀀 . He speaks of Ethiopian Cumin as especially good for jaundice (xx, 57). Pliny also speaks of a plant called ἀμμυ by the Greeks, which is Ethiopian Cumin (see also Dioscorides, *De Mat. Med.*, iii, 70, and Oribasius, *De Simplicibus*, s.v. ἀμμυ). This plant is the *Ammi majus*, L., "Bullwort", or *A. visnaga*, Lam., "Spanish Toothpick". Like Cumin, which it resembles, *Ammi* is an umbelliferous plant, but is scentless and almost tasteless. The seeds, however, are aromatic, like those of cumin, dill, caraway and other plants of the umbelliferous order. According to Pliny it is this plant that is referred to by Hippocrates (*De Humoribus*, iv) as Royal Cumin, because it is more efficacious than the common Cumin of Egypt. Ibn al-Beithar treats of this plant in his Book of Simples, s.v. ناتخواء (ed. L. Leclerc, Vol. iii, No. 2202, p. 355). The plant is often called ἀμμυ κοπτικόν by the Greeks, and κύμνον αἰθιοπικόν is used for magical purposes in the Paris Magical Papyrus, 30, *recto*, 2707-8.

The above indications seem to suggest the identification of *mm* with one or more species of the genus *Ammi*. It seems not improbable that the Greek ἀμμυ (manifestly a foreign word) may have been derived from the vocalization of a Nubian word such as **mami*, by metathesis, just as the Assyrian word *muskanu* was adopted by the Greeks as *σνκάμνος*, and *namtarira* as μανδράγορα (R. Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, 190).

22. The Plant 𐀀𐀀𐀀

This plant, written also 𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀 , 𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀 , 𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀 , etc., with det. 𐀀 , but more often $\overset{\circ}{\text{𐀀}}$, is an economic plant kept in granaries (Anastasi iv, 8. 11 = Lansing, 11. 5). Its medicinal uses are as follows:

External Uses

For swellings (*šfw*), B 11. 4 (134), no det.; H 15. 17 (236); E 75. 9 (588) = H 9. 10 (132); for ditto of toes, H 13. 8 (201).

For wounds, E 70. 7 (519), *prt*; to promote suppuration, E 104. 11 (858c), *prt*; for boil or abscess on neck, E 105. 6 (860c).

For joints and muscles, H 8. 18 (121) = E 85. 11 (693); E 77. 6 (608), *prt*; E 77. 13 (610), *prt*; E 79. 9 (630), *prt*; E 82. 12 (657) = H 7. 15 (94), *prt*; E 83. 11 (666) *prt*.

For pain in foot, E 78. 2 (615), *prt*.

For "eating blood", E 87. 20 (723), *prt*.

For "influence", E 46. 23 (245) = H 5. 11 (73), $\overset{\circ}{\text{𐀀}}$.


For 𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀 𐀀 , B 5. 6 (55), *prt*; for 𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀 $\overset{\circ}{\text{𐀀}}$, H 11.11 (169); for 𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀 $\overset{\circ}{\text{𐀀}}$, B 5. 8, (57).

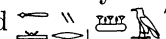
Internal Uses

For cough, B 3. 7 (32); B 4. 4 (44).

For pain in breast (*šnbt*), H 2. 16 (30), *prt*.

For pain in belly, E 2a. 9 (4) = H 4. 6 (53).

For "influence", B 9. 11 (115), det. ; H 7. 1 (83); H 7. 8 (86); H 7. 9 (87); E 34. 12 (168); E 35. 12 (182) = H 1. 16 (16), *prt*; E 46. 1 (237).

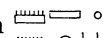

This plant has been usually identified with the Lentil, but in the list of granary stores in Anastasi iv, the word  (a Semiticized word whence the Coptic $\alpha\rho\psi\iota\iota\iota$ is derived) also occurs. As *cršn* is known to be Lentil, another similar plant must be intended by *thwy*. It seems highly probable that a kind of Pea is meant, *Pisum arvense* or *P. sativum*. Specimens of both were found in the Roman cemetery of Hawāra (P. E. Newberry in Petrie, *Hawara*, 49). Probably the latter species, the $\pi\lambda\omicron\sigma$ of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.*, viii, 1. 4; 2. 3; 3. 1; 5. 2; 8. 10), is the more likely of the two. Specimens of two species of *Pisum* were identified amongst the plant remains at Illahun (P. E. Newberry in Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 50). All the ancient specimens were much smaller than those of the present day, which shows that the art of cultivation was less advanced than it now is. Ibn al-Beithar, *s.v.* بسيلة (ed. Leclerc, Vol. i, No. 287, p. 227), says that this pea is preferred by the Egyptians to the other kind, called جبان (No. 495, p. 358). Leclerc identifies the former with *Pisum arvense*.

23. The Mineral

The medicinal uses of this drug are all external:

For the scalp (? herpes), E 65. 4 (448); CC 320 (164).

For muscles and joints, H 8. 8 (104); H 9. 4 (124) = E 82. 5 (655); H 15. 9 (229); E 77. 12 (610); E 80. 5 (637); E 80. 10 (640).

Reference was made to this drug in the note on  (above, § 20). It is sometimes written in error . It was believed by Brugsch to be Coriander seed (*Wb.*, ii, 489) and the same opinion was at first entertained by V. Loret (*Rec. de Trav.*, 7, 111), though he afterwards changed his view in favour of Juniper berries (*Journ. Asiatique*, Sér. 8, x, 120; *Flore Pharaonique*, 2nd ed., 41). W. Wreszinski adhered to the rendering Coriander (*Lond. Med. Pap.* . . ., 93 and elsewhere), and this meaning was also retained by Budge (*Eg. Dict.*, 243, b).

The substance, however, is clearly a mineral, and its identity with Minium (red oxide of lead, Pb_3O_4) is placed beyond all doubt by its occurrence in the London-Leiden Magical Papyrus, where it is used of the red colouring matter in lamps (see ed. Griffith-Thompson, i, 44 note). The word has survived in Coptic as $\pi\eta\rho\psi$ (S.) and $\phi\eta\rho\psi$ (B.). It occurs in the Coptic Medical Papyrus quoted above in a remedy for Herpes (see Chassinat's note, *Un Pap. Méd. Copte*, 281). Cf. also Jeremiah xxii. 14, where the LXX has $\mu\lambda\tau\omicron\sigma$, and this is equated with Minium by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 38).

24. The affection called

This word, which frequently occurs in the medical texts, I have translated in the foregoing notes and elsewhere as "influence", and this rendering requires justification. As the transliteration of this word forms the awkward group *cr*, I will refer to it by the symbol Ω .

The word Ω makes the point of contact between medicine and magic. It was envisaged as some evil secretion injected into the body of the patient by a god or a demon, and its

effect was to cause suffering. It is certain that Ω was not a specific disease, but was used to express illnesses of a vague and perplexing kind which could not be located in any particular organ and which had no external manifestation. Such affections as "stomach-ache", acute or suffused pain, vertigo, debility or nausea would be considered by the Egyptians as resulting from the presence of Ω in the patient's body. In many cases the Ω is definitely stated to be that of "a god or a goddess, a dead man or a dead woman, a male enemy, a female enemy", etc.—a familiar formula. Sometimes, however, the Ω of a particular god is named, *e.g.* Horus (L 13. 4 [38]). Ω is used in parallelism with $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, "poison", in Leiden Pap., I, 348, *verso*, 6. 6, thereby indicating its harmful nature, and in parallelism with $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ "magic" in Ebers, 34. 10 (168). The injection of semen into a patient by a demon is indicated in Toronto Ostrakon, C. 1 (line 6). The word Ω is used in the physical sense of semen in Pap. Bremner-Rhind, 28. 27, and also, according to *Wörterbuch*, I, 166, in the texts of the Tombs of the Kings (Litany, 44).

The treatment of Ω is nearly always by internal medicines, with the intention of killing the "influence" or causing the patient to void it by natural means. In Berlin Med. Pap., 5. 9 (58) and the seven alternative remedies that follow, the Ω is treated by fumigation. If any part of the body is named as being the seat of the Ω , it is always the general term $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ "belly", "abdomen", or $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ "breast", "thorax". Ω is never spoken of as being seated in the head, the limbs, or in any specifically named organ.

The foregoing remarks are my justification for using the word "influence" as the translation of Ω . I cannot think of any single word that better expresses its nature.



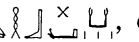
For the sake of completeness, I give below all the instances of Ω in the medical papyri: E 19. 17 (62); E 24. 14 (99); E 31. 6 (138); E 34. 10 (168), "to drive out magic and Ω of a god or a dead man from the belly of a person", followed by six alternative remedies; E 44. 13 (221) = H 6. 11 (79); E 44. 15 (222) = H 6. 12 (80); E 44. 17 (223) = H. 6 14 (81); E 44. 19 (224) = H 6. 15 (82); E 44. 22 (225) = H 6. 16 (83); E 45. 4 (226) = H 7. 2 (84); E 45. 6 (227); E 45. 9 (228); E 45. 10 (229); E 45. 14 (231); E 45. 16 (232); E 45. 23 (236); E 46. 1 (237); E 46. 2 (238); E 46. 4-8 (239-240); E 48. 8 (241), an external remedy ending with "apply it thereto", but no part of the body is named, and $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ must evidently be understood; B 5. 9 (58) and seven alternatives following, all fumigations; B 9. 10 (114) and two alternatives; B 21. 1 (189), a spell; L 13. 3 (38), also a spell.

THE GOD NEḤEBKAU

By ALAN W. SHORTER

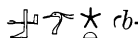

SOME time ago, when describing two statuettes of Sakhmet or Bastet for the *Journal*, my attention was drawn to the representations of serpent-demons which often adorn the thrones of these goddesses. In particular I became interested in Neḥebkau, who appears to be one of the demons there depicted, and was surprised to find how little is said about him in standard books on the Egyptian religion. The following paper attempts to collect the available information concerning him, and to determine his true character.

The Name

Full writing  *Nḥbw-kꜣw*; other writings , , etc. The expression *nḥb kꜣw* is explained by the *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.* (II, 291) as literally “to make the kas *nḥb*”, the meaning being “to appoint positions” (*Würden verleihen o. ä.*); when the word *kꜣw* has a pronominal suffix added, then the meaning is “to make so-and-so’s kas *nḥb*”, *i.e.* “to bestow dignities upon so-and-so”.¹ In certain passages² of the *Pyramid Texts* the glorified king is said to perform this action in regard to gods and spirits, where the antithesis of *nḥb* appears to be *nḥm* “to take away”. Thus the epithet *Nḥbw-kꜣw* would mean “bestower of dignities”, “he who appoints the positions”, *i.e.* of the gods and of the dead, and we must abandon former suggested renderings which give it a sinister meaning, such as “qui subjugue les kas”,³ or “the Overtuner of Doubles”.⁴

Iconography

The god appears in the following forms:

(1) As a serpent. The one descriptive passage in the *Pyramid Texts* (§ 1146, see below), in which he is said to possess “numerous coils”, and to be a “snake” (*ḥfꜣw*), does not indicate the species to which he was supposed to belong, but other evidence suggests that he was not, at all events originally, an *uraeus*. In the *Book of Am Duat* he is represented in pictorial form in the Fourth Division, the kingdom of Sokar (Fig. 1).⁵ Here we see Neḥebkau in the form of a huge serpent which has two heads on separate necks, its tail also ending in a head. The latter head is grasped by a god in human form who is called  *cb-Dst*, who holds a curious staff with curled end in his other hand. The serpent is stated to be  and the descriptive text⁶ above him reads: *He is in this fashion at his abode of the water-*

¹ See Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegypt. Mysteryspielen*, 63, for this and also for the meaning of *kꜣw*, *ḥmꜣswt*, etc. For examples demonstrating this use of *nḥb* see also *Journal*, 16, 197, note 16, and references there quoted. I owe these references to Professor Blackman.

² §§ 311, 315, 512.

³ *E.g.*, Speleers, *Les Textes des Pyramides égyptiennes*, p. 27, etc.

⁴ *E.g.*, W. M. Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, 141.

⁵ Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, I, 79 (= Lefébure, *Tombeau de Sêti I^{er}*, Pls. xxix, xxv).

⁶ Budge, *op. cit.*, 74, 79.

flood, the holy road of Restau. He goeth (?) to every place every day, and he liveth upon the excess of his utterance¹ (??).

(2) As a serpent provided with human legs and arms. Neḥbkau is frequently found in this form among the small faience figures of deities of the Late Period;² the hands are raised to the mouth or proffer small vessels of food or drink; the trunk of the creature

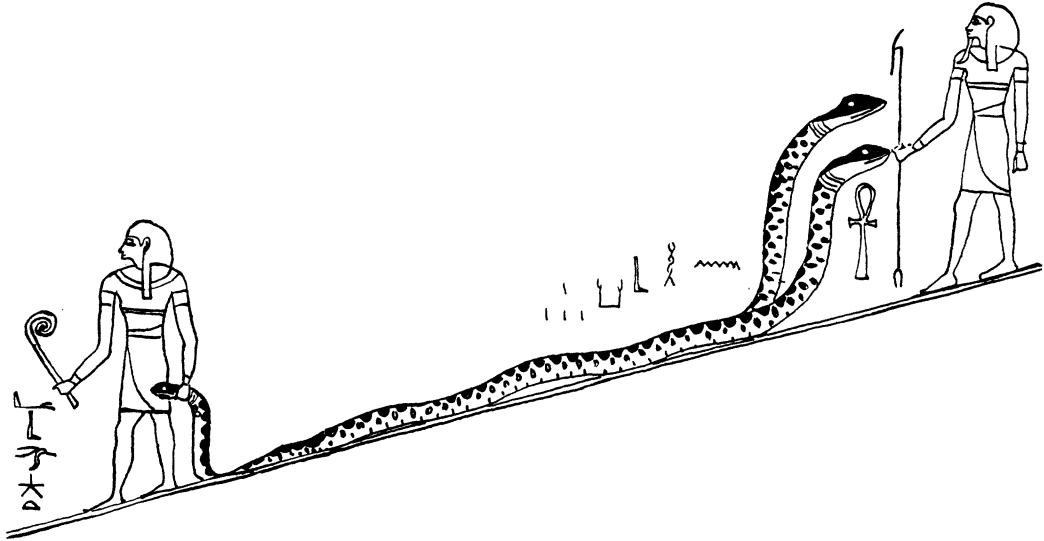


FIG. 1.

sometimes thickens into the semblance of a human or animal body. This form of Neḥbkau also occurs on the thrones of statuettes of the goddesses Sakhmet and Bastet,³ in the company of other strange serpents which resemble those depicted in the illustrations of the Underworld Books. A wooden figure in the British Museum (No. 11779) shows Neḥbkau offering an Uzat, and he appears on the Metternich stela performing the same function (Fig. 2).⁴

(3) As a man with a snake's head. An example of this form may perhaps be recognized (Fig. 3) on one of the magical wands of ivory in the British Museum (No. 18175),⁵ where



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

a snake-headed god appears kneeling and grasping a serpent in each hand. The semi-anthropomorphic form, however, is better known in statuettes, although these are somewhat rare, e.g., Nos. 11517 and 46676 in the British Museum.

¹ Var. "breath of his mouth", P. Bucher, *Les Textes des Tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, I, 25. See also Pl. iv for the scene.

² E.g., Daressy, *Statues de Divinités* (Cairo Catalogue), Pl. xliii.

³ For examples see Shorter in *Journal*, 18, 121 ff.

⁴ Golénischeff, *Die Metternichstela*, Pl. v, No. xxi.

⁵ Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, Pl. xxxvii, g.

The Evidence of the Texts

There is a number of texts in which it does not at once appear clear what deity is meant by the title Neḥebkau, and these will therefore be considered later. The following may be certainly regarded as referring to the serpent-god whom we are considering:

(1) *Pyr. Texts*, § 1146. The deceased king is identified with Neḥebkau. The parallel versions given by Sethe are:

Pepi: *He is Nehebkau of numerous coils.*

Merenrēr: *Merenrēr is a serpent (ḥꜥw) of numerous coils.*

(2) *Pyr. Texts*, § 229. This passage occurs in a spell directed against serpents which are hostile to the dead.

O thou adze of Atūm which is upon the vertebra of Neḥebkau, which brings to an end the strife in Hermopolis, fall! Perish!

(3) *Pyr. Texts*, §§ 487 ff. Neḥebkau is mentioned with Selchis as his consort.

Recitation: Homage unto thee, Horus, in the regions of Horus!

Homage unto thee, Seth, in the regions of Seth!

Homage unto thee, Iaru, in the Fields of Iaru!

Homage unto you, Wise (?) Pair,¹ (daughters of) the four gods who are in the Great House, who are come forth naked at the voice of Wenis!

Wenis has beheld you as Horus beholds Isis!

Wenis has beheld you as Neḥebkau beholds Selchis!




Wenis has beheld you as Sobk beholds Neith!

Wenis has beheld you as Seth beholds the Wise (?) Pair!

(4) *Book of Am Duat*, Fourth Division. See above p. 41.

(5) *Book of Am Duat*,² the Sun-god says:

Behold, I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to greet Osiris. O Neḥebkau in thy cavern, with lifted (?) head, great one, serpent fierce of look, behold, I pass the Impassable Place, I pass to greet Osiris.

(6) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 125, Negative Confession.³ Here he is included among the forty-two Assessors, where he is mentioned in the company of three other serpents,  Nhb-nfrt,  Dsr-tp, and  In-rf. The epithets accompanying these names vary in the different manuscripts, but the words "coming forth from his cavern", which suggest Underworld connexions, can be found applied to each in turn, including Neḥebkau himself. Of his three companions:


(a) Nhb-nfrt is not found elsewhere. The name is obviously an epithet parallel to Nhb-kꜣw, and must mean "Assigner of good" (or, with nfrt in the plural, "good things").

(b) Dsr-tp, "Splendid (or, holy) of head", appears in *Pyr. Texts*, § 401, where, together with other beings, he assists the deceased king to obtain his meal off the slaughtered gods:

It is Dsr-tp who watches them for Teti, and drives them to him.

In § 438 Dsr-tp occurs together with In-dī-f as serpents dangerous to the deceased, who are destroyed by the lynx (mꜣfdt):

Recitation: The lynx springs upon the neck of In-dī-f, she returns to (or, attacks again) the neck of Dsr-tp.

¹ The pair of goddesses named .

² H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, II, Pl. xl, 1. 12.

³ Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1910 ed.), Text, II, 136 ff.

(c) *Īn-r-f* also occurs in *Book of the Dead*, Spell 17, section 23,¹ where the gloss explains that he is “that god, secret of forms, whose eyebrows are the beams of the balance”, from whom the deceased begs the Sun-god to deliver him “on that night of reckoning with the Robber”. It seems quite possible that this name *Īn-r-f* owes its existence to a misunderstanding of the name of the serpent *Īn-dī-f* ($\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$), who occurs in *Pyr. Texts*, § 438, quoted above, which could easily have arisen if the name was ever written with $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$.

So far we have only considered those passages in the texts which refer without doubt to the serpent-deity whom we are studying, but there exists also a number of passages which speak of a being called *Neḥbkau* where it is possible to understand the name as an epithet of the Sun-god.² The most important are as follows:

(1 a) *Pyr. Texts*, § 339:

They (the gods ?) bring to him those four eldest spirits who are in front of the tresses of Horus, who stand in the east of the sky, adorned with their sceptres. They tell the beautiful name of this Wenis to Rēr, they announce this Wenis to Neḥbkau.

(2 a) *Pyr. Texts*, § 346:

Teti is summoned by Rēr, food (?—īht) is given to him by Neḥbkau as to Horus, as to the Horizon-dweller.

Further on, in § 348, the four Horuses are mentioned again, being described as *those four gods who stand upon the sceptres of the sky*. They are summoned by the king that they may tell the name of *Teti* to *Rēr*, and proclaim his name to *Horus-of-the-Horizon*, the latter god here replacing *Neḥbkau* in a formula very similar to that of § 340.

(3 a) *Pyr. Texts*, § 355:

They (the gods) call to this Pepy, they bring to this Pepy the beings with tresses of hair who stand upon their sceptres in the eastern half of the sky, and they tell the beautiful name of Pepy to Rēr, they proclaim the beautiful name of Pepy to Neḥbkau.

(4 a) *Pyr. Texts*, § 360:

Addressing the gods: *Bring to this Pepy those four brothers who pass by, beings with tresses of hair, who sit upon their sceptres in the eastern half of the sky! Tell ye then the beautiful name of this Pepy to Neḥbkau!*

(5 a) *Pyr. Texts*, § 1708:

Bring those four dwellers-in-the-region (īstyw), who sit upon their sceptres, who come forth from the east of the sky, that they may proclaim this thy beautiful praise, which thy daughter the cow has given (lit. spoken) to thee, to Neḥbkau, and Neḥbkau shall proclaim this thy beautiful praise to the two Enneads.

(6 a) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 30 (Saite):³

Homage unto you, ye gods with tresses of hair, adorned with your sceptres! Speak ye fair to Osiris N.! Hand him over to Neḥbkau! Lo, I have landed at the great western side of the sky. I shall endure upon earth, etc.

(7 a) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 30A (Theban):⁴

Homage unto you, ye gods with tresses of hair, adorned with your sceptres! Tell ye my

¹ Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, 55.

² See Grapow, *op. cit.*, Translation, p. 27, note 8; also M. Pieper, *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos*, 40.

³ Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 128.

⁴ Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 129.

excellence (or, beauty) to Rē̄r, hand me over to Neḥebkau! Lo, he (the deceased) shall land in the West, etc.

(8 a) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 17, sect. 25:¹

The deceased says: *I fly as a hawk, I have cackled as a goose, I destroy² eternity like Neḥebkau.*

(9 a) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 15:³

Addressing the Sun-god: *Thou sailest over the sky in life and well-being (?)*, Neḥebka⁴ being in the Mṛndt-barque. *Thy barque rejoices, and thy heart is glad, the two uraei shining on thy brow.*

(10 a) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 149, sect. 1:⁵

O thou district (ḫt) of the West, wherein one liveth upon food and drink. Doff your head-dresses at my approach! Lo, I am like to the Great One who is among you, who fastens together my bones and stablishes my members. I have brought Iḥy, lord of hearts. He builds up (?) my bones, and sets in place the White Crown. Atūm stablishes for me my head, Neḥebkau completes and stablishes my vertebrae! Thou rulest (or, shalt rule) among the gods, O Min the builder!

(11 a) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 149, sect. 10:⁶

O thou district (ḫt) of Kāḥu, which carriest off spirits and gainest the mastery over shadows! Ye who eat what is fresh, who spew out (?) filth upon that which your eyes see. Ye who are in your districts, cast yourselves upon your bellies until I have passed by you! My spirit shall not be carried off, my shadow shall not be mastered! I am a divine hawk; frankincense is taken out for me, incense is burnt for me, victims are cut up for me. Isis is upon me, Nephthys is behind me, and a way is prepared for me. (O) Nau, bull of Nūt!⁷ (O) Neḥebkau! I have come unto you, ye gods, that ye may deliver me, and give to me my splendour for eternity!

(12 a) *Book of the Dead*, Spell 179:⁸

. *I have come to-day. I have come forth from my creatures. I am Sps⁹ who comes forth from his date-palm. I am Nwn⁹ who comes forth from his power (sh̄m). I am the lord of the White Crown¹⁰ Neḥebkau. I am the Red One, I have protected his eye.¹¹*

(13 a) Metternich Stela:¹²

O thou cat, thy neck is the neck of Neḥebka who is in the Great House, who makes mankind to live by his arms.

The cat is "the daughter of Rē̄r", and apparently is equivalent to Isis-Selchis, and is described in the conjuration as having been stung by a scorpion.

¹ Grapow, *op. cit.*, 63.

² Egyptian *sk*; i.e., "endure", "live through"?

³ Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 5, ll. 13 ff. (Pap. of Knn̄).

⁴ It might, however, be contended that the name, with *K* in singular and serpent determinative, is a miswriting for a mere epithet *nḥb-kw*, and that we should translate "O Appointer of positions in the Mṛndt-barque", or else "in life and well-being, O Neḥebkau, in the Mṛndt-barque", the sun-god being meant in both cases.

⁵ Budge, *op. cit.*, II, 270.

⁶ Budge, *op. cit.*, II, 277-8.

⁷ Cf. *Pyr. Texts*, § 511, where Nacu has this title.

⁸ Budge, *op. cit.*, III, 90, 91.

⁹ Both these names mean "with hair awry over the brow", as a sign of mourning. See *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, sub voce. The divine name *Nwn* occurs also in the Coffin Texts.

¹⁰ I.e., Horus. See Budge, *op. cit.*, II, 204, l. 9.

¹¹ I.e., the eye of Horus. See *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, v, 489.

¹² Golénischeff, *Die Metternichstela*, Pl. II, l. 21. But N. may be dragged in here merely to make a pun on *nḥbt* "neck".

Now it may be admitted at once that the application of the epithet "appointer of positions" to the Sun-god, in his capacity of celestial king who "appoints the positions" of the gods and blessed dead who are in his following, would be very natural, and it is possible (though not certain) that the mention of Neḥbkau parallel with Rē̄r in the passages (1a-7a) quoted above from the *Pyramid Texts* is equivalent to another mention of the Sun-god himself. But on the other hand there seems to be no evidence for construing the name in these cases *merely* as an epithet of the Sun-god, for we have seen that another passage in the *Pyramid Texts* (§ 1146, taking the two versions together) quite definitely describes Neḥbkau as "a serpent of numerous coils", and other evidence demonstrates equally plainly the existence of an independent being called Neḥbkau. Moreover, although the snake-determinative \mathfrak{w} of the name is not employed at all in the *Pyramid Texts* it is very frequent indeed in the passages quoted from the *Book of the Dead* (New Kingdom), and is used even in the passage 9 a, which more especially might be understood as referring to the Sun-god. We would rather suggest therefore that in the passages quoted, if we are to assume at all that the Sun-god is meant by the name Neḥbkau, he is *identified* with the demon, whose name expresses so well the Sun-god's kingly function, and who is perhaps even regarded as a form of him, and further, that even the express application to the Sun-god (or any other deity)¹ of the epithet *nḥb-kw* would probably come to imply this. At any rate, in most of the passages collected above, it seems to be quite satisfactory to understand Neḥbkau as a distinct entity, the snake-demon himself, standing in close association with the Sun-god, and this is the view which I have adopted in drawing up, from the collected evidence, the following account of the demon.

It will be seen that only one passage certainly mentions Neḥbkau as an enemy, *i.e.*, No. 2, where he is attacked by the Sun-god Atūm. The existence of this evil role, however, is also demonstrated by his inclusion among the many fearsome deities and demons who make up the forty-two assessors of the tribunal of Osiris. But, like other ferocious deities,² he could be placated and won over as a friend, and it is mainly in this aspect that he appears in Egyptian religious texts. In the *Pyramid Texts* he would seem to have become a powerful and no doubt sinister associate of the Sun-god himself, whose good offices are solicited on behalf of the deceased king, that he may announce the latter's name and rank to Rē̄r, who will then receive him into his kingdom. In one passage the king even goes so far as to identify himself with Neḥbkau.³

This association with Rē̄r of a dangerous god as his servant makes us think of the "savage-faced messengers" with whom, in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, Osiris says the underworld abounds, and whom he threatens to send against the vacillating Ennead.⁴ It is, then, the favourable aspect of this deity as the Sun-god's attendant which was developed at the expense of his evil character, and the name given to him, "Appointer-of-positions", definitely raised him up from the lower orders of wicked demons to the entourage of Rē̄r, associated him with the four Horuses of the eastern sky, and even gave him a place in the solar barque. In this last-mentioned capacity we are reminded of the great serpent Meḥen (also not a uraeus) who protected the Sun-god during his nightly voyage through the Underworld. Henceforward Neḥbkau, as his name shows, acted for Rē̄r in assigning to the dead their ranks in the hereafter, and it was doubtless the later misunderstanding of the word

¹ See *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 291.

² *E.g.*, the serpent *Dsr-tp*, who in *Pyr. Texts*, § 438 is evidently considered to be an enemy, but who in § 401 assists the king to slaughter the gods for his meal.

³ As also with the serpent *Naꜣu*, in § 511. *Cf.* No. 11a above.



⁴ Chester Beatty Papyrus No. I, recto, 15. 5.

kꜣw in his name as “sustenance” which resulted in the representation of him as carrying vessels of food and drink. He seems to be included among the protective deities on the ivory wands, and his assistance is invoked in the magical text on the Metternich Stela. At some period of his career he had acquired, very suitably, the scorpion-goddess Selchis as his consort (see No. 3 above), and the *Book of the Dead* seems to identify or associate him with the serpent Nācu, “the bull of Nūt”.¹

There remains to be considered the connexion of Neḥebkau with the goddesses Sakhmet and Bastet. We have already mentioned his occurrence, together with other serpents which resemble those depicted in the Underworld books, on the thrones of statuettes of these goddesses. The explanation which appears to be the most probable is that, in this association of Sakhmet-Bastet with Neḥebkau and other serpent-demons, we have a reminiscence of the original character of these as enemies of the Sun-god. We know from various passages in the religious texts that the cat and the lynx (an animal of cat-like nature) were the sworn foes of these serpent-demons. In *Pyr. Texts*, § 438 (see above) the serpents *Īn-dī:f* and *Dsr-tp* are destroyed by the lynx (*mꜣfdt*);² in *Book of the Dead*, Spell 17, sect. 22, the vignette shows the serpent Apopis being slaughtered by the “male cat of Rēc”, and similar scenes appear even earlier on the magical ivory wands.³ The papyrus of Ankhefenkhonsu, a funerary work of the Late New Kingdom, refers to Sakhmet as slayer of Apopis.⁴ Sakhmet here, no doubt, acts in her capacity as the Eye of Rēc, and it is probably as such that she is conceived as the vanquisher of Neḥebkau and the other serpents represented on the sides of her throne. In a word, we are brought back to the sinister aspect which, as we have seen, Neḥebkau and his *confrères* originally had. Alternatively Neḥebkau might be associated with Sakhmet-Bastet, when identified with the Eye of Rēc, in his honourable capacity as servitor of the Sun-god. But the other explanation seems on the whole the more probable.

Additional Notes

1. A matter which remains unexplained is the connexion, if any, between the demon Neḥebkau and the New Year festival of that name. Pieper, *op. cit.*, 41, suggests that New Year’s Day, the symbol of the eternal recurrence of the year, was associated with N., who himself stood for eternity, and he recalls the phrase “I destroy (or, endure) eternity like Neḥebkau”.⁵ But this seems to be pure hypothesis.

2. Neḥebkau was revered at a place called ⁶ Gauthier⁷ suggests that this should be understood as “la ville du sistre (?)”, and that it is perhaps to be identified with Diospolis Parva () the metropolis of the Seventh Nome of Upper Egypt. There was also a temple (*h-t*) of Neḥebkau in connexion with the temple of Harsaphes at Heracleopolis, as we know from the inscription on the statue of Ḥor, son of Psammetichus, in the Louvre.⁸ It may or may not be a coincidence that, according to the same inscription, a yearly festival of the goddess Bastet was celebrated at Heracleopolis.

¹ See No. 11 *a* above.

² See also *Book of the Dead*, Spell 149, sect. 7, in which the serpent Rerek is killed by the lynx.

³ Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, Pls. xxxvi, No. 7; xxvii, *h* (B.M. 24425), *k* (B.M. 9135).

⁴ Blackman in *Journal*, 4, 126, l. 65.




⁵ Quoted above as 8 *a*.

⁶ Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 44.

⁷ *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, v, 65.

⁸ Of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Published by Pierret, *Recueil d’Inscriptions Inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, 1^{re} partie, 15–16. See also Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, 305.

3. The following references to Neḥebkau in the Chester Beatty papyri, just published, are of interest:

- (a) Chester Beatty VIII B.¹ Neḥebka () is invoked, among other deities, for the protection of the dwelling-house. He is apparently intended to prevent serpents from entering through a hole in the wall or floor.
- (b) Chester Beatty XIII.² In this fragmentary text we have a tantalizing reference to *the serpents which enter into the interior of Neḥebka* (with curious spelling [] ^(?) ).
- (c) Chester Beatty VIII B.³ In a series of invocations to Rēc-Ḥarakhte the god is hailed as Neḥebka (spelt as in a).
- (d) Chester Beatty VIII A.⁴ Neḥebka appears in association with Rēc, in a spell for protecting various parts of the human body by identification with those of divinities.

4. In the vignette of the Assessors accompanying the Negative Confession in the papyrus of Ani,⁵ Neḥebkau, *Dsr-tp* and *Nḥb-nfrt* are all represented as having the heads of serpents. That eventually Neḥebkau was sometimes confused with the *uraeus* is shown by the corresponding vignette in the papyrus of Anhai, where Neḥebkau, *Īn-ḥ-f*, *Dsr-tp*, and *Nḥb-nfrt* are all represented actually as *uraei*.⁶

5. When describing the statuettes of Sakhmet-Bastet in *Journal*, 18, 121 ff. I overlooked Cairo No. 38924.⁷ This is the lower portion of a seated statuette of Mūt-Sakhmet-Bastet, and the array of divine figures on the side of her throne very closely resembles that on Mr. Hornblower's example. See also the representation at Naples⁸ of Sakhmet grasping a serpent with a head at each end (or are two serpents intended?), and the accompanying inscription which describes her as: *Sakhmet the great, the Eye of Rēc, who subdues (wcf) the rebels.*



¹ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, I, 71.

² Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 123.

³ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 76.
















⁴ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 69.










⁵ British Museum, *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani* (1894), 32.













⁶ Budge, *Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, etc.*, Pl. 7. In the Book of the Dead, also,  often appears instead of  as determinative.


⁷ Daressy, *Statues de Divinités*, Pl. xlvi.

⁸ Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, CCCLXIII, fig. 4.

There are some further points with regard to the transcription of these late papyri where the present writer's practice may have some interest for those engaged on similar work. In the case of  as determinative of *hr* "to fall" and its causative *sbr*, I have preferred to transcribe with , which is the genetic ancestor in this case, reserving  for *fh*, *sfh*.¹  is best rendered as  in such words as *htm* "to provide", *shtm* "to destroy" and other words where it serves as a substitute for original , since late hieroglyphic usage admits of this, and there is a true hieratic equivalent of  which occurs beside it, especially in the various writings of the name of Osiris; the same remark applies to cases where it represents  *rs*, since the relationship between the hieratic sign and the hieroglyphic is clear. On the other hand, in such words as  *B.-R.*, 19, 16 and  *B.-R.*, 29, 3 the transcription of  as  should be avoided in the interests of clarity, even though hieroglyphic warrant therefor is producible, especially as this is the regular late-hieratic equivalent of  and not a substitute as in the case of  for .

A difficulty is sometimes occasioned by , which can stand both for *o* and in certain circumstances for Δ ³ (e.g.  *B.-R.*, 23, 12). Thus in the expression *nhm nmtt·k* the second word is written  *B.-R.*, 30, 1, but  24, 3. Since the correct hieroglyphic sign in this expression is  the first group should be transcribed as  but in the second instance the flesh-determinative shows that the scribe had *o* in mind, and so ,  should be written, with a note as to the sense of the group; in the group  the flesh-determinative is meaningless.

Finally, I take the present opportunity to correct a *lapsus calami* in my published transcription of the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus. The sign  is found (a) for alphabetic ; (b) in the writing of the stem *hkz*; and (c) for . In transcribing *B.-R.*, 31, 17 I have confused (a) and (c) and have written    where of course    should be read. Palaeographically either reading is possible, but here  is obviously erroneous, since it conceals the sense of the group. In the case of *hkz*, on the other hand, the writing with  rather than  is preferable, since the sense is not distorted and similar hieroglyphic writings are not unknown.

¹ But where this group is rendered with , the nature of the manuscript group should be made clear in a note, at any rate at the first occurrence.

² Here also a note as to the nature of the manuscript reading seems demanded, although in my transcription of *B.-R.* I have omitted it.

³ In such cases Δ should actually be written in transcriptions with two little parallel strokes projecting from the front leg, in order to distinguish it from the normal Δ .

TWO LETTERS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

BY C. H. ROBERTS

I

Mlle CLAIRE PRÉAUX, in her admirable study of the private letters relating to education in Egypt during the Greek period,¹ cites no document later than the third century after Christ, and, except for the text printed below,² I know of no letter of the Byzantine age that touches the subject.³ It must be admitted that our text tells us little and that what it does tell us is concerned only with the physical side of education (if that is the correct expression); but since so many of the correspondents who appear in Mlle Préaux's pages reveal themselves as model pupils,⁴ it is interesting to get a glimpse of a boy who was clearly a dunce and was apparently to be "withdrawn". How old Anastasius was, we do not know; but though the writer of the letter refers to him as *ὁ μικρός* and *παιδιον*, the boy could write Greek of a kind: his letter (perhaps still awaiting excavation somewhere) was preserved as a curiosity—a fact of some significance when we reflect that the standard of accuracy and elegance demanded of letter-writers was none too high. It is just possible that he was apprenticed to a trade and was not studying, but the terms in which the writer describes Anastasius' failings are more apt if the boy was attempting to improve his *ματαία φρόνησις* by some kind of study: moreover the informal way in which the writer intends to "withdraw" him and the absence of any mention of a contract make it unlikely that he was apprenticed. That the writer of the letter was Anastasius' father is in itself probable and need not be ruled out because he speaks of himself in the third person in l. 29. Not only is he indebted to his correspondent for the boy's keep or instruction, but he writes with a close knowledge of the boy, and while admitting his faults (though vigorously rebutting the suggestion that there was anything more wrong with the boy than stupidity) speaks of him with a note of paternal pride and affection and carefully preserves the letter Anastasius wrote him. There is a touch of humour all through the second part of the letter,⁵ although the humour of ll. 28–32 may have been lost on the victim: indeed the writer may even claim, on the strength of l. 32, the rare distinction of having committed a joke, and how difficult that is may be seen from Dr. Winter's recent discussion of the subject.⁶

The letter is written across the fibres, in a large, firm hand with elongated strokes and a pronounced slope to the right, and may be assigned to the sixth century, perhaps to the first half of it; the upper margin and probably the opening lines are missing, though it is unlikely that much has been lost, and the papyrus is slightly damaged on the right-hand side. The *verso* is blank.

¹ *Lettres privées grecques d'Égypte relatives à l'éducation* in *Rev. belge*, 8 (1929).

² I have to thank Dr. W. Schubart for permission to publish this and the other text, and also for all his accustomed kindness and expert assistance in reading over my transcripts with me.

³ In P. Cair. Masp. 67295, *ἀντιρρητικοὶ λίβελλοι* addressed by Horapollon, son of a professor of philosophy at Alexandria, to a village *riparius*, there are some interesting references to higher education in Alexandria in the late fifth century after Christ.

⁴ Cf. e.g. SB. 6262 (= Bell, *Some Private Letters of the Roman Period* in *Rev. Eg.*, 1, 200–3), P. Giss., 1, 85, with Mlle Préaux's comment, *op. cit.*, 780.

⁵ A translation of the second half of the letter—ll. 18 to end—was published, without text, by Schubart in *Die Papyri als Zeugen antiker Kultur* (Berlin, 1925).

⁶ *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 96–100.

P. Berol. Inv. 9571.

60·4 (length) × 17·4 cm.

ἀξι[ω]τ[]
 εὐχαρ[ι]στ [·] νι [· .] θωσοτρ[· .
 ἐπήλθατ[ε] οὔτου. [·] κατά[γ]η
 ἀπὸ Συγκέρη· ἐκεῖνο μάθητε δὲ θ[έ]λω . . .
 5 ὅτι ἐγὼ ὅλα τὰ πράγματά μου ἐπιρίπτω
 εἰς μέ ἐπειδὴ πεπληροφόρημαι
 ὅτι φιλεῖτε ἐμέ ὀλοψύχως καὶ ἐγὼ καταρ[·]
 ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ προσκυνῶ καὶ ὡς
 ἀδελφόν· ὑμᾶς ἔχω γνησίως· ἀπέλυσα
 10 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ προίης σήμερον
 Γεώργιον τὸν διοικητὴν ἵνα ἔλθῃ
 ἐγγὺς ὑμῶν· παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς συνελθεῖ[ν]
 μοι εἰς ὅλα τὰ πράγματά μου καὶ εἰς τὸ χῶριόν
 μου ἐπειδὴ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔχω μετὰ θεὸν
 15 τὰς ἐλπίδας μου καὶ ἀπομεριμνῶ
 ὅτι οὐκ ἀφείτε τὰ χῶριά μου διαγραφῆ[ναι]
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου οἴκου συγκρατεῖτε ἐν
 χρεία· ἐγράψατέ μοι δὲ περὶ Ἀναστασίου
 τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρεωστῶ ὑμᾶς
 20 πληροφορῆσαι πίστευσον· οὐδὲν τῶν
 λεχθέντων ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς πλὴν
 ὡς μῶρος καὶ παῖδιον καὶ ἀνόητος·
 αὐτὸς ἔγραψέν μοι ἐπιστολὴν πρέπουσα <ν>
 τῇ ὄψει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει τῇ ματαιαίᾳ
 25 καὶ ἐπειδὴ παῖδιον ἐστὶν καὶ μωρὸς
 ἰδοὺ κατάξω αὐτόν· φυλάττω δὲ τὴν
 ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν
 ἐρχόμενος· καὶ σωφρονήσητε αὐτόν
 ἐπειδὴ ἐξότε ἀπέστη ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
 30 αὐτοῦ ἄλλας πλήγας οὐκ ἔλαβεν καὶ
 θέλει ὀλίγας λαβεῖν· ἠθείσθη γὰρ
 ὁ νῶτος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν ζητεῖ·
 ταῦτα γράψας γνησίως ἀσπάζομαι
 τοὺς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτους ὑμᾶς.

6. v. note.

10. l. πρωίας

28. l. σωφρονίσατε

Translation

(ll. 4 ff.) This I wish you to know, that I am casting all my affairs on your shoulders, since I am fully convinced that you love me with all your soul, and I am entirely attached to you, and reverence you, and sincerely regard you as my brother. Early this morning I sent off George the bailiff to you, that he might approach you. I urge you to help me in all my affairs and particularly in regard to my estate, since it is on you, after God, that I rest my hopes, and I am free from worry because you have not allowed my estates to be sold up (?), and are even ready to take control of this house if need be. You have written to me about little Anastasius, and as I am in your debt, be sure you will be paid in full. Nothing of what has been told you is true except that he is stupid and a child and foolish. He wrote me a letter

himself quite in keeping with his looks and his empty wits. And since he is a child and stupid, then I will bring him home. I am keeping his letter to show you when I come. Chastise him, for ever since he left his father he has had no other beatings, and he likes getting a few—his back has got accustomed to them and needs its daily dose. I conclude by sending Your Magnificence my sincere greetings.

Notes

2. *συνηθως* cannot be read here.

3. *ἐπήλθατ[ε*, or perhaps *ἐπήλθα τ[*; for similar forms *v. Mayser, Grammatik, I, 323, 396.*

4. *Σιγκέρη*. A village of this name in the Hermopolite nome is known from P. Stud., x, 29, 8 and elsewhere. There seems to be only one parallel in the papyri to this ellipse of the final particle after *θέλω*, *W. Chr. 14, III. 6* (late second century after Christ), *λέγε τίνος θέλεις κατηγορήσω*. Cf., in N. T. Greek, Luke xviii. 41, *τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω*, also Matth. vii. 12.

5. The only exact parallel to this use of *ἐπιρίπτω* that I know of occurs in I Pet. v. 7, *πάσαν τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν ἐπιρρίψαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν*. In the next line *με* is almost certainly a slip for *σε* or *ὑμᾶς*.

7. *δλοψύχως*. The adverb is only cited from Suidas, s.v. *ἐκτενωῶς*; no example of the word is given in Preisigke, *WB*. The reading at the end of the line is uncertain: *καταφ[* might equally well be read and there is hardly room for more than one letter after the bracket. *καταρω[ς*, for *καθαρῶς*, is a possibility; for the interchange between *τ* and *θ* *v. Mayser, Grammatik, I, 177.*

Whether there was any difference in meaning between *φιλέω* and *ἀγαπάω* at this period is very doubtful. The latter was used in classical Greek to express a milder emotion, but, as Ghedini has pointed out,¹ the Christian letter-writers simply substituted it for *φιλέω* in such formulas as *ἀσπάζομαι* (or *προσαγορεύω*) *πάντας τοὺς ἡμᾶς φιλοῦντας* in order to avoid the pagan associations of the latter, and actually it is not quoted in Preisigke, *WB.*, except in such a connexion. Probably its use is nothing more than a stylistic nicety on the part of the writer.

14–15. Cf. P. Giss. 68, 8, *οὐδένα <ε>χω [μ]ετὰ θεῶν εἰ μὴ σε* and the list of similar expressions quoted by Grete Rosenberger, *P. Iand.*, 101, 7.

For *ἀπομεριμνάω* Liddell and Scott (new ed.) give only the meaning “rest from labour”, so “to die”, for which Eustathius is the authority; but Sophocles' Lexicon gives a parallel to the usage in our text from Leontius of Naples, *Vita Symmachii*.

16. *διαγραφῆ[ναι]*. None of the recognized meanings of this word gives a satisfactory sense here: I should prefer to interpret it as equivalent to *proscribi*, “to be entered on the list”, and so “to be confiscated”. Unfortunately the situation here is quite obscure; possibly the writer was threatened with a foreclosure on some of his property—even (l. 17) on the house in which he was living. *συγκρατεῖν* with the genitive, by analogy from *κρατεῖν*.

19–21. The punctuation of these lines is difficult. As it stands, the word-order in the clause *ἐπειδὴ . . . πίστευσον* is clumsy, and probably *ὑμᾶς* must be changed to *ἡμᾶς*—though *πληροφορέω* “reward” occurs governing an accusative in P. Cair. Masp. 67066, 1. An alternative interpretation would be to remove the stop after *πίστευσον*, treat that word as parenthetical and translate “Since I ought to reassure you, there is no truth, believe me, in what is told you”. But *χρεωστεῖν* is never found in this sense either in classical Greek or in the papyri, and Sophocles cites only one instance, from Eusebius of Alexandria (sixth century after Christ). Probably the punctuation given in the text (where we may see a reference to school-fees) is to be preferred.

¹ *Lettere Cristiane*, 201.

22. For a similar catalogue cf. *P. Iand.*, vi, 97, 4–5 (third century after Christ), οὐκ ἐμμι ἀπονεομημένος και ο[ύκ] ἐμμι ἀνάσχυντος και οὐκ [εἰ]μι μῦς.

24. ὄψις = “looks”, “appearance”, so perhaps “a boy of his age”. Or does it mean that his letter was as inky as his face?

τῇ φρονήσει τῇ ματαία: the slight oxymoron involved in it, and the fact that neither of the two examples of the use of φρόνησις given in Preisigke, *WB.*, bears much resemblance to the present passage, suggest that the writer had a quotation in mind. But I have been able to find nothing closer than Isaiah xxxii. 6, ὁ γὰρ μωρός μωρὰ λαλήσει και ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ μάταια νοήσει. There may perhaps be another reminiscence of the Bible, v. note on l. 5.

32. συνήθεια is very common in Byzantine texts in the sense of “wages”, “allowance”, sometimes “*bakshish*”. But the writer may have been adapting the ordinary meaning of the word—cf. the slang expression in English “the usual”. The only other reference to corporal punishments in Graeco-Egyptian schools that I have been able to find is contained in the maxim, copied out as “lines” by some other imperfect scholar, φιλοπόνει, ὦ παι, μὴ δαρῆς (*Erman-Krebs, Aus den Papyrus der Kgl. Museen*, 233 = *Ziebarth, Aus der Antiken Schule*, no. 15). For Pharaonic Egypt cf. the maxim quoted in *Erman-Ranke, Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben*, 375–6: “Denn des Jungen Ohren sitzen auf seinen Rücken und er hört wenn man ihn schlägt”.

II

P. Berol. Inv. 2753. Written across the fibres in an upright, square hand which gets distinctly larger towards the end of the letter. The upper and lower margins are preserved; the fibres on both sides are disordered. The *verso* is blank.

και ἄνευ γραμμάτων οἶδ' ὅτι ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐστὶν ἡ σὴ ἀρετὴ και ὁ χρ' ἤζ' εἰς α} ὑπομνησθῆναι εἰς τὰ κατ' ἐμέ ἀλλὰ τρ[ὺ]

κυρίου μου ἀδελφοῦ Νείλου ἀπαντῶντος ἐκεῖσε ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην ἐν μὲν πρώτοις τὴν χρεω[στού-

μῆνιν πρόσρησιν ἀποδοῦναι ἔπειτα και παρακαλέσαι ὅπως καταξίωση σου ἡ ἀνδρία συνηθῶς συγκροτῆσαι τὰ ἐμοῦ πράγματα και τοὺς ἐμοὶ διαφέροντας και μὴ ἐν τι συγχωρῆσαι τινα ἐξ αὐ[τῶν]

5 καταπονθῆναι εἰ και ἀπὼν εἰμι ἀλλ' ὅμως θαρσῶ ὡς τι πλείονως συγκροτοῦνται παρ[ά] τῆ[ς] σῆς

μεγαλοποιίας τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα· θαρσῶν δὲ γεγράφηκα· τὰ δὲ δέρματα τοῦ ἐνός ὀλοκοτίου καταξίωση παρασχεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν λέγω δὴ τοὺς δέκα και τέσσαρας· ἐγὼ γὰρ προσέχω κατ]αλαβεῖν τὸν Μαραιώτην και ἐπικεῖσθαι τρῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀγραρέουσι στρατιω[ταῖς].

γνωσκέτω σου ἡ ἀρετὴ ὡς τι ἀπητήθην τὰ ἐξ χρύσινα ἄπερ ἀντεφώνη[σα]

10 τῷ κυρίῳ Χρήστῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἀνδρίας· οὐ συνεχώρησέν με γὰρ ἐξελεθῆν τὴν Μέμφιν εἰ μὴ ἐποίησέν με ἀντιφωνῆσαι αὐτῷ ἀποκρότως Ἀνουβίῳ . . . [.

β [. . .]. θως τῶν νομεραρίων και πρὸς τῷ γνῶναι σου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔσπευσα γράψ[αι

κα[.]αθ[ε[.]φ[.]ρον τάδε· τὸν παῖδα ἀπέστειλα ἐνέγκαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἰμάτια· εἴ τινος τοίνυν χρεία [έστιν,

καταξίωση ἡ [σ]ῆ ἀρετὴ δηλώσαι μοι δι αὐτοῦ· ἐπίγομαι γὰρ τ[ῆ]ν Ἀλεξανδρί[αν] καταλαβεῖν.

3. l. ἀνδρία and in 10 6. l. μεγαλοποιίας 10. l. ἐξελεθῆν 13. l. ἀπέστειλα 14. l. ἐπίγομαι Ἀλεξανδρείαν

Translation

I well know that without any letter from me Your Excellence can rely upon yourself and has no need to be reminded of my affairs, but as my lord and brother Neilos was going there to meet you I considered it necessary above all to pay the respects I owe you, and then to

urge Your Valour to look, as is your wont, after my affairs and my household and not suffer any of them to be maltreated. Although I am absent, yet I am confident that my affairs will be greatly promoted by Your Mightiness—in this confidence I have written to you. Be so good as to have the skins—the fourteen skins, I mean—sent to the house, since I am intending to go to the Mareotic nome and give my attention to the soldiers stationed there. Be it known to Your Excellence that a demand was made on me for the six pieces of gold which I had guaranteed on Your Valour's behalf to my lord Chrestus. For he did not allow me to leave Memphis until he had made me guarantee the sum without fail to Anoubion . . . one of the numerarii, and I have lost no time in writing that Your Excellence might know of this. . . . I have sent the boy to fetch my clothes, so if you should be in need of anything may Your Excellence be so good as to inform me through him, as I am in haste to reach Alexandria.

Notes

4. *συγκροτῆσαι*. The use of *συγκροτεῖν* here is only a slight extension of that noted in P. Oxy. 1872, 2 where it means "assist". Sophocles' Lexicon notes several passages where it means "promote" (*e.g.* a war).

5. *πλείονως* (for which there appears to be no other authority) is better regarded as a lapse on the part of the writer than as a legitimate contribution to Greek grammar. Possibly the *ως* should be bracketed as a dittography, the writer being uncertain whether *τὶ πλείον* should qualify *θαρσῶ* or *συγκροτοῦνται*. For the construction *συγκροτοῦνται—πράγματα* *v.* Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 3, pp. 28–30.

6. *μεγαλοποιῶντα*, *addendum lexicis*.

8. *ἐπικεῖσθαι*, *cf.* P. Ryl. 243, 7, *ὡς ἐπικεῖσαι τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ κλήρου*. Possibly the meaning may be more definite, "to take over the command"; *cf.* the common use of *ὁ ἐπικειμένος* and the discussion in the note to P. Iand. 24, 1.

This text provides the first evidence from papyri of the existence of troops stationed in the Mareotic nome; *cf.* J. Maspero, *Organisation Militaire de l'Égypte Byzantine*, p. 138, who cites John of Nikiou (CVII, 542) and Justinian, *Ed.*, XIII, 1. 15. This renders it the more unfortunate that we have no clue by which to identify the writer or recipient of this letter.

10. I had at first added [*ἐπί* at the end of this line, and the disordered state of this side of the text makes a supplement quite possible; but, although it is possible that Memphis should be mentioned as a stage on the journey to Alexandria, it is more satisfactory to regard *τὴν Μέμφιν* as direct object to *ἐξελεῖν*, a construction which is found in P. Par. 18 (d) 5 (second century after Christ).

11–12. *αὐτῶ* should perhaps be emended to *αὐτὸ*, as the two datives are awkward, though we should have expected *αὐτά*. *Ἀνουβίωνι* may have been followed by a proper name in the genitive. For *νομειάρχιοι*, "financial officials", *v.* Maspero, *op. cit.*, 86.

13. I have preferred to leave these letters as they stand in the papyrus, and treat *τάδε* as object of *γράφει*, for if *φ[έ]ροντα δὲ κτλ.* be read, the participle is left without an object and the opening letters become yet more difficult of explanation: even if *κά[τ]ωθε[ν]* could be read, it is not a word that occurs in papyri and would hardly give a satisfactory sense here. I had also thought of reading *κά[λ]αθη[ν]* *φ[έ]ροντα δὲ κτλ.*, but Dr. Schubart writes that both *κάλαθον* and *κάτωθεν* are too long—probably there are only three letters before the *θ*, in place of which *δ* might also be read. For *εἰ*, where classical Greek would demand *ἐάν*, *v.* J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, I, 187, 240.

NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN NUBIAN KINGDOMS

BY L. P. KIRWAN, F.S.A.

THE little that is known of the later history and geography of the Christian Nubian kingdoms is mostly derived from a few fragmentary Coptic and Nubian texts and more especially from the accounts of the Arab geographers. For the sixth century, however, two reliable contemporary writers have left some account of the people and the country south of the Egyptian border. These are Procopius of Caesarea, secretary of Belisarius, and the ecclesiastical historian John, Bishop of Ephesus.¹

The former, writing about A.D. 545 of the tribes who inhabited the country between the First Cataract and the city of Axum, says:

“Within that space many nations are settled, and among them the Blemmyes (*Βλεμμύες*) and Nobatae (*Νοβάται*), who are very large nations. But the Blemmyes dwell in the central portion of the country while the Nobatae possess the territory about the river Nile.”²

The monophysite historian John of Ephesus has left a valuable account of Nubia at the time of its conversion to Christianity. He relates that when the missionary Julian arrived, between 540 and 548,³ at the southern frontier of Egypt he found the country immediately to the south of the First Cataract in the hands of the Nobadae (*Nābadōs*).⁴ “Many scores of leagues beyond them”, he records in a later passage,⁵ “was another powerful tribe whom the Greeks call Alodaei”, while “between the Nobadae and the Alodaei is a country inhabited by another people, called Makoritae.”⁶ The Makoritae and the Nobadae seem, at that time, to have been sworn enemies, and the former set out to take prisoner Longinus, monophysite Bishop of the Nobadae, when on his way to baptize the Alodaei. This we learn from a letter purporting to be from the King of the Nobadae to Theodore of Alexandria:

“But because of the wicked devices of him who dwells between us (i.e. between the Nobadae and the Alodaei), I mean the King of the Makoritae, I sent my saintly father to the King of the Blemmyes, that he might conduct him thither by routes farther inland; but the Makorite heard also of this, and set people on the look out in all the passes of his kingdom, both in the mountains and in the plains, and as far as the Sea of Weeds [the Red Sea], wishing to lay hands on my father and put a stop to the good work of God, as my father [Longinus] has written hither to tell me.”⁷

The Blemmyes therefore occupied the eastern deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea.

In the Nobatae of Procopius and the *Nābadōs* of the Syriac text it is not difficult to recognize the Noubades (*Νουβάδες*)⁸ of the great inscription in the Temple of Kalābshah,

¹ Died c. A.D. 586. For his historical value see A. Diakonov, *Jean d'Éphèse et ses travaux historico-ecclésiastiques* (cited in Vasiliev, *Hist. de l'Empire Byzantin*), and Brooks, *Patrol. Or.*, xvii, 3.

² Procopius, *Hist. of the Wars* (Loeb edition), i, cap. xix, 27–36.

³ Cf. J. Maspero, *Hist. des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, 233–6.

⁴ John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Payne Smith (1860), iv, 6. Mr. E. W. Brooks has been kind enough to verify for me those passages dealing with Nubia.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, iv, 48.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, iv, 57.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, iv, 53.

⁸ Gauthier, *Temple de Kalabchah*, i, 204. For variants, cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* (1931), iii, 273: *Νόβαδοι*, *Νούβαδοι*, *Νοβάδες*. Priscus, *Fragmenta* (ed. Niebuhr, 153) has *Νουβάδες*; Cosmas Indicopleustes (ed. E. O. Winstedt, Cambridge, 1909), 3, 178, *Νοβάται*.

where their king, Silko, claims to have driven the Blemmyes northward from Ibrīm (Πρίμ [sic])¹ to Shellāl (Τελληλός),² thus gaining control over all northern Nubia down to the Egyptian frontier. The Makoritae were perhaps among those tribes to the south of the Nobatae whose towns Silko laid waste.³

Of the Makoritae at this time—they have been variously identified with the Μακκοῦραι of Ptolemy⁴ and the Μεγάβαροι of Strabo⁵—little is known.⁶ There is some evidence to show that in A.D. 573 they were converted to the Catholic faith,⁷ and it is possible to see in this a reason for their antagonism to the Nobatae and for their attempt, perhaps encouraged by the bishops sent to them by the orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria,⁸ to lay hands on the missionary Longinus and thus prevent him from spreading the doctrines of Monophysitism among the Alodiaei.

Alōdia (Αλωδια in Coptic, in Greek Ἀλώως, in Arabic 'Alwah), the country of the Alodiaei (Syriac *Alūdūs*), may be traced as far back as the fourth century B.C., if it is identical with the Ἰλ(τ) which occurs twice on the great stela of Nastasen⁹ (328–308 B.C. according to Dr. Reisner).¹⁰ The town of 'Alwa is mentioned in the Axumite inscription of Aeizanes, and was situated apparently on the Nile (Sēdā) and to the south of the junction of that river with the Atbara (Takkazē). It is numbered among the cities "built of bricks" captured from the Nōbā by the Abyssinian king about A.D. 350.¹¹

To resume, then; at least as late as 580,¹² Nubia was composed of three distinct and independent kingdoms, each with its own king or paramount chief. The writers of the sixth century do not give, however, any exact information as to the boundaries of these kingdoms, and these must be deduced from the frequently contradictory accounts of the Arab geographers.

The tenth-century author 'Abdullah Ibn Aḥmed Ibn Selīm of Aswān, whose work on "Nūbā, Muḳurrah, 'Alwah, the Bēga and the Nile" has been preserved in extracts by Makrīzī,¹³ records that Nubia commenced at the village of El-Ḳaṣr, five miles to the south of Aswān and a mile from Bilāk (Philae). Within this region lay Bukharās (Faras), capital of Maris; the fortress of Ibrīm; and the port of Adwā (Gebel Adda) near the temple of Abū Simbel.¹⁴ Nubia proper or Maris¹⁵ included the island of Sāi, called by Ibn Selīm the last bishopric of Nubia, and stretched beyond the Third Cataract as far as the village of Yastu.¹⁶

¹ The true Nubian and Coptic form. See Griffith in *Journal*, 20, 8.

² Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, II, 30.

³ Gauthier, *ibid.* "καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Νομβάδων ἀνωτέρω ἐπόρθησα τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν."

⁴ Duchesne, *L'Église au sixième siècle*, 300. ⁵ In demotic, *Mḥbr*; cf. Griffith in *O.L.Z.*, 17, 350.

⁶ The punitive expedition under the General Aristomachos in the reign of Tiberius II against the "Mārīkōs" (cf. John of Nikiou, ed. Charles, 524) is always referred to as an expedition against the Nubians, i.e. the Makoritae. But Mārīkōs is a scribal error for Mazikes (cf. J. Maspero, *Organisation milit. de l'Égypte byzant.*, 13, note 3), a tribe of the western desert, and the country referred to is clearly Libya.

⁷ Kirwan in *Journal*, 20, 201.

⁸ John of Ephesus, IV, 53.

⁹ Ll. 16 (𐩠𐩢𐩨𐩥𐩢𐩰, 𐩠𐩢𐩨𐩥𐩢𐩰), 24 (𐩠𐩢𐩨𐩥𐩢𐩰, 𐩠𐩢𐩨𐩥𐩢𐩰). See Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géographiques*, I, 98.

¹⁰ *Harvard African Studies*, II, 63

¹¹ Littmann, *Aksum-Expedition*, IV, No. II, line 32.

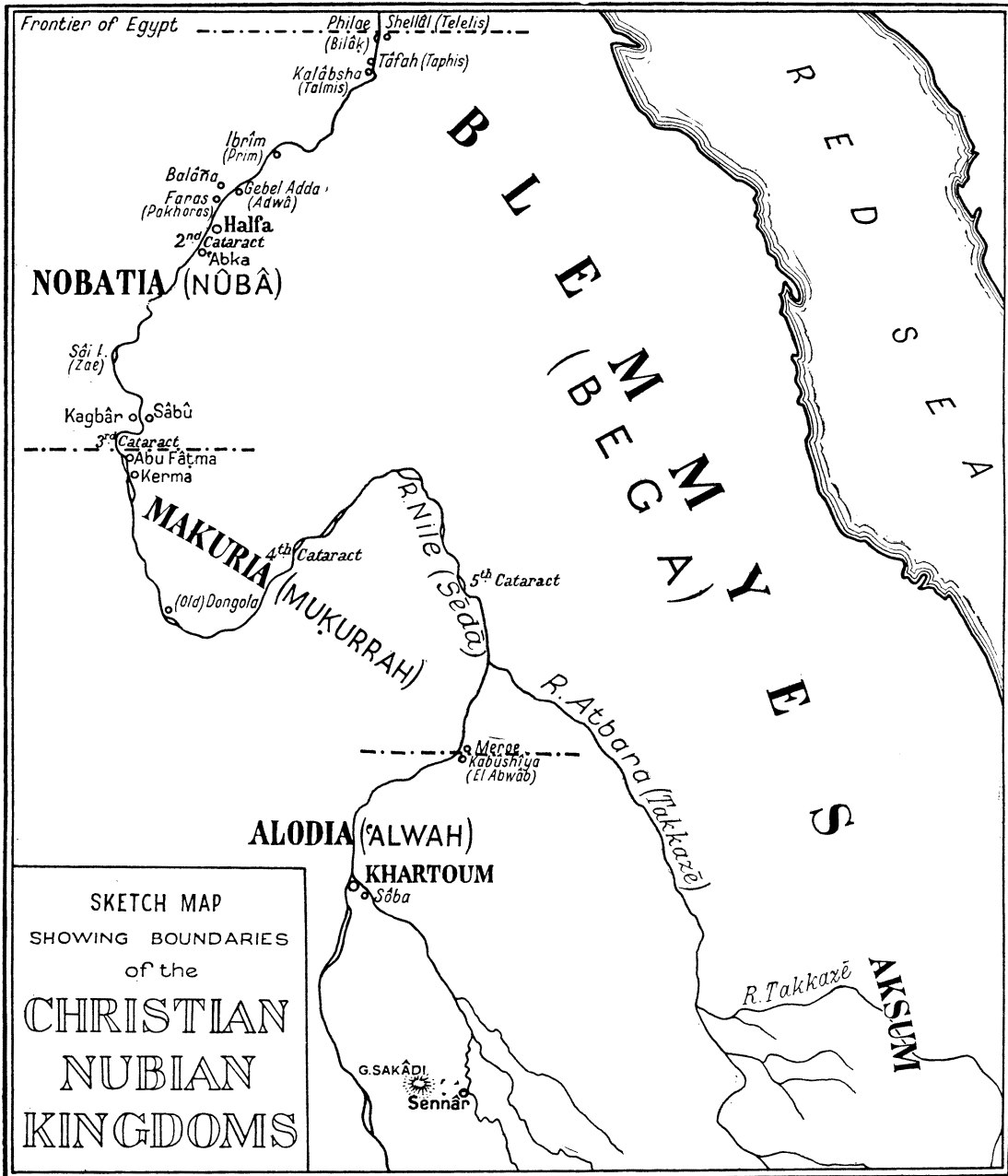
¹² John of Ephesus, *ibid.*

¹³ Makrīzī, *Khitat*, ed. Wiet, III, 252. For translations see Bouriant, *Makrīzī*, I, 549, and Quatremère, *Mémoires géogr. et histor.*, II, 8.

¹⁴ For the identifications see Griffith in *Journal*, 11, 265.

¹⁵ In Coptic, the "south region", but applied by Arabic-speaking Egyptians to the northern province of Nubia. Cf. Griffith, *ibid.*

¹⁶ The spelling varies in the different MSS.; cf. Wiet, *op. cit.*, 255, note 10. Burckhardt, *Travels* (1819), 523, has Yonsu, Bensu, Noso; he suggests that Mosho (Mushu), about twenty-seven miles north of New Dongola, is meant.



SKETCH MAP
 SHOWING BOUNDARIES
 of the
**CHRISTIAN
 NUBIAN
 KINGDOMS**

This cataract, according to Ibn Selim, was the most difficult of all to pass, "for the river there is blocked by a mountain which crosses it from east to west. . . . To the south of this cataract the bed of the Nile is a mass of rocks for a distance of three barids (thirty-six miles)¹ as far as the village of Yastu, where the province of Maris ends and that of Muḳurrah begins."²

It is apparent that the Third Cataract is here conceived as beginning at least as far north as Kagbār,³ and this cataract and the succeeding stretch of river to the south, almost as far as Abū Fāṭma, is the only locality between Sāi and the end of the Third Cataract which in any way agrees with Ibn Selim's description. The Kagbār reach is the most difficult of all to navigate between 'Abka and Kerma, and crossing the Cataract there, even during the summer flood, is a perilous business.⁴ On the east bank rise the heights of Sābū, some twelve hundred feet above sea-level, on the west is Gebel Kagbār, while the rocks of the Cataract block the river between. From Kagbār south almost as far as the Ḥalfa-Dongola boundary at Abū Fāṭma, about forty miles by river, the Nile is blocked by innumerable rocks and islands much as Ibn Selim describes it. Beyond Abū Fāṭma the way is again clear.

It seems then that Yastu may be placed in the neighbourhood of Abū Fāṭma or, more probably, a few miles to the north of it. There is another point in favour of this suggestion. From the frontier of Egypt, according to Ibn Selim, as far as the southern limit of Maris, only the Marisī dialect was spoken.⁵ It is precisely in the region of Abū Fāṭma that, at the present day, the dialect of Mahass gives place to that of Dongola.⁶

In Coptic documents Maris was known as Nobadia or Nobatia,⁷ while in medieval times the capital of Maris or Nobatia was, according to the Arab geographers, at Faras, where the considerable Christian remains bear out the literary evidence. At an even earlier date the capital city of Nobatia may have been within the province or nome⁸ of Faras, at Balāña,⁹ where the tombs of the Nubian kings of the fifth and sixth centuries, recently discovered,¹⁰ indicate that the most important settlement of this period between the First and Third Cataracts was then in the neighbourhood of Faras.

There can be little doubt that Nobatia was used in Coptic to designate the country of the Nobatae¹¹ who in the sixth century inhabited, according to John of Ephesus, that part

¹ Burckhardt records (*op. cit.*, 495) that "the baryd is an Arabic land measure of four farsakh or twelve miles". Cf. Quatremère, *Mém.*, II, 12. ² Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 551.

³ See Sudan Ordinance Survey map, scale 1: 250,000, Survey Office, Khartoum. Oct. 1920.

⁴ I have this on the authority of a captain of the Kerma date-fleet who makes the journey from Kerma to 'Abka every summer. ⁵ Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 551. Yastu is perhaps the same as Ashau.

⁶ Cf. Griffith in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 10, 545: "the language [of the Nubian Christian texts] is a strongly marked variety or rather prototype of the Mahass dialect of Nubian". And in *Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*, Berlin (1913), 68; "the agreement with the Fadijā-Mahass dialect as opposed to the Kenū-Dongola dialect is very clearly marked". Almost all the known Nubian texts and graffiti have been found between El-Maḍiḳ and Sāi.

⁷ ΝΟΒΑΔΙΑ, ΝΟΒΑΤΙΑ; cf. Krall, *Ein neuer Nubischer König*, in *W.Z.K.M.*, 14, 237, and *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier in Denkschr. Wien. Akad. Wiss.*, 46. Cf. also ἐπάρχου Νοβαδ. from a tombstone in Lefebvre, *Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes*, No. 665; and the Greek ἐπαρχον Νοβαδίας on the fresco at Faras, Griffith in *Liverpool Annals*, 15, 21.

⁸ Faras being called λαμπρὰ πόλις and τοῦ. Cf. Griffith in *Journal*, 11, 263, 266.

⁹ About five miles north of Faras.

¹⁰ See W. B. Emery, *Prelim. Report, Arch. Survey of Nubia in Ann. Serv.*, 32, 38.

¹¹ So Crum in *Rec. de Trav.*, 21, 226. Cf. the Greek forms Νοβάδια and Νοβάδες. The Arabic Nūbā, originally Nūbātu or Nūbāt, seems to be connected with the Coptic; for this see Roeder in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 33, 373: "Heute Nūbā . . . gesprochen; aber für das 7. Jahrh. ist die Aussprache der arabischen Feminalendung t, tu noch möglich". In this connexion, the Coptic version of "Nubian" ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓ (Cod. Paris 43, fol. 75; ed. Munier) is of interest. I am indebted for this last reference to Mr. Crum.

of Nubia nearest to Egypt. It is possible, therefore, that the extent of medieval Nubatia represented approximately the extent of the sixth-century kingdom of the Nobatae, which would thus have stretched from the First to the Third Cataract.

Before attempting to define the limits of Muḳurrah, it is necessary to examine a statement of Abū Ṣāliḥ (c. A.D. 1200), who asserts that "the first place in the province of Muḳurrah is the monastery called that of Safanūf, King of Nubia, which is in the country below the Second Cataract".¹ Butler, in a note on the above, interpreted this as meaning the cataract at Wādi Ḥalfa.² But both Abū Ṣāliḥ and Ibn Selim place the boundary between Egypt and Nubia at Philae,³ and the latter, accordingly, does not include the Aswān Cataract among the cataracts of Nubia. On the contrary, Ibn Selim refers to the Cataract at Wādi Ḥalfa as "the first cataract of Nubia" or "the Nubian Cataract"⁴ and calls a minor cataract at Sāi, the second cataract. It may well be that Abū Ṣāliḥ's "second cataract" really refers to the second great cataract of Nubia, now known as the Third Cataract, and in this case his definition of the southern boundary of Maris or Nubatia would agree with that of Ibn Selim.⁵

Muḳurrah (μακορρια),⁶ the country of the Makoritae, seems to have extended as far as the ancient Meroe. According to Ibn Selim "from Dongola to the frontier of the country of 'Alwah is farther than from Dongola to Aswān",⁷ while Maḳrīzī, possibly quoting from the same author, states that 'Alwah commenced at a village on the east bank of the Nile called El Abwāb (to-day, Kabūshīya).⁸

The history of these northern provinces, Nubatia and Makuria, is somewhat complicated. Originally, as appears from the narrative of John of Ephesus, the kingdoms of the Nobatae and the Makoritae were independent, each under its own king. When, however, in A.D. 651-2, 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'ad, then Governor of Egypt, made his second expedition to Nubia, he found the whole country from Aswān to the frontier of 'Alwah under one supreme ruler. The treaty made with the Nubian king after the successful bombardment of the capital city, then Dongola—the terms have been preserved by Maḳrīzī—refers to the "Chief of the Nubians and to all the people of his dominions from the frontier of Aswān to the frontier of 'Alwah"; and, again, "no Muslim shall be bound to repulse an enemy from you or to attack him, or hinder him, from 'Alwah to Aswān".⁹

Between A.D. 580—when, according to John of Ephesus, the Nubian Kingdoms were still independent—and A.D. 652, the Nobatae and the Makoritae seem to have amalgamated, having a joint capital at Dongola—a site well protected from Egyptian attack by the

¹ Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. Evetts, fol. 94 b.

² Evetts, *ibid.*

³ Abū Ṣāliḥ, fol. 100 b; Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 549.

⁴ Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 549, 550.

⁵ Abū Ṣāliḥ (fol. 95 a) and Maḳrīzī (Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 551) call the present Second Cataract "the Cataract", as appears in the parallel passages in the two authors referring to the town of Upper Maks, where emery is said to have been found.

⁶ Makuria is named as the next province to Nobadia (νωβανια) in a Coptic encyclical letter of unknown date, quoted by Krall, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Blemyer und Nubier*, 16, n. 3.

⁷ Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 552.

⁸ Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 554. In the thirteenth century the "mek" of the district of Kabūshīya was called "King of the Gates", i.e. of El Abwāb. The district was so called until recently. See MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, I, 183.

⁹ Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 22. A passage in the Coptic life of the Patriarch Isaac (A.D. 686-9) might suggest that the Nubian kingdoms had not then united. The passage records that the King of Makuria (μακορρια) complained to the Patriarch that candidates for bishoprics could not reach Alexandria for consecration since the King of Mauritania (μαυρωτανια; Northern Nubia?) refused to allow them to pass until peace had been made between the two countries. But in a parallel anecdote in the Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Mauritania is replaced by Nubia and Makuria by Abyssinia. At any rate, Mauritania must be a scribal error. Cf. Porcher in *Patrol. Or.*, XI, 79 and Evetts in *Patrol. Or.*, v, 24.

natural defences of the cataract region. If this amalgamation took the form of an alliance, such may well have come about as a result of foreign invasion. The Persians, in Egypt between 619 and 629, seem to have reached as far as Nubia.¹ But a more likely cause would have been the invasion of 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'ad in 641-2, which, though thought by some to have been a failure,² cannot have been entirely unsuccessful, since the Nubians paid tribute (*bakt*) for some years afterwards.³

During the succeeding centuries Nubia from Aswān to 'Alwah was under one King. An Arabic writer, contemporary with Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn (Governor of Egypt, A.D. 868-83), says: "The title of their king is Kabil. In a letter to their king the following title is employed: to Kabil, King of Muḳurrah and Nūbā".⁴ Henceforth, until the middle of the fourteenth century, the capital of all Nubia was at Dongola,⁵ while Faras remained the capital of the northern province, Nobatia or Marīs.

Marīs seems always to have been regarded as Nubia proper, and Maḳrīzī declares that "the Nūbā are no other than the people of Marīs who live in the neighbourhood of Islam".⁶ As early as the tenth century Muḳurrah seems to have been used as a general term for the whole of Nubia from Kabūshīya to the Egyptian frontier, for El-Mas'ūdī, who visited Egypt in the reign of Ibn Ṭughḡ (c. A.D. 935) records that the most northerly portion of Muḳurrah, which had its capital at Dongola, was Marīs.⁷

Alodia or 'Alwah, with its capital at Sōba near Khartūm, extended from Kabūshīya at least as far as Sennār.⁸ Though at times this southern kingdom appears to have owed allegiance to the King of Nubia—in El-Mas'ūdī's day 'Alwah is said to have been under the suzerainty of the hereditary King of Dongola, Kubra Ibn Surūr⁹—culturally it was independent of the rest of Nubia. The few inscribed remains from this area show a language formed independently of that of the northern kingdom, and have no trace of letters borrowed from the Coptic.¹⁰ Then, as in Ancient Egyptian times, a market for the export of slaves,¹¹ 'Alwah seems rather to have had affinities with the black races of the southern Sudan. The Arab writer quoted above, contemporary with Ibn Ṭūlūn, remarks, "south of them ('Alwah) is another nation of blacks called Tikna (or Buḳna). They and the 'Alwah are allied".¹² The pottery, too, from Christian sites in this southern region shows no trace of Coptic or Byzantine influence, and resembles most the modern wares of the Southern Sudan.¹³

¹ Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, I, 100.

² So Butler, *The Arab Conquest*, 432, following Ibn el-Athīr.

³ Maḳrīzī, ed. Bouriant, 580.

⁴ Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde*, Leyden, 1913, ccxlix. Cf. Yākūt cited in Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. Evetts, 261.

⁵ See notes to Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. Evetts, fol. 95 b.

⁶ Maḳrīzī, ed. Bouriant, *ibid.* At the present day the inhabitants north of the Third Cataract do not regard Dongola Province as truly Nūbā.

⁷ El-Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or*, trans. de Meynard and de Courteille, III, 31-4, 39-43. At one time, according to Abū Ṣāliḥ (ed. Evetts, fo. 100 b), Marīs from Tāfa to the Egyptian frontier was in the hands of the Muslims. Perhaps this territory was held in fief by them after the capture of Ibrīm by Shems ed-Daula in A.D. 1173. This might explain the curious inconsistency in Maḳrīzī's second chapter on Nubia (Bouriant, *op. cit.*, 554).

⁸ 170 miles south of Khartūm. For the church at Gebel Sakādi, near Sennār, see Crowfoot in *Journal*, 13, 142.

⁹ El-Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Griffith, *Christian Documents from Nubia*, 15.

¹¹ Cf. Preisigke in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 2, 415. This papyrus, of the late sixth century, deals with the sale of a twelve-year-old negro, Atalua, native of 'Alwah—'Αλώαν τῶ γένει—to the lady Isidora of Hermopolis.

¹² Marquart, *ibid.* Cf. El-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, II, 383.

¹³ Crowfoot in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 7, Pt. 2, 27.

THE TWO STYLES OF COPTIC PAINTING

By DORA ZUNTZ

With Plates iii to vi

I

To divide the conception of the Coptic Style, itself not clearly defined, into two different parts, the Alexandrian Coptic and the Native Coptic, may seem to need some justification. From time to time the obvious differences in the art of the Christian Egyptians have been remarked on; here I will try to give some reasons for the rise and development of these two separate Coptic styles, neither springing from the other but growing side by side independently of each other, and first one and then the other being of greater importance.¹

Compared with ancient Egyptian art and the highly civilized productions of the Greek and Roman epochs, Coptic art seems inferior in quality but strangely persistent, stereotyped but very impressive, born of a severity to which any manifestation of an amiable, gay, and beautiful world, any longing for beauty and delicacy and elegance would be unknown and unwanted. Coptic art arose out of a negation, so to speak, out of a protest against the Hellenic and Roman culture, forced on Egypt by foreign rulers. Its style on the whole, in all its productions, stands in striking contrast to Hellenistic art tendencies. The Copt desires fervently to produce quite another style than the Greek; his ideas of art, his vision and methods of reproduction, are entirely different from the Hellenistic conceptions. He cannot renounce Greek and, later, Byzantine inspiration for themes and ornaments, especially when supplying the Mediterranean, outer world; but his style is most decidedly always his own. The first astonishing fact, namely that the Egyptians, with their highly nationalistic tendencies, did not revive their own old and sacred forms, in order to clear away this foreign Hellenic layer, is easily explained. In the first three centuries A.D. the Egyptians were converted to Christianity; and the new ideas resulting from the enormous change in their whole outlook, the absolutely new point of view, and the recognition of the existence of social classes nameless till then, could not find adequate expression through forms which had their origin in quite another spirit. Despite the nationalistic tendencies of the age, new shapes were required for this last blossom of Egyptian art; it had to find a form of its own. National in its opposition to Greek culture, not ancient Egyptian but remembering the grandeur of past centuries, moulded by new forms and new ideas, this Christian Egyptian art acquired a strange singularity.

The international situation and Egypt's own political development had produced almost unbearable social conditions. In fact there existed two classes only: on the one hand, the rich, cosmopolitan reigning class of the Greeks, the Hellenized Egyptian nobility and *haute finance*, and above all the great land-owners, the Roman and later the Byzantine public officials with all their rights and immunities and power; on the other hand, the nameless, servile, powerless, and outlawed class of the fellâhs and workmen. Similarly, and because of these social conditions, culture and civilization were sharply divided into two: the foreign Hellenic or Hellenized layer, cosmopolitan, educated in classical learning and philosophy

¹ A detailed study of these two styles will be made in a book on which I am now engaged.

and art, and the illiterate lower stratum, full of gloomy nationalistic hatred and a narrow, passionate religiosity. Thus there necessarily arose two forms of Christianity in Egypt, shaped by these two classes in accordance with their whole being and spiritual level. And these two kinds of Christianity found two different ways of expression in art: the more international art of the rich and educated, subject first to Hellenistic and later to Byzantine influences, and having its centre in Alexandria, and the art of the poor, uneducated, emotional native Egyptians, springing out of the *hinterland* itself. The new national Christian art thus obviously had to take two forms: the Alexandrian style and the native style of the *hinterland*. Both were bound up with religion in an even higher degree than our medieval art, almost all production being required and made only for religious purposes. The Church, becoming more and more powerful—especially the leading Alexandrian clergy, first with their famous teachers and later with their traditions—came to occupy the position formerly held by the reigning class, politically, socially, and intellectually. The monks represented the lower class; nationalistic, their numbers increased more and more by men and women fleeing into the monasteries and nunneries from the distresses and miseries of their world, not impelled only by a fanatical religious enthusiasm.

As long as the Coptic Church was still part of the Imperial Church, and the most important and powerful see was that of Alexandria, the more international Hellenic culture was predominant. But after the loss of the Primacy and the separation of the monophysites in A.D. 451, the nationalistic school developed more and more definitely and became of increasing importance. After the Arab conquest this national Coptic culture survived for a while. The struggle of the Arabs against the Copts, the fact that all Christian people of whatever confession formed an enclave in the Islamic world, brought into being a *modus vivendi* and put an end to the contentions of the monophysites and the Byzantine believers.

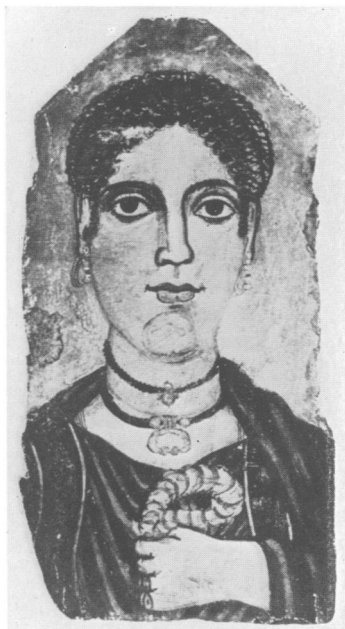
This international and political and ecclesiastical development of Christian Egypt gives us a very definite idea of what to expect in its art. It may be assumed that from the fourth till well into the fifth century, the Alexandrian style was predominant, surviving after that time, but giving way in the fifth century to the art of the Coptic *hinterland*, which reaches its highest level from the fifth to the seventh centuries. After that period there must have been a certain commingling of both styles, which was devoid of original ideas owing to excessive national reserve, and which was influenced by Byzantium, Syria, and Persia. In fact, the enclosure of Coptic culture within an Islamic world proved the death-knell of Coptic art. Thenceforth it uses old types and figures and repeats them though their meaning has often been lost, just as the language ceased to be used except in Church services, and Arabic translations were put in the margins of the old books.

The difference between the monophysite and Byzantine beliefs led consequently to differences in the *subjects* of the painting. While in the first period of Christian painting in Egypt and in the late Coptic-Arabic time they differ little from those of the rest of the Christian world, we find at the period of Coptic-monophysite culture a limitation of subject-matter, some special iconography, and varied versions of known iconographic types. As is to be expected, in accordance with monophysite doctrine, historical cycles of the Birth and of the Passion of Christ, for example, and especially any representations of the Crucifixion, never occur in purely monophysite Coptic churches and monasteries. As far as they are to be found (in Dēr Abu Hennes near Antinoë, for example, or in textiles) they come from a few Hellenized centres, centres which to a large extent supplied the Byzantine world. The Coptic illuminated manuscripts showing these special representations belong to a far later period, beginning at about the twelfth century and influenced by Byzantium.

Where we find historical cycles at all, they give the life of a Coptic saint, such as that of

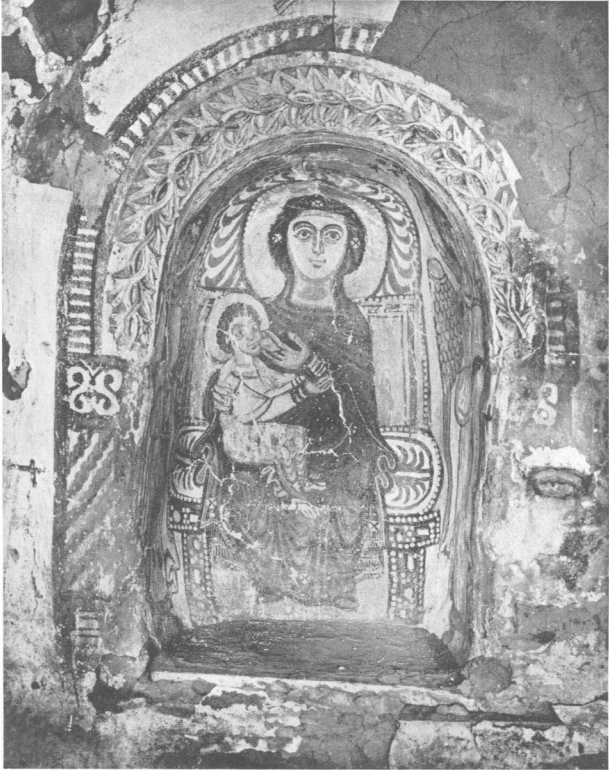


I



2

MUMMY-PORTRAITS



I

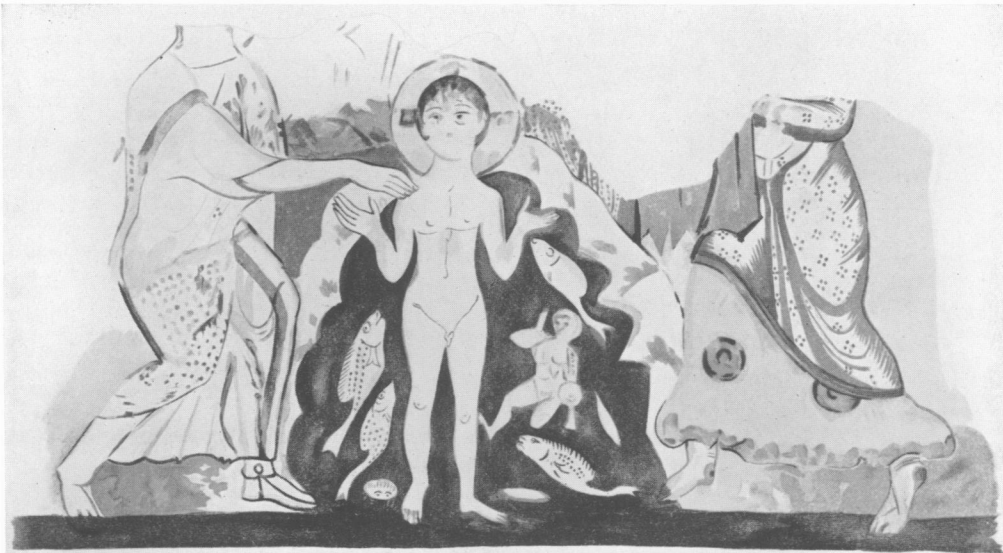


2

PAINTINGS FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. JEREMIAS,
SAÇÇĀRAH



I



2

PAININGS FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. APOLLO, BAWIT



I



2

PAINTINGS FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. JEREMIAS,
SAḶḶĀRAH, AND THE CHURCH OF EL-'ADRA, CAIRO

St. Mena in the Medinet Habu frescoes at Luxor. Mostly the walls are decorated with long series of saints and locally venerated Ambas, often with eikons of Christ and the Virgin or merely with sacred symbols. The representation of the *Maiestas Domini* is a special Coptic invention, emphasizing the divinity of Christ.

II

Having thus traced a skeleton outline of the development of Coptic painting, and finding it to follow the lines we might expect, I will try to fill in the characteristic details of the whole, with particular attention to the native Coptic style of the *hinterland*.

As early as about the second century A.D. some characteristics of the later Coptic style are plainly shown in the change of style in the execution of the Mummy Portraits (Pl. iii, figs. 1, 1²). Left to himself, the Egyptian produces quite another kind of portrait from that of the Romano-Egyptian painter. The manner of portraying a face from an individual, vivid and momentary impression gives way to a style which tries to catch the idea, the real and enduring character of the subject. Instead of trying to give the illusion of a living person, and painting in a quick impressionistic manner, all forms and details are forced into a very decorative, ornamental system. The contours of head and shoulders and arms conform to the outer shape of the panel, the head itself being enclosed by the outline of the hair and the necklaces below, the forehead and eyebrows following the outer shape of the head, while chin and mouth repeat the curve of the necklaces. The nose provides a strong vertical division. And in that geometrically outlined face all details are painted in an extremely ornamental, unnatural way—curls, ears, mouth, jewellery, and what is believed to be a garland. A type has grown out of the individual head. Out of the Mummy-portrait the Sacred Eikon was being born.

Some representations of the Virgin (Pl. iv, figs. 1,³ 2;⁴ Pl. v, fig. 1,⁵ Saḳḳārah, Bawīṭ), clearly show the differences in the Coptic style that we have mentioned. In an extremely striking way, the "Madonna Lactans" from Saḳḳārah, painted in the best period, the sixth century, exemplifies the art of the *hinterland* with all the characteristics that we found in the late Mummy-portrait and some more. The desire to give a simple geometrical structure to the picture is obvious. Vertical, horizontal, and semicircular lines are repeated as often as possible: the contours of the palmette, halo, hair, and eyebrows, correspond to the arch of the niche; a strictly vertical line, parallel to the vertical lines of the throne, goes from the ornament of the veil down over the middle of the forehead to the nose, between the hands of Christ and Mary, down to the knees of the child and to its feet. Similarly, the various transverse lines of the throne emphasize the broad, horizontal effect of the Madonna with the Christ-child on her knees. And something new is present, characteristic of all Coptic art, whether of the Alexandrian or of the *hinterland* styles—a real *horror vacui*. The Copts have a strong dislike of leaving any free space in a picture, textile, or sculpture. Like the old Boeotian vase-painters or "Greek" artists round the Black Sea, they feel they must fill up the whole picture with jewellery, ornaments, flowers, trees, or animals. And, just as

¹ Mummy-portrait. *Altaegyptische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, No. 11411.*

² Mummy-portrait. *Antiquarium, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, No. 31161/48.* After P. Buberl, *Die griechisch-ägyptischen Mumienbildnisse der Sammlung Th. Graf, Taf. 46, No. 48.*

³ After Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, II, Pl. 41.

⁴ After Quibell, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 47.

⁵ After Clédat, *Le Monastère et la nécropole de Baouit*, I (= *Mémoires . . . de l'Inst. fr. d'arch. or. au Caire*, t. XII), Pl. 96.

they crowd a picture with these, they decorate with pictures uninterruptedly a whole chapel and all the walls of a church. Not only Saḳḳārah and Bawīṭ, but every little cave or monastery shows this same passion for decorating a space all over.

The austere atmosphere of the picture (Pl. iv, fig. 1), very impressive in its narrow simplicity, stands in striking contrast with the two other representations of the Virgin (Pl. iv, fig. 2; Pl. v, fig. 1), one earlier (fifth to sixth centuries) and one later (eighth century) than the "Madonna Lactans" of Saḳḳārah. The busts of the Virgin and Gabriel (Pl. iv, fig. 2) call to mind Alexandrian ivory carvings, and, as far as one can judge from the copy, the manner of painting is reminiscent of the impressionistic method of the Hellenistic time—as, for example, the portrait of Apa Jeremias himself plainly shows. The representation of Mary enthroned, with the Child in the *mandorla* and two angels (Pl. v, fig. 1), belongs to the period after the Arab conquest and the decline of Coptic culture. The type of the *Hodegetria* occurs rarely in Coptic paintings and immediately shows the influence of Byzantium, but the transformation into the Coptic style is also evident. The way in which the faces are stylized, and the strong emphasis given to the ornaments of the angels' dresses, at once betray the Copt. Both these pictures belong to the Alexandrian Coptic style.

The same singularity on the whole as well as the same differences are to be seen from two other pictures from Saḳḳārah and Bawīṭ: the Baptism of Christ and Christ Enthroned (Pl. v, fig. 2;¹ Pl. vi, fig. 1²). The theme of the former representation itself shows that the picture must belong to the Alexandrian Coptic style—it does not occur in the national Coptic style. And it is obvious also from the painting itself. The representation of Christ as a youth and standing naked in the river, the personification of the Jordan as a god seated with a vessel in his hand, the fish all around, the emphasized movements of St. John and the Angel, prove very clearly that Alexandria must have been the birthplace of that type of representation. The Coptic decorative principle strikes the eye.

The Christ Enthroned, on the other hand (Pl. vi, fig. 1), is almost the best example of the national art of the Coptic *hinterland* in its perfection (sixth century). The figure in the niche is facing full towards the spectator, being fixed to the flower-covered wall of the niche as almost an ornament in itself, surrounded by a series of angels' heads. The eikon-like character of the figure is perfectly expressed. In surrendering entirely to the desire to decorate the whole picture, the artist, by placing the stern face and straight figure in front of that background, has given it the most other-worldly effect possible. Everything is done to avoid making Christ appear as man, either helpful or suffering, for the oriental believer conceived only one nature in his God.

The late Coptic frescoes and Coptic-Arabic manuscripts are of quite another style, as, for example, the Transfiguration in the El-'Adra Church at Cairo (Pl. vi, fig. 2). The influence of Byzantium is evident. Armenians and Syrians were working for Coptic Churches too (Sohāg; Wādi el-Naṭrūn). The Transfiguration follows a well-known Byzantine type—of the characteristics of the Coptic style not much is left.

Production goes on until the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, losing more and more of its similarity and impressive unity. New foreign as well as Arabic influences, and often misunderstood repetitions of old Coptic types, are to be met in all these latest frescoes of Christian-Egyptian art. This clinging to a long-dead past, the attempt to keep it alive till our days, restoring and repainting the famous old places all through the centuries, often renders difficult an exact dating of the old frescoes. Sometimes only the type of the

¹ After Clédat, *op. cit.*, II (= *Mémoires*, etc., t. xxxix), Pl. 4.

² After Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, III, Pl. 8.

representation in itself is old, all painting having been done again and again in later epochs. Layers and layers cover the real antique fresco, as, for example, in the monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Paul in the Eastern desert. And even now the Copts try to give the same shape and style to their art as their ancestors did more than a thousand years ago, when Coptic art was the expression of their very being.

ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE 1857-1934

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

“No, not *agâ* ‘this’.” That is my first recollection of Budge, when I went to see him in the early 'nineties in the British Museum, in the room with the heavy door beyond the sinister mummy lady who, as some think, has brought such ill luck to the members of that Department that almost all during the last fifty years have died or left before their full time: almost all, that is, except Budge, who was the strongest of us. The old attendant Jarvis (there were attendants at the Museum in those days) had brought him one of the Kouyunjik tablets for me to try a 'prentice hand, and I had made a nervous shot at the reading. Thenceforward I was to know the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities as a friend, and subsequently Chief, under whom I was to serve for five years: to fall out with him, fall in with him, and find him again a sturdy friend. It was only three years ago that he found energy to come to a lunch at my College, where all those still alive who had dug at Nineveh met round our mahogany, so that I can claim to have known him for more than forty years.

He came of forebears who had served the East India Company in India and Basrah, so that that lodestone of the Near East which has drawn so many Englishmen away from decent classical studies could influence him easily. Lacquer and inscribed palm leaves were before his eyes as a child, brought home from those mysterious distances by Sindbads who had gone forth from British ports—albeit not, perhaps, as far back as the period of that Master of the Tiger who had to Aleppo gone—and the memory reacted on him after he had gone to school as a very small boy in 1865. His latent inheritance of the East displayed itself early in him, and his headmaster, seeing wisely the future Orientalist, consulted Charles Seager: the lad had taken to Hebrew of his own accord—what would come of it? Seager encouraged: advised not only Hebrew, but Syriac in addition; and Budge was drawn into that web of mystic spells which halo the queer scripts, idols, mounds of rubbish, palm trees, godowns, all the magic which draws the John Smiths of London once in a while from their dull counting-houses to be consuls or crusaders. From now on he was to throw in his lot with those masters who had devoted their lives to scraps of scribbled reed or lumps of scabbled clay.

Looking farther afield than Syriac, he obtained some of the early cuneiform texts to study. Seager took him to the British Museum to see the actual tablets brought home by Layard, and to interview the great Egyptian scholar Birch, who held out the hospitality of his library, where Budge thereafter read voraciously of the East, Rich, Kinneir, and the rest, whose writings have spread a rose-tinted veil over all the sordidness of the Oriental landscape, a middle way between the ludicrous “Sheiks” of modern romance and the disappointed protest of Tartarin from his minaret. Again Seager helped him, consulting W. E. Gladstone about the lad who still stuck to his Oriental work; Cambridge offered most opportunities, and up he went as a Non-Coll. student in 1878, with his first publication of a Sennacherib text out the same year, and then to Christ's under Dr. Peile in 1879, where he was given an exhibition for Hebrew and Assyrian (in this latter Sayce being the examiner). Then he won the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship in 1882.



SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE
1857-1934

Budge had entered Cambridge among Orientalists who maintained too conservative a tradition. The University has always held a curious attitude towards Assyriology, every now and then generously offering an exhibition or even a Fellowship, and yet having among its dons many who could not see how the young giant of Assyriology would ultimately expand, to leave the other Semitic languages behind; and it was Wright himself, the great scholar, whom Budge met in 1880, who deprecated the young man's early appearance in Assyriological print. Be that as it may, Budge had, to use the old sporting parlance, thrown his hat into the ring, and was starting on his extraordinary career of producing Oriental books, which were to number about a hundred and twenty, apart from articles, a form of publication which he early relinquished. In his Tripos in 1882 he gained only a second, a setback which is difficult to understand in the face of his success with the Tyrwhitt. The truth must be told that he suffered all his life from a desire to get things done: he was in too great a hurry to finish. Definite in all his ways, he grudged the time spent in "rounding off the corners", and this impatience was frequently to stand in his way. But on the other hand he got things done royally: he made an admirable official in this respect, and his Department at the Museum was outstandingly productive, for, besides his own output, he encouraged us all to publish and go on publishing, and gave us the opportunities to do so. My criticism about his work is intended as a light one, for although it undeniably does show this haste, his energy was indefatigable in putting before the Oriental world texts, texts, and again texts. It was Wright who counselled him, he used to tell us, to copy something of a text each day, to keep his mind balanced. That was what Budge did, the "something" being a large stint; and to him is due the praise for having given so many and such varied products of his industry to the world of Orientalism. His field was a wide one, for, even leaving his works on archaeology in general aside, his knowledge of languages was extensive: he left Assyrian early for Egyptian hieroglyphs, took to Syriac again (his *Thomas of Margā* was a "set" subject for the Semitic tripos in 1898), and to Coptic at the end of the 'eighties, and fifteen years later he was publishing Ethiopic.

But he had another side: he was to travel widely in the East in pursuit of antiquities, and, although his excavations were not carried out on the modern lines of to-day, his forays to the East enriched the Museum with countless treasures. He understood the Oriental, and could meet the Turk half-way, and he recognized that to be a proper Orientalist the scholar must lay books aside occasionally, and travel among the people of whom he writes. He was persistent in securing that his Assistants should do the same, and encouraged us in such trips as could be fitted in, in our brief leave, to the nearest Arabs in the north of Africa, to Crete, to Sinai, until we could be sent out to dig officially.

One cannot do justice to a full life in a short notice such as this. The list of his works in *Who's Who* is the longest in the book, and covers as I have said a large field; the most amusing among them may be reckoned his account of his own life in the East (*By Nile and Tigris*), and his history of Assyriology, vigorous, outspoken, and calculated to draw down on his head the fire of those who evolve camels by intuition and research expended no farther afield than their desks. He was magnificent as a *raconteur*, and was full of racy stories of adventure in the East: and, while gifted with a ferocious bark, which could turn to biting if need be, he was one of the kindest, most sympathetic, and most lovable of men. His immense shoulders and sturdy physique stood him in good stead in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and that not merely against the unseen forces which are always arrayed against man. His was an extraordinary personality, and one not common among scholars, and indeed it may be said with assurance that Orientalists rarely combine such an industry in textual work with his capacity to seek adventure.

He married the daughter of the Rev. Titus Emerson, but they had no children. His distinctions are curiously varied, with just that heterogeneous nature that he loved; three doctorates, the Dongola medal (he was "out", one year, during the last Sudan campaign), and the Star of Ethiopia, which Menelik gave him on account of his Ethiopic *History of Alexander*; and ultimately a well-deserved knighthood.

To me personally his death means the loss of a good friend, whose encouragement to "go on working" has many times been a *sursum corda*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

PART I: PAPYROLOGY (1934)

Owing to unforeseen delays in the appearance of this Part of the *Journal*, the contributors wish to make it clear that the present Bibliography is only intended to include items published up to, approximately, the end of 1934. In order to avoid still further delay, the discussion of all work which has subsequently appeared is held over until next year.

The work is divided as follows:

- § 1. Literary Texts. H. J. M. MILNE, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- § 2. Religion, Magic, Astrology (including texts). A. D. NOCK, Eliot House, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- § 3. Publications of non-literary texts. T. C. SKEAT, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- § 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. T. C. SKEAT.
- § 8. Lexicography and Grammar. R. MCKENZIE, St. John's College, Oxford.
- § 9. General Works, Bibliography, General Notes on Papyrus Texts. T. C. SKEAT.
- § 10. Miscellaneous, Excavations, Personal. T. C. SKEAT.

The following abbreviations are regularly used in this Bibliography:

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|---|--|
| <i>Abh. Berlin, München, etc.</i> = <i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Bayerischen, etc.) Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i> | <i>Bull. Acad. Sci. URSS.</i> = <i>Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques Socialistes: Classe des Sciences Sociales.</i> |
| <i>Aeg.</i> = <i>Aegyptus.</i> | <i>Bull. Ist. Dir. Rom.</i> = <i>Bulletino del Istituto di diritto romano.</i> |
| <i>A.J.A.</i> = <i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i> | <i>Bull. J. Ryl. Libr.</i> = <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i> |
| <i>Am. Hist. Rev.</i> = <i>American Historical Review.</i> | <i>Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.</i> = <i>Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie.</i> |
| <i>Am. Journ. Phil.</i> = <i>American Journal of Philology.</i> | <i>Bursian</i> = <i>Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> |
| <i>Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.</i> = <i>American Journal of Semitic Languages.</i> | <i>Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.</i> = <i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher.</i> |
| <i>Anc. Egypt</i> = <i>Ancient Egypt.</i> | <i>Chron. d'Ég.</i> = <i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i> |
| <i>Ann. Serv.</i> = <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i> | <i>Cl. Journ.</i> = <i>Classical Journal.</i> |
| <i>Ann. Univ. Roma</i> = <i>Annuario della R. Università di Roma.</i> | <i>Cl. Quart.</i> = <i>Classical Quarterly.</i> |
| <i>Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.</i> = <i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.</i> | <i>Cl. Rev.</i> = <i>Classical Review.</i> |
| <i>Arch. f. Rel.</i> = <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</i> | <i>Cl. Weekly</i> = <i>Classical Weekly.</i> |
| <i>Arch. Giurid.</i> = <i>Archivio Giuridico.</i> | <i>C.-R. Ac. Inscr. et B.-L.</i> = <i>Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.</i> |
| <i>Arch. R. u. W.</i> = <i>Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie.</i> | <i>D. Lit.-Z.</i> = <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung.</i> |
| <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> = <i>Athenische Mitteilungen.</i> | <i>Ét. de Pap.</i> = <i>Études de Papyrologie.</i> |
| <i>B.C.H.</i> = <i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i> | <i>G.G.A.</i> = <i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.</i> |
| <i>B.M. Quarterly</i> = <i>British Museum Quarterly.</i> | <i>Harv. Theol. Rev.</i> = <i>Harvard Theological Review.</i> |
| <i>B.Z.</i> = <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i> | <i>Hist. Z.</i> = <i>Historische Zeitschrift.</i> |
| <i>Boll. fil. class.</i> = <i>Bollettino di filologia classica.</i> | |

- J. Bibl. Lit.* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.
J.H.S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
J.R.S. = *Journal of Roman Studies*.
J. Theol. Stud. = *Journal of Theological Studies*.
Jahrb. f. Lit. = *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*.
Journ. Rel. = *Journal of Religion*.
Journ. Sav. = *Journal des Savants*.
Journal = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
K.V.G.R. = *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*.
L.Q.R. = *Law Quarterly Review*.
Mél. Beyrouth = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (Liban)*.
Mél. Bidez = *Mélanges Bidez, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, Tome 2 (1934)*.
Mél. Maspero = *Mélanges Maspero, Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale au Caire, Tome 67 (1934-5)*.
Münch. Beitr. = *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*.
N.G.G. = *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.
Num. Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle*.
O.L.Z. = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
P.W. = *Pauly - Wissowa - Kroll, Real - Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
Phil. Woch. = *Philologische Wochenschrift*.
Rech. sc. relig. = *Recherches de science religieuse*.
Rev. arch. = *Revue archéologique*.
Rev. bibl. = *Revue biblique*.
Rev. de phil. = *Revue de philologie*.
Rev. d'hist. ecll. = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*.
Rev. ét. anc. = *Revue des études anciennes*.
Rev. ét. juives = *Revue des études juives*.
Rev. ét. gr. = *Revue des études grecques*.
Rev. ét. lat. = *Revue des études latines*.
Rev. hist. = *Revue historique*.
Rev. hist. dr. = *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*.
Rev. hist. rel. = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.
Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum*.
Riv. di fil. = *Rivista di filologia classica*.
Riv. indo-greco-ital. = *Rivista indo-greco-italiana*.
Riv. Stor. Dir. Ital. = *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*.
Sat. Rev. Lit. = *Saturday Review of Literature*.
Sitzungsb. Berlin, München, etc. = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Bayerischen, etc.) Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
St. Albertoni = *Studi in Memoria di Aldo Albertoni*.
St. Econ.-Giurid. Univ. Cagliari = *Studi Economico-Giuridici della R. Università di Cagliari*.
St. Riccobono = *Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono*.
Symb. Frib. Lenel = *Symbolae Friburgenses in honorem Ottonis Lenel*.
Symb. Oslo. = *Symbolae Osloenses*.
T.A.P.A. = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.
Theol. Lit.-Z. = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.
Theol. St. Kr. = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*.
Tüb. Beitr. z. Alt. = *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*.
Würzb. Stud. z. Alt. = *Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft*.
Z. f. kath. Theol. = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*.
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)*.

1. Literary Texts

A. GENERAL

NORSA and VITELLI must again receive the palm for new and interesting texts. They have published: (1) *Nuovi frammenti di Eschilo* in *Mél. Bidez*, 965-78, probably from the *Myrmidons*; (2) *Nuovi frammenti degli AITIA di Callimaco* in *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3 (1934), 1-12, from three different papyri, one being part of P. Oxy. 2079; (3) the now famous ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ of the poems of Callimachus discovered by Vogliano at Tebtunis and belonging to Milan University; (4) Fragments of a Comedy with a character Lysias, perhaps the *Theophoroumene* of Menander, fragments of Euphorion's *Thrax* and *Hippomedon*, fragments of a *rifacimento* of a scene from the *Phoenissae*, in *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 4 (1935), 1-16.

In *Charisteria Gustavo Przychocki a discipulis oblata*, Warsaw, 1934, MANTEUFFEL publishes from papyri in Warsaw fragments of the *Cyropaedia* and of a mime, also emending ll. 56-8 of Menander's *Citharista*.

WILCKEN publishes Scholia to the *Phoenissae*, fragments of a work Περὶ Τρόπων, and a liturgical fragment in *Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung* (*Abh. Preuss. Akad., Jahrg. 1933, Phil.-hist. Klasse Nr. 6*), nos. 1-3. Noticed by F. ZUCKER in *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 410-11.

In *Phil. Woch.*, 1934, 1302-9 K. FR. W. SCHMIDT reviews at length *Tebtunis Papyri*, III, pt. i.

The papers read at the Munich Papyrological Congress have been printed in *Münch. Beiträge*, 19 (1934), including KENYON on *Literary Papyri*, 3-17.

B. EPIC, ELEGIAC, AND IAMBUS

In *Mél. Maspero*, II, 145-54 W. G. WADDELL publishes *Three Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, viz. a collection of similes, a commentary on *Il. vi*, and a Glossary. In *St. Ital.* 11 (1934), 81-96 GALLAVOTTI in *Epimetron Callimacheo* on the epilogue to the *Aitia* replies to COPPOLA's criticism, *Poeti e Telchini* in *St. Ital.* 10 (1933), 327-38. *Ibid.*, 11 (1934), 97, MAAS restores *Iambi* 292. MAAS also writes on the new papyri of the *Aitia* in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 162-5, and reviews the *Diegeseis*, *ibid.*, 436-9. The new Scholia to the *Aitia* are discussed by Q. CATAUDELLA in *Riv. di fil.*, 12 (1934), 55-66, and by ROSTAGNI, *ibid.*, 67-70. J. STROUX writes on the *Diegeseis* in *Erzählungen aus Kallimachos*, *Philologus*, 43 (1934), 301-19, while PFEIFFER notes them briefly, *ibid.*, 384-5. REHM, *ibid.*, 385-6, interprets Catullus 66, 1 from the same source. ROSTAGNI, *Le nuove diegeseis e l'ordinamento dei carmi di Callimaco* in *Riv. di fil.*, 12 (1934), 289-312, compares the order with P. Oxy. 1011. In *St. Ital.*, 11 (1934), 185-92, L. DEUBNER interprets col. 2, 29-40 of the *Diegeseis*, *Der Pharmakos von Abdera*. PFEIFFER in an important article on the *Diegeseis* (*Sitzungsber. Bay. Akad.*, 1934, Heft 10) restores also P. Oxy. 661 as by Callimachus. DE SANCTIS reviews in *Riv. di fil.*, 11 (1933), 531-3, a dissertation by W. EHLERS, *Die Gründung von Zankle in den Aitia von Kallimachos*, Berlin, 1933. Review also by KALINKA in *Phil. Woch.*, 1934, 1219-20. A. DIETZLER writes a dissertation (Greifswald, 1933) on the Akontios elegy. LENCHANTIN DE GUBERNATIS in *Il Libro di Catullo*, Turin, 1933, re-edits and comments on the *Lock of Berenice* of Callimachus. COPPOLA writes on *Archiloco nei Giambi di Callimaco* in *Rendiconti Ist. Bologna*, 8 (1933-4), 11-24. LOBEL in *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 167-78 prints his latest readings of the *Iambi* papyrus (P. Oxy. 1011). *Ibid.*, 420-5, R. KEYDELL, *Zwei Stücke griechisch-ägyptischer Poesie*, discusses P.S.I. 845 and P. Lond. 256 recto b (= Cat. Lit. Pap. 62). K. ZIEGLER has published *Das hellenistische Epos: Ein vergessenes Kapitel griech. Dichtung*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1934, 55 pp. In *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 447-51, C. H. ROBERTS publishes the opening lines of a Hymn to Demeter from P. Berolin. 11793, third century B.C. *Ibid.*, 468-72, J. U. POWELL re-edits the Amyntas epigrams from P. Oxy. 662.

C. LYRIC

The new Teubner edition of Bacchylides by SNELL has now appeared. Reviewed by H. D. F. KITTO in *Cl. Rev.*, 49 (1935), 17-18. In *British Museum Quarterly*, 9 (1934), 14, MILNE re-edits ll. 1-13 of Ode 16, reading in l. 1 Φαί[ρον] ἄδῳς ψί(έ), and in l. 5 σάμερον ἐί τις. L. RADERMACHER writes on Ode 3 in *Wiener Studien*, 52 (1934), 139-40. G. ZUNTZ publishes from P. Berol. 13875 fragments of a Commentary relating to Pindar and Simonides in *Cl. Rev.*, 49 (1935), 4-7. In *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 205-7, J. A. DAVISON puts in a claim for Simonides as the author of the *Leucippides* ode (P.S.I. 1181). G. BONFANTE studies *L'Accento Beotico* from the Corinna papyrus in *Riv. di fil.*, 12 (1934), 535-46. C. THEANDER issues *Studia Sapphica in Eranos*, 32 (1934), 57-85. MILNE muses on Φαίνεταί μοι in *Symb. Oslo.*, 13 (1934), 19-21. Read in ll. 7-8: ἄς γὰρ εἰσίδω Βρόχyla ἔς σε, φώνα | μ(οι) οὐδ' ἔν' ἔτ' ἵκει (*vocemque aboriri*). G. THOMSON in *Cl. Quart.*, 29 (1935), 37-8 would end the ode with φαίνομαι <αὔτα>, thus lopping off the epilogue. The ὦς-ὡς idiom usually presumed in l. 7 belongs to a sudden moment in the past. On the basis of οὐ+vocative we may suggest further restorations: Frag. 5, [οὐδ'] ἔλθε Κύπρι; frag. 95, οἶν οὐ φέρεις, οὐ καὶ αἶγα; ᾠ 1, l. 2, where a new ode begins: Δυσκλ[ύτων] μὲν τ' ἐπ[πέτασαι] Χάραξε | κωὺ κά[λων] κᾶσλων' σ[ὺ] τ' ἀπυστρέφη με | καὶ φί[λοις]. Note that Sappho does not use καί between clauses unless they have subject, verb, or object in common. So in δ 21 read: εὐάνθεα γὰρ Μοῖο(αι) ἔραται (the fair Muses) . . . μάλλον προτίοισ(ι), ἀστεφάνωτον δὲ τ' ἀπυστρέφονται. For Muses and Graces cf. frag. 60. Similarly in δ 1 read: τοῦτο καί μοι | τὸ λάμπρον ὕμωσ τ' ἀελίω, where ἔρος is a botch to supply a subject for λέλογχε in the defective quotation of Athenaeus. In frag. 99 cure the metre by reading ὦς τ(οι) ἄρατον in each case, and in frag. 87 read: ζῆ τ(οι) ἐλεξάμαν ὄναρ, Κυπρογένηα.

H. RÜDIGER writes on the *Geschichte der deutschen Sappho-übersetzungen* in *Grammatische Studien*, Heft 151, 1934.

BOWRA in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 126 restores the Nereid ode, ll. 7-8, and frag. 91.

In *Hermes*, 69, 206-9, MAAS restores *Erinna*.

D. DRAMA

The new *Niobe* is interpreted by PFEIFFER in *Philologus*, 43 (1934), 1-18. He assigns ll. 1-9, 14-end to Antiope, 10-13 to the Chorus. In *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 233-61 K. REINHARDT suggests the whole to be a

prologue of Leto, and prints P. Grenf. ii. 6 (a) as by Aeschylus. SCHADEWALT in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Akad.*, 1933-4, 3. Abh., gives ll. 10-12 to the Chorus, the rest to an intimate of Niobe. See, too, A. LESKY in *Wiener Studien*, 52 (1934), 1-18. In *Das Inselfschiff*, 15 (1933), W. RECHNITZ translates the *Niobe* with introduction.

M. R. SULZBERGER writes on the *Myrmidons* in *L'Antiquité classique*, 3 (1934), 447-50, R. GOOSSENS on the *Dictyoulkoi* in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 10 (1935), 120-8.

J. G. WINTER, in *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 220-1, publishes *Oed. Col.*, 136-45 from P. Mich. 35.

MILNE publishes a fourth- to fifth-century fragment of *Medea*, 1057-62, 1086-92, confirming a conjecture of Elmsley, in *Cl. Rev.*, 49 (1935), 14.

In *Rendiconti Reale Ist. Lombardo*, 67 (1934), 1-6 CAZZANIGA finds fragments of the *Tereus* of Sophocles in the new Favorinus.

KÖRTE in *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 1-12 writes on the *Skyrioi* of Euripides, including the new fragments. A. OLIVIERI in *Riv. indo-greco-ital.*, 18 (1934), 49-60 writes in *Drammi Satireschi* on the hypothesis of the *Sciron* (P. Amh. 17).

The new *Sophon* is commented by LEGRAND in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 36 (1934), 25-31, also by P. CHANTRAINE in *Rev. de phil.*, 9 (1935), 22-32. LATTE in *Philologus*, 42 (1933), 467-9 adds to his previous remarks. GALLAVOTTI also writes on the same subject in *Riv. di fil.*, 11 (1933), 459-76. In *Il Mondo classico*, 3 (1933), 476-84 N. FESTA compares Sophron and Theocritus.

In *Rev. ét. anc.*, 36 (1934), 441-66 G. MÉAUTIS reinterprets the *Dinoysalexandros* of Cratinus (P.Oxy. 663).

MAZON in *Mél. Bidez*, 603-12 publishes further fragments of the *Ploutoi* of Cratinus.

R. FLICKINGER writes on *Terence and Menander once more* in *Cl. Journ.*, 28 (1933), 512-22. R. HERZOG, *Ein vergessener Menanderprolog*, in *Philologus*, 43 (1934), 185-96, would assign P. Didot beg. ἐρημία μὲν ἔστι to Menander, perhaps the *Hypobolimaioi*.

E. HISTORY

P. LEHMANN publishes *Antike Fragmente von Sallusts Bell. Jugurth.* in *Sitzungsb. Preuss. Akad.*, 1934, Abh. Nr. 4; vellum fragments, fourth century, probably from Oxyrhynchus.

F. BILABEL, *Polykrates von Samos und Amasis von Ägypten*, in *Neue Heidelb. Jahrbücher*, 1934, 129-59, publishes two historical papyrus fragments.

F. ORATORY

G. COLIN edits *Le discours d'Hypéride contre Démosthène sur l'Argent d'Harpale*, Paris, 1934. Reviewed by PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 181-2; by P. TRÈVES in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 36 (1934), 513-20, under the heading *Note sur la chronologie de l'Affaire Harpale*; by C. RÜGER in *Phil. Woch.*, 1934, 1409-18.

TINA ANTONINI writes on *Le fonti del Περὶ Φυγῆς di Favorino* in *Rendiconti Accad. Lincei, Class. di Sc. mor.*, 10 (1934), 174-256.

G. PHILOSOPHY

W. KNÖGEL writes a dissertation on *Der Peripatetiker Ariston von Keos bei Philodem*, Bonn, 1933. Reviewed by R. PHILIPPSON, *Phil. Woch.*, 1934, 1329-34, and J. L. STOCKS, *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 183.

VOGLIANO, *Autour du Jardin d'Épicure*, in *Mél. Bidez*, 979-92, confirms POLYAENUS as author of the letter to a child in P. Herc. 176. In *Riv. di fil.*, 11 (1933), fasc. 4, E. BIGNONE writes on *L'AEIΦΥΕΣ nella teologia epicurea* (à propos of P. Herc. 1055).

H. ROMANCE

F. ZIMMERMANN writes *Über die griech. sog. Romanpapyri* in *Münch. Beitr.*, 19, 18-41.

H. ZEITZ has published as part of his Giessen dissertation *Die Fragmente des Äsopromans in Papyrushandschriften* (1935).

I. MISCELLANEOUS

MANTEUFFEL publishes from P. Varsov. 5 a second-century inventory of philosophic books: *De novo quodam librorum inventario* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 367-73.

In *Zentralbl. für Bibliothekswesen*, 51 (1934), 365-7, B. OLSSON republishes, with other examples, the colophon in *Brit. Mus. Lit. Pap.* 11.

2. Religion, Magic, Astrology

(Including Texts)

A. GENERAL

On the interrelations of Greece and the Near East we have M. DELCOURT, *Orient et Occident chez Eschyle* (*Mél. Bidez*, 233–54; 240–1 on Apis legend); R. GOOSSENS, *Les Nágas et le Basilic* (*ibid.*, 415–49; 439–46 note on Horapollon); instructive remarks by W. OTTO in col. 2145 of his review of M. ROSTOVITZ, *Skythien u. das Bosporus* (*D. Lit.-Z.*, 1934, 2138–50; *ibid.*, 2144 on Greek artistic production under these special conditions); F. DORNSEIFF, *Nochmals der homerische Apollonhymnus*, in *Griefswalder Beiträge zur Literatur- u. Stilforschung*, hrsg. v. DORNSEIFF-LILJEGREN-PETRICONI, 8, 1935; pp. 19; G. A. S. SNIJDER, *Het Problem der romeinische Kunst* (*Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 1934, 1–14); S. LURIA, *Der Esel im Löwenfell* (*Bull. Acad. Sci. URSS.*, 1934, 245–68; German summary, 266–8); A. ROES, *The representation of the Chimaera* in *J.H.S.*, 54 (1934), 21–5; G. R. LEVY, *The Oriental origin of Heracles* (*op. cit.*, 40–53; interesting as giving early Mesopotamian illustration of the Hydra myth, and also for light on Sandan); O. EISSFELDT, *Der Gott des Tabor u. seine Verbreitung*, *Arch. f. Rel.*, 31 (1934), 14–41; valuable study of Zeus Atabyrios and Zeus Kasios, and demonstration of Syrian influence on Egyptian religion in second millennium B.C.

M. P. NILSSON, *Wesensverschiedenheiten der römischen u. griechischen Religion* in *Röm. Mitt.*, 48 (1933), 245–60, deserves to be read by all. E. BICKERMANN, *Alexandre le Grand et les villes d'Asie* in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 47 (1934), 346–74, makes a powerful argument against the theory of privilege for the cities recovered from the Persians.

On funerary customs we have K. SETHE, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern u. einiger damit verbundener Bräuche* (*Sitzungsber. Berlin*, 1934, 211–39, with 16 pp. autographed with hieroglyphs; separately 3 M.; note, pp. 225, 230, on the identification of the viscera and of the dead man with the children of Horus as an analogy for magical pretences that an object used is some other divine thing); E. PFUHL, *Griechisch-ägyptische Mumienbildnisse* (*Die Ernte*, 1935, 49–65, 2 pls., 9 illustr.; remarks p. 60 on “psychologische Vertiefung des Ausdruckes” as spreading from middle of second century A.D., p. 64 on a Jew's mummy-painting); P. PERDRIZET, *Le mort qui sentait bon* (*Mél. Bidez*, 719–27, 3 pls.; a Greek protest against mummification); E. SCHNITZER, *Minucio Felice e la cremazione* in *Religio*, 10 (1934), 32–44; H. E. WINLOCK's observations in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A guide to the collections: Part I, Ancient and Oriental Art* (N.Y., 1934, pp. x + 84), pp. 4, 13 on changes in Egyptian concepts of the after-life.

H. J. ROSE, *Things new and old* (*Folklore*, 1934, 8–28), is illuminating on folklore and antiquity; his edition of Hyginus (*Hygini Fabulae recensuit, prolegomenis commentario appendice instruxit* H. I. ROSE; *Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff*, 1934, pp. xxxi+217, 30s.) is the first serious critical edition, with valuable remarks on the genesis of the work by excerpting and expanding from a text of the Antonine age. S. EITREM, *Schicksalsmächte* in *Symb. Oslo.*, 13 (1934), 47–64, is an excellent study of the fluidity of ideas, showing the strength of the older tradition, e.g., in the magical papyri. In this connexion reference may be made to the mosaics from Olynthus, published by D. M. ROBINSON, *The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus*, in *A.J.A.*, 38 (1934), 501–10, 4 pls., 3 figs; remarks on amuletic A.

A find of outstanding importance is described by M. ROSTOVITZ, *Das Mithraeum von Dura* in *Röm. Mitt.*, 49 (1934), 180–207, 3 pls., 4 figs. The temple was covered up in the work of strengthening the walls. It is therefore the only extant Mithraeum which was neither destroyed nor left exposed to looting, and it is the only Mithraeum yet found in the Near East. There had been an earlier temple on the spot, for a cult probably brought from Palmyra; then a new Mithraeum was built by Roman soldiers between 209 and 211 and later reconstructed. In addition to the familiar scenes there is a magnificent painting of Mithras hunting, and on the two sides of the cult niche are figures, almost certainly of Zoroaster and Ostanes. The excavations are to be completed during this season. Already they have given us over 250 graffiti, which throw a flood of light on the organization of the cult and on the degrees of initiation. A find at Rome is discussed by F. CUMONT, *Mithra et l'Orphisme* in *Rev. hist. rel.*, 109 (1934), 63–72; 1 pl.; 3 dedications (notable is $\Delta\iota\ \text{Ἡλίου Μίθρα Φάνηρι}$), and all identifying Mithras with Zeus Helios. A new ritual category of *hyperetai* also appears; this seems to cover the grades under that of Lion. I need not say that the discussion is of the first order. A review of it by C. P., *Religio*, 10 (1934), 560–1. VOGLIANO-CUMONT, *La grande iscrizione bacchica*, noticed *Journal*, 20 (1934), 81, is reviewed by R. DUSSAUD, *Rev. hist. rel.*, 108 (1933), 267–9, P. B., *Religio*, 10 (1934), 85, and a valuable contribution to the understanding of the text is made by M. P. NILSSON, *En marge de la grande inscription bacchique du Metropolitan Museum* in *Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 10 (1934), 1–18, a paper which is notable for the light which it throws on the development of Dionysiac associations in the Hellenistic period; cf. also A. ΟΕΡΚΕ, *AMΦΙΘΑΛΕΙΣ im griechischen u. hellenistischen Kult* in *Arch.*

Rel., 31 (1934), 42–56, and E. PETERSON, *Das jugendliche Alter der Lectoren* (offprinted from *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 1934; pp. 8). From CUMONT's pen we may mention also his brilliant introduction to A. POIDEBAUD, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie. Le Limes de Trajan à la conquête Arabe. Recherches aériennes* (1925–31), Geuthner, Paris, 1932. His *L'iniziazione di Nerone da parte di Tiridate d'Arménie* is reviewed by R. D(USSAUD), *Rev. hist. rel.*, 108 (1933), 291. Through the kindness of Professor Kern I have an advance copy of O. KERN-TH. HOPFNER, *Mysterien (Pauly-Wissowa, 16, 1209–1350)*, which will afford the fullest account yet published of Greek mysteries proper with much that is illuminating. H. VOLKMANN, *Neue Beiträge zum Nemesiskult* in *Arch. f. Rel.*, 31 (1934), 57–76, 3 figs., is a most useful supplement to his former article, giving the new evidence with good comment. We may mention also CH. PICARD, *Les Castores "conservatores" assessores de Jupiter Dolichenus* in *Rev. hist. rel.*, 109 (1934), 73–82; E. POTTIER, *La vieillesse des dieux grecs* in *Mél. Bidez*, 729–43; G. MANTEUFFEL, *De novo quodam librorum inventario (Pap. Varsov. 5)* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 367–73 (early third-century A.D. library containing philosophical and medical books, including one by Thessalus, for whom cf. NOCK, *Conversion*, 108 f.); L. ROBERT, *Sur deux inscriptions grecques (Mél. Bidez, 793–812; death ascribed to genesis; material for cult of Attis)*; J. GEFFCKEN, *Augustins Tolle-Lege Erlebnis* in *Arch. f. Rel.*, 31 (1934), 1–13 (illuminating for the frontier between paganism and Christianity); A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus Klient des jüngeren Plinius und General Trajans (Sitzungsb. München, 1934, iii, pp. 87 and 1 pl. A wonderful historical study, with remarks pp. 66 ff. on Trajan's consultation of the oracle at Baalbek, p. 35 on Hadrianic inscriptions referring to Trajan without the title Divus)*; W. WEBER, *Das römische Kaiserreich u. das Eintritt der Germanen in die Weltgeschichte* (published in a collective volume, pp. 219–80; a sketch written with all his usual power and penetration).

Monumenta Asiae minoris antiqua, IV: *Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*, edited by W. H. BUCKLER-W. M. CALDER-W. K. C. GUTHRIE (Manchester Univ. Press, 1933, pp. xix+144 with 71 pls., 40s.), throws much light on the religion of the country-side and smaller towns; no dedications to Egyptian deities. Reviewed by A. D. NOCK, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 55 (1934), 288–9. *Mélanges Bidez*, to which there is here frequent reference—a volume dedicated to a scholar who has deserved particularly well of all of us—is reviewed by DE VAUX, *Rev. Bibl.*, 43 (1934), 437–40; WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 2, by FR. PFISTER, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 97–9; L. DEUBNER's wonderful *Attische Feste* (Berlin, Keller, 1932; pp. 267, 40 pls., 50 M.),¹ by A. D. NOCK, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 289–95 (with remarks on the time of the Adonia); FR. SAXL, *Mithras*, by M. DIBELIUS, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 171–5; BUCKLER-ROBINSON, *Sardis*, VII, 1, by A. B. WEST, *Cl. Journ.*, 30 (1934), 109–11; C. CLEMEN, *Der Einfluss des Christentums auf andere Religionen (Forschungsinstitut f. vergl. Religionsgeschichte, Leipzig, II, 12, 1933)*, by O. ROSENTHAL, *Religio*, 10 (1934), 351–6; H. HERTER, *De Priapo* by E. MARBACH, *Phil. Woch.*, 53 (1933), 1120–2; R. SÖDER, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichte u. die romanhafte Literatur der Antike (Würzb. Stud. z. Alt., 3, 1932)*, by K. KERÉNYI, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 301–9 (with important remarks on the nature of aretology and fiction); W. BAUER, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 121–3; M. BLUMENTHAL, *Formen u. Motive in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* and G. BORNKAMM, *Mythen u. Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Acten*, by M. LAGRANGE, *Rev. Bibl.*, 43 (1934), 285–90; J. KROLL, *Gott u. Hölle*, I, by W. BAUER, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 50–3, E. B. RELIGIO, 10 (1934), 367–8, A. D. NOCK, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 55 (1934), 182–5, M. GOGUEL, *Rev. hist. rel.*, 108 (1933), 269–74; GERNET-BOULANGER, *Le génie grec dans la religion*, and A. M. FESTUGIÈRE, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile*, by E. DES PLACES, *Rech. sc. rel.*, 24 (1934), 376–8; E. R. DODDS, *Proclus, the elements of theology*, by A. D. NOCK, *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 140–1; A. D. NOCK, *Conversion*, by H. J. ROSE, *Journal*, 20 (1934), 121–2, A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Rev. hist. rel.*, 109 (1934), 257–63, FR. SAXL, *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 155 (1934), Dec. 4, W. R. HALLIDAY, *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 139–40, T. A. BRADY, *Cl. Journ.*, 30 (1934), 111–12, R. F. MERKEL, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 372–3, A. PUECH, *Journ. Sav.*, 1934, 183, E. B., *Religio*, 10 (1934), 468–9, CAMPBELL BONNER, *Sat. rev. of Lit.*, 10 (1934), 714, H. F. STEWART, *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 190–2, G. MURRAY, *Spectator*, March 9, 1934.

B. CULTS OF GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

Reference was made in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 90, to W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, 3 (Cairo *Cat. Gén.*, 92, 1932), a posthumous work published, thanks to the devotion and skill of W. F. EDGERTON. It is full of useful material, e.g., no. 50024, from a cult association; 50041 (Roman date), near sphinx of Gizeh, "every man in the world who comes to [pray to] Harmachis, is not to come without [sacrifice]"; 50044, gift of land by Ptolemaios the strategos to Isis Thermuthis; 50117, letter to Sarapis by a native telling

¹ A postscript by DEUBNER in *Eine neue Lenäenvase (Jahrb. arch. Inst.*, 49, 1934, 1–5).

the god that he is wretched and needs help; 50042 (of Persian period), from Serapeum of Sakkara, list of persons designated as "fromme Diener des Sarapis (Hapi-Osiris, des grossen Gottes"; 50142, fragment of the Petubastis romance, not to mention various documents relating to the embalmers' guilds and choachytai and epitaphs with religious formulas. *B.G.U.*, 8, which was noticed in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 89, includes an interesting reference to the making of sacrifices and libations on behalf of the king and the strategos in the temple of Heracles (1768)—also the phrases τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου βασιλέως, τῶν θεῶν καὶ κυρίων βασιλέων.

C. H. ROBERTS, *Two papyri from Oxyrhynchus* in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 20–8, publishes with good comment two texts; our concern here is with the first (A.D. 245), mentioning a man who was one τῶν τεσσάρων ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως θεαγῶν Θεορείου ἐξαγορείων καὶ ἑτέρου Σιντάνω λεγομένων, and another συνθεαγὸς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαγορείων. 1. 38 ἠκύρωσεν τό γε δηλούμενον χειρόγραφον affords a parallel for Col. ii. 14.

A. CALDERINI, *Un nuovo papiro del Serapeo di Memfi nella raccolta Milanese* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 674–89, gives more accounts of pastophoroi.

CAMPBELL BONNER, *A fragment of a romance (University of Michigan Inv. No. 3378)* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 203–7, latter half of second century, describes a curious dream, and is probably part of a romance with a native Egyptian name for a character.

P. JOUGUET–O. GUÉRAUD, *Ostraca grecs d'Éléphantine* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), has as n. 5 (p. 446) a reference to a dioskouriakos thiasos at Syene; first century B.C.

C. C. EDGAR, *A new group of Zenon papyri* in *Bull. J. Ryl. Libr.*, 18 (1934), 111–30, includes n. 15, an invitation to a private celebration, perhaps of the king's birthday, with a reference to private celebration of the Hermaia; n. 4 on the keeping of the king's birthday; n. 16 on cattle of Isis and Osiris, given as a deposit by an isionomos.

B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Un autographe du méridarque Polémon?* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 21–4, publishes a letter to the lesonis or high priest of Soknebtynis, ordering the preparation of three rooms for himself and his suite, which he dates 249 B.C. (but see § 3).

A. G. ROOS, *Papyri Groninganae* in *Verh. Akad. Amsterd.*, N.R., 32, 4 (1933), includes n. 3 (2nd–3rd cent. A.D.), an inventory of cattle mentioning goats sold to Jews εἰς συμβολήν.

Illustrated London News, April 21, 1934, 598–9, gives an account of Egyptian excavations in the W. part of Hermopolis, where stood the temple of Thoth. G. BAGNANI, *Gli scavi di Tebtunis*, in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 3–13; processional way of access to temple of Seknebtunis, c. second century A.D. structures erected for corporations to watch processions; fifth-century churches.

W. OTTO, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers. Ein Beitrag zur Politik und zum Staatsrecht des Hellenismus (Abh. München, N.F., 11, 1934, pp. 147)*, is a contribution of capital importance to the understanding of the second century B.C. and the relation of Rome to the decline of Hellenism. For this section we may note specially pp. 4 ff. on the burial of Apis, 6 ff. on the significance of Sais as a royal residence, 10 n. on the titulature of the royal cult, 15 ff. on the Anakleteria and πρωτοκλισία. OTTO presented to the same Academy on December 1, 1934, *Beiträge zur Hierodulie im hellenistischen Ägypten*, to be published in the *Abhandlungen*; the summary printed makes the reader eager for the completed work.

M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Kleinasiatische u. syrische Götter im römischen Ägypten*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 493–513, studies a stele and some wood paintings, second to third century A.D., one with a sun-god, another with Isis-Tyche, accompanied by youths as paredroi theoi, such as we see with Heron in the frieze of the temple of Pnepheros at Theadelphia.¹ They present a curious problem which R. handles with his usual power; he is clearly right in seeing Syrian influence (à propos of the remark, p. 506, on the development of nome gods into military gods, cf. the development of non-military saints into military saints). He offers at the end an interesting suggestion on the origin of Heron—that the cult is a deliberate creation of the Ptolemies, like Sarapis. This will have to be considered carefully; at the moment I am sceptical, because of the absence of Heron from official oaths; had he been a god chosen by the dynasty, like Isis and Sarapis, we should expect to find him like them in the oath-form.

T. A. BRADY, *The reception of the Egyptian cults by the Greeks, 330–30 B.C.*, in *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, 11 (1935), pp. 88, \$1.25, is an invaluable study with a map, a list of temples, and a prosopographia of the known makers of dedications within the period, classified and statistically evaluated. The stages of development are accurately distinguished and there is no use of evidence subsequent to the period under consideration. It is a foundation-stone for the religious history of the Hellenistic period as it must some day be written.

¹ Cf. a Coptic text edited by W. H. WORRELL, *Orientalia*, N.S. 4 (1935), 33, l. 116–17: "Hail Sun, Hail to them that are with thee. Hail to that which is thine."

E. KIESSLING, *Zum Kult der Arsinoe im Fayum*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 542-6, inscriptional record of dedication by natives of temenos to Arsinoe and Theoi Euergetai in 163-146 B.C., at Ibion-Eikosipentarouron.

G. RADET, *La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon*, in *Mél. Bidez*, 779-92, is interesting on a difficult theme.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE, *Two head-rests and other Egyptian antiquities*, in *Brit. Mus. Quarterly*, 8 (1934), 105-8, mentions a Demotic contract of 170 B.C. giving names of eponymous priests and priestesses for that year.

The Bucheum, by SIR ROBERT MOND and OLIVER H. MYERS (*E.E.S.*, 1934, 3 vols., 50s.), is an exhaustive publication of the burial place of the Buchis bulls at Armant (Hermonthis). I, 149-68, the commentary on the ostraka, is important on temple revenues. The work as a whole, in which many excellent scholars have collaborated, will require careful study.

S. YEIVIN, *Notes on the Northern Temple at Karanis*, in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 71-9, has remarks on a private cult-niche and a suggestion on the meaning of *róptos*.

K. SCOTT, *The rôle of Basilides in the events of A.D. 69*, in *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 138-40, bears on Vespasian and Sarapis.

J. G. MILNE, *Notes on the Aberdeen University Collection*, in *Num. Chron.*, 5th ser., 14 (1934), 31-6, includes a coin struck at Alexandria in the 13th year of Trajan, rev. (apparently unique) Asklepios seated, with a hand pointing to his mouth, Hygieia, pyxis on stand, no legend; also remarks on the numerous small issues of new Graeco-Egyptian types, under Trajan, mostly not copied later.

H. I. BELL, *Diplomata Antinoitica*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 514-23, includes an oath by the tyche of Antoninus and by Osirantinous; pp. 523, 525, remarks on calendar questions.

W. L. WESTERMANN, *Slave transfer: deed of sale with affidavit of vendor (op. cit., 229-37)*, has a slave of Antonine date named Agathos Daimon.

G. VON MANTEUFFEL, *Zur Prophetie in P.S.I.*, 8, 982 (*Mél. Maspero*, 2, 119-24), restores this text (3rd cent. A.D.) which has analogies to the Potter's Oracle, very ably as referring to the Jewish revolt of A.D. 115-16.

A. D. NOCK, *A vision of Mandulis Aion*, in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 27 (1934), 53-104, attempts to restore the text of Preisigke SB. 4127 from Talmis, with special discussions of proskynemata, visions answering questions, Aion, hymn form, and the relation of popular pagan piety to the atmosphere of early Christian monasticism. For the first topic cf. W. F. EDGERTON, *Preliminary report on the ancient graffiti at Medinet Habu*, in *Am. Journ. Semit. Lang.*, 50 (1934), 116-27 (all that are dated are Ptolemaic; many, undated, of Roman and Coptic periods; a few perhaps Pharaonic. Devotees scratched their names or their feet in the temple, as earlier the wealthy set their statues in temples. Cf. at Dura the graffiti in lieu of ex-votos in the Mithraeum); M. ROSTOVTZEFF, *L'inscription d'Annianos au sanctuaire d'Iram*, in *Rev. Bibl.*, 43 (1934), 402. On the concept of eternity, cf. a new AETERNITAS AVGG. on a coin of Diocletian, with elephant and rider moving I. published by P. H. WEBB in MATTINGLY-SYDENHAM, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, v, ii (London, 1933; pp. xxiv+701; 20 pls.), 241; *ibid.*, 261 the same type with Maximianus Hercules, previously known; *ibid.*, 331, 360, 363, Sarapis on coins of Postumus (only examples in volume). On the relation of popular forms to literary forms, cf. H. HAFETER, *Untersuchungen zur allateinischen Dichtersprache (Problemata hrsg. Friedländer-Jachmann-Jacoby*, 10, Weidmann, 1934, pp. vii+153, 10 M.).

H. HENNE, *Sur l'interprétation de quelques textes*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 381-405, includes, pp. 397-405, a discussion of P. ROSS-GEORG., 2, 41, connecting the *κηρούρια* with Min. In *Jardins d'Osiris et "Képouria"* (*ibid.*, 699), he refers also to the gardens of Osiris, which seems to me probably the true explanation.

W. F. EDGERTON, *Demotica*, in *Münch. Beitr.*, 19 (1934), 281-301, though mainly concerned with legal texts, may be mentioned here as drawing attention to the immense amount of work to be done in Demotic literature. No need is more pressing.

C. GRAECO-EGYPTIAN CULTS OUTSIDE EGYPT

BRADY'S fundamental work has been mentioned in the last section; A. WILHELM, *Zu dem Gedicht des Maistas*, IG, 11, 1299, in *Symb. Oslo.*, 13 (1934), 1-18, sets right some difficult passages in this important text with his usual uncanny skill, and A. E. GORDON, *The cults of Aricia (Univ. of California publications in classical archaeology*, 2 (1934), no. 1, pp. 20; 25 cents.), a candid and instructive piece of work, in which (pp. 15-16) the worship there of Isis and Bubastis is discussed and doubt is properly thrown on the theory that Diana and Isis were identified.

D. RULER-WORSHIP

A. ALFÖLDI, *Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe*, in *Röm. Mitt.*, 49 (1934), 1-118, 5 pl., is a contribution of the first order, showing the antiquity of various customs commonly

regarded as Roman borrowings from the Sassanians, and the far-reaching effects on our historical tradition of rhetorical commonplaces. His *Eine spätrömische Helmform und ihre Schicksale im germanisch-romanischen Mittelalter*, in *Acta Archaeologica*, 5 (1934), 99–143, 8 pls., is equally brilliant and may be mentioned here for the light which it throws on imperial costume. Another work of very great merit is C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Royal correspondence in the Hellenistic period; a study in Greek epigraphy* (Yale Univ. Press, London, Milford, 1934, pp. c+405, \$2.50). This gives a collection of royal letters inscribed on stone in Asia Minor and on islands in the adjacent waters, including several that bear on this theme. The texts are edited on the basis of new collations, and the introduction and commentary are wholly admirable and make the book indispensable for every student of Hellenistic Greek. CHARLES FARWELL EDSON, JR., *The Antigonids, Heracles, and Beroea*, in *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.*, 45 (1934), 213–46, is excellent; here we have the claim of descent from Heracles without pretensions to deity. W. S. FERGUSON, *Polyeuktos and the Soteria*, in *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 55 (1934), 318–36, confirms Roussel's theory and adds some valuable dates for Athenian history; for our purpose we may note that he removes an exception to the rule that sacrifices for Antigonos at Athens fall between 262 and 229 B.C. In STERLING DOW's pioneer work, *The Lists of Athenian Archontes*, in *Hesperia*, 3 (1934), 140–90, which brings new precision into the dating of Attic inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, we may remark his observations, 149, 164 ff., 186, on the combination of the priesthood of the consul Drusus with the archonship (between 9 B.C. and A.D. 124–5), 181–2, on the possibility that Ptolemais was privileged in the tribal cycle.

O. WEINREICH, *Zu Horaz*, C. III 3, 11 ff., in *Symb. Oslo.*, 13 (1934), 104, refers to the analogy of Klearchos, who painted his face red when dressing as Zeus. K. W. MEIKLEJOHN, *Alexander Helios and Caesarion*, in *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 191–5, urges that the religious propaganda involved in this naming did not have any effect. MEYER REINHOLD, *Marcus Agrippa. A biography* (Geneva, N.Y., The W. F. Humphrey Press, pp. ix+203, 1 pl., 1933), a useful monograph, refers, pp. 107, 112, 133, to divine honours paid to Agrippa. Under this heading we may mention also L. K. BORN, *Animate law in the Republic and the Laws of Cicero*, in *Trans. Am. phil. Ass.*, 64 (1933), 128–37; L. DEUBNER, *Die Tracht des römischen Triumphators*, in *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 316–23 (the last nail, it is to be hoped, in the coffin of the idea that the Roman triumphator impersonated Jupiter); A. D. NOCK, *Seviri and Augustales* (*Mél. Bidez*, 627–38; delete the supposed fourth-century example, p. 629, n. 1); M. M. WARD, *The association of Augustus with Jupiter*, in *Studi e materiali*, 9 (1933), 203–24 (pp. 213–17 on Augustus as Zeus Eleutherios in Egypt); CH. JUSSELAND, *Le témoignage de Dion Cassius sur l'Apokolokyntosis*, in *Rev. belge*, 12 (1933), 615–19; H. J. CADBURY, *The Macellum of Corinth*, in *J. Bibl. Lit.*, 53 (1934), 134–41 (rejecting the theory that the macellum here included a chapel for emperor-worship); C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, *Aspects of imperialism in Roman Spain*, in *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 31–42; ANNI SCHMITT, *Das Bild als Stilmittel Frontos* (Diss. München, 1934, Druck des Salesianischen Offizin, München O11, pp. iv+127; careful and interesting; pp. 42 f. on the comparison of the emperor with Jupiter); N. H. BAYNES, *Eusebius and the Christian Empire* (*Mél. Bidez*, 13–18; on the kinship of E.'s ideas with the Neopythagorean doctrine; reviewed by E. B., *Religio*, 10 (1934), 565); reviews of L. R. TAYLOR, *The divinity of the Roman Emperor*, by A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *Phil. Woch.*, 53 (1933), 1114–20 (excellent); O. WEINREICH, *Menekrates Zeus und Salomoneus*, by G. BREITHAAPT, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 396–7; of E. DRIOTON, *Le roi défunt. Thot et la crue du Nil* (*Egyptian Religion*, 1, 39–51), by R. D(USSAUD), *Rev. hist. rel.*, 108 (1933), 296–7.

E. JUDAISM

À propos of the Septuagint, we may note H. J. ROSE, *Quelques remarques sur l'histoire de Suzanne*, in *Rev. ét. juives*, 98 (1934), 89–90; R. S. HAUPERT, *The transcription theory of the Septuagint*, in *J. Bibl. Lit.*, 53 (1934), 251–5.

The admirable Loeb *Philo* of F. H. COLSON and the late G. H. WHITTAKER goes ahead at a good pace and has reached a fifth volume. For *Philo* we may note also L. FINKELSTEIN, *Is Philo mentioned in Rabbinic literature?* in *J. Bibl. Lit.*, 53 (1934), 142–9; M. E. ANDREWS, *Paul, Philo, and the intellectuals* (*ibid.*, 150–66); S. MOWINCKEL, *The "Spirit" and the "Word" in the pre-exilic reforming prophets* (*ibid.*, 199–227); STERLING TRACY, *Philo Judaeus and the Roman principate*, pp. 55, The Bayard Press, Williamsfort, Pa., 1933, an excellent statement of Philo's diverse loyalties, and of the relation of what happened under Caligula at Alexandria to the whole position of Judaism within the Roman state; reviewed by H. M(ATTINGLY), *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 109–10; MAXIMILIAN SCHÄFER, *Ein frühmittelstoisches System der Ethik bei Cicero* (Diss., München, 1933, publ. 1934, Druck des Salesianischen Offizin, pp. 334; obtainable from München 23, Altes Realgymnasium; note pp. xiii f., dating back the Platonic-Aristotelian elements in the Stoa. Cf. M. POHLENZ,

Cicero de officiis III, *Göttingische Nachrichten*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1934, 1-39); reviews of J. FASCHER, *ΗΒΑΣΙΑΙΚΗ ΟΔΟΣ*, by H. PREISKER, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 177-8; and of G. TROTTI, *Filone Alessandrino*, by E. B., *Religio*, 10 (1934), 280.

We have every reason to be grateful for the appearance of *The Mishnah, translated from the Hebrew with introduction and brief explanatory notes*, by HERBERT DANBY (Oxf. Univ. Press, pp. xxxii + 844, 1933, 18s.).

F. MAGIC

S. EITREM, *Aus Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte. Die magischen Papyri*, in *Münch. Beitr.*, 19 (1934), 243-63, gives an admirable survey of what has been achieved, and of some of the goals of future investigation, with many illuminating observations. In *Kronos in der Magie* (*Mél. Bidez*, 351-60), he gives a valuable commentary on *P. mag. gr.*, 4, 3086 ff., explaining the ἀπρη from Greek myth. (When Helios is there said to have bound Kronos, is it one of the myths invented *ad hoc* in magical writings? Cf. BELL-NOCK-THOMPSON, *Magical Texts*, 42.)

W. H. WORRELL, *Coptic magical and medical texts*, in *Orientalia*, n.s., 4 (1935), 1-37 (to be continued), brings forth more of the riches of the Ann Arbor collection. Inv. 1523, perhaps fourth to fifth century A.D., adjuration by wronged person; 1190, fifth or later, a magician's treatise; a birth spell (with p. 11, l. 15, cf. *Magical Texts*, 30 f.; p. 12, l. 25, a new descensus myth); Inv. 3565, sixth or earlier, a curse; Inv. 136, perhaps earlier than sixth; original in part at least Greek, and some of it taken over untranslated (p. 18, characteres. In this pure Graeco-Egyptian magic survives and a line of Homer is used; p. 31 a reference to "the books of Thoth"; p. 36, lizard magic). This is a most significant publication for the continuity of magic, and WORRELL has edited it with very useful notes.

S. KROLL, *Bolos und Demokritos*, in *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 228-32, shows that WELLMANN'S conclusions require modification and that anything could attach itself to the name of Demokritos. His *Die Erforschung des antiken Volksglaubens*, in *Mitt. d. schlesischen Ges. f. Volkskunde*, 34 (1934), 1-10, is an admirable survey. For the literary use of apocrypha of the type of pseudo-Demokritos, cf. pp. 634, 659 of E. NORDEN'S most beautiful study, *Orpheus und Eurydice* (*Sitzungsber. Berlin*, 1934, 626-83).

CAMPBELL BONNER, *A supplement to Preisendanz's Amuletum ineditum*, in *Byz. neogr. Jahrb.*, 9 (1933), 375-8, discusses the triangular shape of the stone as possibly related to a native trinitarian tendency. A. JACOBY, *Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Kosmopoiie des Leidener Zauberpapyrus*, *op. cit.*, 10 (1933), 65-92, 168; perhaps originally cult reading of a religious community. CAMPBELL BONNER has reviewed BELL-NOCK-THOMPSON, *Magical Texts*, in *Cl. Phil.*, 29 (1934), 155-7, with useful suggestions; K. FR. W. SCHMIDT writes on PREISENDANZ, *Pap. gr. mag.* II, in *G.G.A.*, 196 (1934), 169-86; E. DES PLACES on DELATTE, *La catoptromancie grecque*, in *Rech. sc. relig.*, 24 (1934), 374.

Under this heading come also A. S. F. GOW, *ΥΠΕ, Rhombus, Turbo*, in *J.H.S.*, 54 (1934), 1-13 (ὑπεγ the wheel, ῥόμβος the bull-roarer); a postscript to it by S. EITREM, *Varia* 73, in *Symb. Oslo.*, 13 (1934), 146-7; E. TAVENNER, *Lynx and rhombus*, in *T.A.P.A.*, 64 (1933), 109-27; L. DEUBNER, *Der Pharmakos von Abdera*, in *St. ital., fl. class.*, n.s., 9 (1934), 185-92; M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Il Rebus Sator*, in *Annali R. Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, lettere storia e filosofia*, Ser. II, vol. 3 (1934), 103-5, 1 pl. (on the palindrome of which three examples occur in one of the rooms of the courtyard of the temple of Azzanathkona at Dura; A.D. 165-256; the phrase, a Christian cryptogram, used by Christians, or by pagans who had learned of it as an effective formula); A. DELATTE-CH. JUSSEERAND, *Contribution à l'étude de la démonologie byzantine* (*Mél. Bidez*, 207-32; p. 213 on surviving divine names); J. C. LAWSON, *The evocation of Darius* (Aesch. Persae, 607-93), in *Cl. Quart.*, 28 (1934), 79-89. On personifications cf. L. RADERMACHER, *ΠΕΙΘΩ and ΔΟΛΟΣ*, in *Jahreshefte*, 29 (1934), 93-6; on the power of the word, I. ZOLLI, *Benedizione e maledizione nella letteratura antico-testamentaria*, in *Religio*, 10 (1934), 289-95 (*op. cit.*, 525-34, *Magia ed arte divinatoria presso gli antichi Israeliti*); on hymn-style, G. RUDBERG, *Zu den homerischen Hymnen*, in *Symb. Oslo.*, 13 (1934), 22-37, M. POHLENZ, *G.G.A.* (1934), 358, 361, n. 1; on prayer-style, W.-H. FRIEDRICH, *Untersuchungen zu Senecas dramatischer Technik* (Freiburg Diss. of 1931, Borna-Leipzig, R. Noske, 1933, pp. 156), pp. 27-9 and 52-3.

G. HERMETICA AND ASTROLOGY

F. CUMONT, *Antiochus d'Athènes et Porphyre* (*Mél. Bidez*, 135-56), deals with an introductory treatise on planetary lore showing use of astrological Hermetica and falling between 100 B.C. and A.D. 50. He raises the question whether it was written by Antiochus of Ascalon. He edits the first four chapters of the work, which include a reference to imprisonments and letting the hair grow, which bears on the katochoi. M. PIEPER,

Zum astronomischen Papyrus von Oslo, in *Symb. Oslo.*, 13 (1934), 65–7 (à propos of S. EITREM, *Fragment of Astronomy on an Oslo Papyrus* (*Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 479–86)), has remarks on P. Oxy. 143 which he regards as an Egyptian book on astronomy translated into Greek and of the native type of Hermetic literature; the importance of this conclusion, if accepted, would be great.

On a later astronomical work, cf. F. DÖLGER, *Die Abfassungszeit des Gedichtes des Meliteniotes auf die Enthaltsamkeit* (*Mél. Bidez*, 315–30). ZURETTI, *Cat. MSS. alchim. gr.* VIII is reviewed by H. CH. PUECH, *Rev. hist. rel.*, 108 (1933), 290–1 (notes on correspondence of metals, planets, letters). For λογική θυσία in the Hermetica cf. O. CASEL, *Ein orientalisches Kultwort in abendländischer Umschmelzung* (*Jahrb. f. Lit.*, 11, 1–19); for the anti-Greek feeling of C.H., 16, cf. TH. HOPFNER, *Die Brachmanen Indiens u. die Gymnosophisten Ägyptens in der Apolloniosbiographie des Philostratos*, in *Archiv Orientalni*, 6 (1933), 58–67 (in this connexion JARL CHARPENTIER, *The Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, *Skr. Human. Vetenskaps-samfundet i Uppsala*, 29, 3 (1934), pp. 66, is most interesting reading, for its author, as an expert on Indian matters, argues forcibly that book II of Phil. shows real knowledge of India, but III, which is concerned with what lies beyond the altars of Alexander, is imaginary). For the Hermetica we may note also W. THEILER's review in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 493–9 of E. BENZ, *Marius Victorinus u. die Entwicklung der abendländischen Willensmetaphysik*; W. STETTNER, *Die Seelenwanderung bei Griechen u. Römern* (*Tüb. Beitr. z. Alt.*, 22 (1934), p. 92, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart), 26, 82–5; H. CH. PUECH, *Numénius d'Apamée et les théologies orientales au second siècle* (*Mél. Bidez*, 745–78).

H. BIBLICAL TEXTS

An admirable survey of recent work with judicious conclusions is given by H. A. SANDERS, *Recent text studies in the New Testament*, in *Anglican Theological Review*, 16 (1934), 266–82 (includes information on the Michigan part of the Beatty find). A question of some interest is raised by P. GÄCHTER, *Zur Textabteilung von Evangelienhandschriften*, in *Biblica*, 15 (1934), 301–20. The Beatty papyri have been in the foreground. From the literature which has grown round them we may cite M. LAGRANGE, *Les Papyrus Chester Beatty pour les Évangiles*, in *Rev. bibl.*, 43 (1934), 4–41, *Les Papyrus Beatty des Actes des Apôtres* (*ibid.*, 161–71), *Les papyrus Chester Beatty pour les Épîtres de S. Paul et l'Apocalypse* (*ibid.*, 481–93, on F. G. KENYON, *The Chester Beatty biblical papyri*, fasc. iii, pp. xiii+35, 1934); H. LIETZMANN, *Zur Würdigung des Chester-Beatty-Papyrus der Paulusbriefer* (*Sitzungsber. Berlin*, 1934, 774–82; WILCKEN quoted as dating c. 200; also *Z. neut. Wiss.*, 33 (1934), 220–1); H. A. SANDERS, *The Beatty Papyrus of Revelation and Hoskier's edition*, in *J. Bibl. Lit.*, 53 (1934), 371–80, on relation to groups of cursives; P. L. COUCHOUD, *Notes sur le Texte de S. Marc dans le Codex Chester Beatty*, in *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 3–22 (note 20–2 on the punctuation); F. C. BURKITT, *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther* (*ibid.*, 68–9); E. R. SMOTHERS, *Les papyrus Beatty de la Bible grecque*, in *Rech. sc. rel.*, 24 (1934), 12–34, *Les Papyrus Beatty; Deux leçons dans les Actes* (467–72); L. CERFAUX on F. G. KENYON, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, 30, 634–7; references also in *B.Z.*, 34, 409.

C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Die zivilen Archive in Dura* (*Münch. Beitr.*, 19, 379–99), mentions the discovery at Dura of a parchment roll of Tatian's Diatessaron and a smaller Hebrew fragment with sentences from the O.T. conjectured to have been made for liturgical use in the synagogue. (He mentions also, p. 382, a Greek contract of A.D. 180; the dating includes reference to the priests of Zeus, Apollo, the ancestors, and king Seleucus—a remarkable indication of the survival of Greek cults.)

We may mention also J. HUBY, *Bulletin d'exégèse du Nouveau Testament*, in *Rech. sc. rel.*, 24 (1934), 478–96; J. A. MONTGOMERY, *The Ethiopic Text of Acts of the Apostles*, in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 27 (1934), 169–205 (note 177–83 on the character of translations into Eth.); reviews of A. C. CLARK, *The Acts of the Apostles*, by L. A. POST, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 55 (1934), 191–2; W. NESTLE, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 30–1; K. and S. LAKE, *The Acts of the Apostles*, in *J. Bibl. Lit.*, 53 (1934), 34–45.

G. KITTEL, *Theologisches Wörterbuch* (for which cf. *Journal*, 19, 70; 20, 86), has maintained its very high standard and also its admirable promptness; vol. II, parts 3–9, have appeared. The article εἰκόν by VON RAD, KITTEL, KLEINKNECHT is of special interest for its discussion of the frescoes in the Dura synagogue and Watzinger's suggestion that their origin lies in book illustrations to the O.T. On these paintings, on the contrast between them and the Christian paintings at Dura, and on the general character of early Christian art, there is much to be learned from O. CASEL, *Älteste christliche Kunst u. Christumysterium* (*Jahrb. f. Liturg.*, 12, 1–86). There are reviews of KITTEL, by DE VAUX, *Rev. bibl.*, 43 (1934), 309–10, P. B., *Religio*, 10 (1934), 187–8; 3, *ibid.*, 474, E. C. COLWELL, *Journ. Relig.*, 14 (1934), 241; of H. SEESEMANN, *Der Begriff κοινωνία im N.T.*, by W. GOOSSENS, *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, 30, 362–3; of O. ROLLER, *Die Formular der paulinischen Briefe*, by E. BICKERMANN, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 55–7.

M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Ὁς δεξιὸν ἀποπέμνει*, in *Z. neut. Wiss.*, 33 (1934), 196–9, discusses the parallel in P. Tebt. 793 to the Gospel story, explaining the act as a contemptuous shaming of the victim. T. G. SHERMAN, “*Our daily bread*”, in *J. Bibl. Lit.*, 53 (1934), 110–17, handles an old difficulty.

H. I. BELL, *A New Gospel* (*The Times*, Jan. 23, 1935), announces a remarkable discovery, the full publication of which, entitled *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other early Christian Papyri*, is now available and will be discussed in the next Bibliography.

I. MANICHAËISM

The outstanding event is the appearance of *Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung Chester Beatty Bd. I: Manichäische Homilien*, herausgegeben von HANS JACOB POLOTSKY mit einem Beitrag von HUGO IBSCHER (pp. xxi+96 text, 96 pp. transl., 22 pp. index, 1 pl., Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1934, unbound 27 M., bound 30 M.). This opens with a foreword by SIR HERBERT THOMPSON, whose generosity has made the publication possible. The writing is now assigned to the fifth century, and the text is shown to be a copy of a book which was already defective. It contains sermons by disciples, two of them named, on prayer, on the great war (apocalyptic), on the crucifixion (of Mani). The notes contain all that is essential. I need not say that the execution of this task is worthy of its intrinsic importance, and the speed with which the results have been presented to the public is exemplary. Review by F. C. BURKITT, *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 357–61; L(IETZMANN) in *Z. neut. Wiss.*, 33 (1934), 220.

SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund* has been reviewed by E. PETERSON, *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 379–87 (very important; argues that the Kephalaia is a set of excerpts by disciples, probably from various works; emphasizes influence of Marcionite canon on Mani; studies political position of Mani). Cf. also PETERSON, *Ein manichäisches Bücherfund in Ägypten*, in *Hochland*, 31 (1933–4), 402–10; E. KLOSTERMANN, *Theol. St. Kr.*, 106 (1934–5), 57–60; K. HEUSSI, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 179–81; F. P. KARNTHALER, *Byz. neugr. Jahrb.*, 10 (1933), 128–32. Cf. C. SCHMIDT, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Ägypten*, in *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 3. Folge, 3 (1933), 1–28; a note, *La bibliothèque d'un Manichéen découverte en Égypte*, in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 17 (1934), 42; TH. SCHNEIDER, *Der Engel Jakob bei Mani*, in *Z. neut. Wiss.*, 33 (1934), 218–19.

Turfan has produced many Manichaeen rolls; but *Soghdische Texte, II*, von F. W. K. MÜLLER, aus dem *Nachlass herausgegeben von Dr. W. LENTZ* (*Sitzungsber. Berlin*, 1934, 504–607; separately 6 M. 50) consists of Christian texts translated from Syriac and of Buddhist texts. This, too, is a monument of scholarship.

J. CHRISTIAN

CAMPBELL BONNER'S *A papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitudes 2–9), with a fragment of the Mandates* (Univ. of Michigan Studies, 22 (1934), Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, pp. x+137, 5 pls., \$3.00) has been eagerly awaited and fulfils expectation. The text was written by a skilled scribe in the latter half of the third century, and either he or his supervisor had two copies at hand—a fact of extreme importance for the genesis of the double readings which we find in the manuscript tradition of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. BONNER makes many valuable observations on the form of the codex, and on its linguistic peculiarities, which indicate that the Athos manuscript represents a text which has been subjected to linguistic corrections. The edition is a model of what Mommsen called “die sogenannte streng philologische Methode, das heisst die rücksichtslos ehrliche, im grossen wie im kleinen vor keiner Mühe scheuende”. It has received due praise from F. C. BURKITT, *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 199, L(AGRANGE), *Rev. Bibl.*, 43 (1934), 453–4, A. SOUTER, *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 435–7, J. LEBON, *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, 30, 648–9.

U. WILCKEN'S magnificent *Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung* is reviewed in § 3. But we must here consider no. 3 from Eshmūnēn (Hermopolis), a liturgical fragment of the third century, “wenn auch vielleicht eher seiner Ende”. It is a private copy, clumsily made, and W. infers that it was not meant for official use in church; but it is a question whether there were official church liturgical books at this time, and whether some newly ordained bishop may not have copied this for himself. In any case, the fragment is given extraordinary importance by its date; it contains part of two prayers of the type usual before the communion, with notable parallels to the later Byzantine liturgies. We have to allow for somewhat earlier crystallization of practice than has hitherto appeared credible.¹ We may here note for paganism, no. 4,

¹ On liturgy, note also C. J. KRAEMER, JR., *Pliny and the early church service: fresh light from an old source*, in *Cl. Phil.*, 29 (1934), 293–300: he suggests that the reference is to liturgical recitation of the ten Commandments; E. PETERSON, *Fiducia in den altrömischen Sakramentaren* (offprint from *Liturgisches Leben*, 1934, pp. 8. Cf. the use in April *Met.*, 11, 28); O. CASEL, *Beitr. zu römischen Orationen* (*Jahrb. f. Lit.*, 11, 35–45).

relating to an ephebe association of the second century B.C. at Philadelphia, the president of which had the duty of providing a lighting of lamps and an offering of something like shew-bread in the temple, which was the religious centre of the group; no. 8 for land belonging to Oseirantinous; no. 16 for oath by Tyche of emperor used by a deacon (the word is omitted, but *τὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰωνίων ἀγύστων* is unmistakable).

S. DE RICCI, *Un papyrus chrétien épistolaire de l'ancienne collection Offord* (*Mél. Bidez*, 857-9, 1 pl.), publishes with aid from A. DEISSMANN a letter of the beginning of the fourth century.

E. SCHWARTZ, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma*. (*Abh. München*, N.F., 10, 1934, pp. 304), is not merely an edition of conciliar texts made with an unrivalled technique, but also a wonderful chapter in church history, which becomes in the hands of S. not a bloodless record of divergent ideas on theoretical questions but the story of the actions and passions of men living in time and space. For our purpose we may refer specially to p. 171 on the rift between the Egyptian church and the other churches, p. 191 the contrast of centralization between Antioch and Alexandria, p. 201 on Pamprepios, pp. 241 ff. on the Trishagion.

H. DELEHAYE, *Un groupe de récits "utiles à l'âme"* (*Mél. Bidez*, 255-66), edits a remarkable text which was intended to show the power of laymen to help in spiritual difficulty; note p. 266, direct prayer to Jesus.

CHARLOTTE A. BAYNES, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus* (*Bruce MS. 96, Bodl. Lib., Oxford*): *A translation from the Coptic, transcript, and commentary with 117 colotype reproductions of the text and transcript*, pp. xxv+229, Camb. Univ. Press, 1933, 30s., is a useful edition with full parallels from other Gnostic literature. See reviews by B. C., *Rev. Bibl.*, 43 (1934), 454-5; A. D. NOCK, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 56 (1935), 85-6. On Coptic in general cf. L. TH. LEFORT, *Le copte, source auxiliaire du grec* (*Mél. Bidez*, 569-78).

On Athanasius we have R. P. CASEY, *The Pseudo-Athanasian Sermo Maior de fide*, in *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 394-5, *A Syriac corpus of Athanasian writings* (*op. cit.*, 66-7); H. G. OPITZ, *Die Zeitfolge des arianischen Streits von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 328*, in *Z. neut. Wiss.*, 33 (1934), 131-59. A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Ein pseudo-athanasianischer Traktat mit apokryphen Philosophensprüchen im Codex Bodleianus Roe 5* (*ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΥ*, 177-89), is a Christian fiction with supposed prophecies of the Greek sages and Hermes, edited by VON P. with his usual skill.

Epiphanius de gemmis, by ROBERT P. BLAKE and HENRI DE VIS (in *Studies and Documents*, edited by K. and S. LAKE, II, London, Christophers, 1934, pp. cxxiii+335 and Georgian index), gives the Georgian, Armenian, and Coptic, of a treatise of which hitherto a Latin version had afforded barely half. The prolegomena are thoroughly useful, and we shall await eagerly the promised discussion of sources.

F. J. DÖLGER'S periodical, *Antike u. Christentum*, has reached vol. IV, pt. IV, and includes such interesting articles as *Klingeln, Tanz u. Händeklatschen im Gottesdienst der christlichen Melchitaner in Ägypten* (4, 245-65; pls. 11-15). A review of II, i-IV, iii, by M. DIBELIUS, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 421-2; of III, i-IV, ii, together with B. BOTTE, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie*, by A. D. NOCK, *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 217-19. J. MUNCK, *Untersuchungen über Klemens von Alexandrien*, is reviewed by O. STÄHLIN, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 59 (1934), 248-52; on Clement cf. O. WEINREICH, *Die humanistische Bildungsidee in Schule u. Hochschule* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1933, pp. 26, 1 M. 35), p. 9. R. N. FLEW, *The idea of perfection in Christian theology: an historical study of the Christian ideal for the present life* (Oxf. Univ. Press, 1934, pp. xv+422, 15s.), is a fine, profound, and withal charming book; pp. 48 ff. bear on the Hermetica, 155-88 on monasticism and the homilies of Macarius (reviewed by W. F. LOFTHOUSE, *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 411-14); W. SESTON, *Remarques sur le rôle de la pensée d'Origène dans les origines du monachisme*, in *Rev. hist. rel.*, 108 (1933), 197-213, is interesting and significant. W. THEILER, *Porphyrios u. Augustin*, is reviewed by E. B., *Religio*, 10 (1934), 375; H. KOCH, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Askese*, by S. J. CASE, *Journ. Rel.*, 14 (1934), 125. E. PETERSON is always thorough and suggestive. In addition to the writings of his noticed earlier in this survey, we have the pleasure of welcoming from him *Das Buch von den Engeln, Stellung u. Bedeutung der heiligen Engeln im Kultus* (pp. 138, Leipzig, J. Hegner, 1935, 4 M. 50, bound), written with deep understanding of patristic literature and of the higher forms of piety, and making a sharp distinction between Jewish and Christian angelology; *Jüdisches u. christliches Morgengebet in Syrien*, in *Z. kath. Theol.*, 58 (1934), 110-13 (Christian adaptation of the Schma); *Theologie des Kleides*, in *Benediktinische Monatschrift*, 16 (1934), 347-56 (material on baptism, Christian and Mandaean, and on the idea of the soul's journey to heaven); *Zwei angeblich montanistische Inschriften (Römische Quartalschr.*, 1934, 173-6); *Zwei Vermutungen*, in *Z. f. kath. Theol.*, 58 (1934), 400-2 (on εἰς θεός in Christian epitaphs, explained as borrowed from old Jewish burial liturgy, and on the curious idea in Epiphanius 49. 1. 3. of Christ in woman's dress), and *Himmliche u. irdische Liturgie*, in *Benediktinische Monatschrift*, 16 (1934), 139-47 (bears on the Sanctus).

3. Publications of Non-Literary Texts

A. GENERAL

Once again a large number of the articles here mentioned come from *Aeg.*, 13, dedicated to ULRICH WILCKEN on his 70th birthday, the second and final part of which appeared just too late for the last Bibliography. The complete volume of 692 pages, contributed by scholars of all nations, forms a fitting tribute to the *doyen* of papyrology, who has himself marked the occasion by the chief publication of the year: *Mitteilungen a. d. Würzburger Papyrussammlung (Abh. d. Preuss. Akad., Jahrg. 1933, Phil.-hist. Klasse, nr. 6)*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1934, pp. 123, 3 pls., R.M. 20. The papyri range from the second century B.C. to the eighth A.D., and, it is needless to say, the editing shows a uniform mastery of the problems peculiar to each period. Apart from nos. 1–3 (literary) we may note: 4, petition of a cleruch to the *πρός τῆ συνράξει* about a candelabrum improperly pledged by the president of a local club to provide funds for some ritual ceremony (*πρόθεσις*). On 5 (31 B.C.) W. points out that the double dating of Cleopatra's latter years has nothing to do with Antony, but signalizes her recovery of the Ptolemaic *irredenta*, Coele-Syria, in 36 B.C. 6 is a remarkable *συγγραφή ἐξάμартυρος* in which the "Inner Text" has degenerated to two words—the name of the borrower! 8 and 9, both referring to Antinoopolis, are the star pieces; in discussing the former, a petition to the nomarch of Antinoopolis, W. demonstrates that an Antinoopolite nome did not exist until the reforms of Diocletian, while the seventh nome of the Heptanomia was really the Little Oasis (this is now finally proved by P. Jand. 140, see below). The "Nomarchy of Antinoopolis" was a considerable slice of territory carved out from, but still administratively a subdivision of, the Hermopolite nome. 9, partly published as *Chrest.* 26, deals with the exemption of Antinoites from liturgies outside the city. Of the later texts, 18 and 19 are interesting additions to the class of *ἐπιστάγματα τοῦ σωματισμοῦ* (P. Warren 2, published by Hunt in *Studi Riccobono*, 2, 521–3, might have been mentioned); the second of these probably dates from the early Arab period, and thus provides further evidence for the continuation of the Byzantine system of administration by the Arab conquerors. The volume is noticed by F. Z[UCKER] in *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 410–411.

GRETE ROSENBERGER has published an interesting little volume of private letters in the Janda collection; two (91, 92) are from the Zenon archive, the others are Roman and Byzantine. *Papyri Iandanae. Fasciculus Sextus: Griechische Privatbriefe*, pp. 215–58, pls. xvii–xx, Berlin-Leipzig, Teubner, R.M. 4. A dubious reference to the *ἀερικόν* in no. 102 is surprising, and H. I. BELL in reviewing the volume quotes a palmary conjecture by Hunt, *ἀβροχκοῦ*, at the same time pointing out that the papyrus is probably to be dated considerably earlier than the sixth century: *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 241. Also reviewed by A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.*, 14, 349–50; C. PRÉAUX and M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 374; F. ZUCKER, *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 173–4; K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.*, 54 (1934), 1341–4; and W. SCHUBART, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 612–14.

Of much greater importance is the seventh fascicule of the same series, edited by D. CURSCHMANN: *Papyri Iandanae. Fasciculus Septimus: Griechische Verwaltungsurkunden*, pp. 259–350, pls. xxi–xxiv, Berlin-Leipzig, Teubner, 1934, R.M. 8.40. Attention may be drawn to the following: 134, notification to the komogrammateus by a holder of *γῆ βασιλική* that he has sub-let his holding (83 B.C.). [Incidentally, may not the ρ[. . . at the beginning of l. 10 be an abbreviation of (*ἐκατονταρούρου*)?] 137 (first half of second century A.D.) is of first-class importance, being nothing less than a complete tariff of charges payable on the transfer of catoecic land, classified according to the nature of the cultivation and the sex of the holder (women paying double or treble fees). Charges are also graded according to whether the holder is acquiring catoecic land for the first time, or whether he is inheriting it (can [*διαδεχομέ[ν]ων*] be considered in ll. 11 and 15?), and various charges for forms of registration, mortgage of catoecic land, etc., follow. The very abbreviated form of the document and the loss of 8–9 letters from the beginnings of the lines make the sense sometimes uncertain, and some of the editor's opinions, e.g. that acquisition of catoecic land conferred status of *κάτοικος* on the holder, may perhaps be open to question (cf. TAIT, *Gr. Ostr.*, p. 67; *Aeg.*, 13, 465–6). 139 (c. A.D. 148) is a sworn statement (cf. *Aeg.*, 13, 337) by a dam-watchman defending his failure to report to the Idiologus the fall of some trees growing on the dam. But the outstanding piece is 140 (A.D. 151), a proclamation by an Arsinoite strategus publishing a letter from the Epistrategus of the Heptanomia and Arsinoites; this letter is addressed to "the strategi of the below-mentioned nomes" and actually at the foot is the only extant list of the nomes under his jurisdiction; though sadly mutilated, mention of the Oasis (*i.e.* the Little or Bahariya Oasis) and the omission of the Antinoopolite nome completely confirm Wilcken's conclusions. The purpose of the letter of the Epistrategus was to enclose a copy of a *διάταγμα* of the Prefect respecting certain privileges enjoyed by the Antinoites, but the nature of these cannot be made out.

F. BILABEL has brought out *Sammelbuch*, Band v, Heft 1; 22 of its 79 pages reprint FRISK's *Bankakten*,

the rest are chiefly devoted to texts from *Aeg.*, 13, and to *P. Ryl. Zen.* (see below). Heidelberg, im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1934, R.M. 21.75.

A second volume by C. C. EDGAR and A. S. HUNT in the Loeb Library has appeared: *Select Papyri*. Vol. II, *Official Documents*, London, Heinemann, 1934, pp. xxxvii+608, 10s. The two remaining volumes of the series will contain literary papyri. Vol. I (*Journal*, 19, 74) has been reviewed by A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.*, 14, 109-10, and by P. COLLART, *Rev. de phil.*, 8 (1934), 389-90.

A fourth edition of HANS LIETZMANN's popular little selection, *Griechische Papyri*, no. 14 in the *Kleine Texte* series, is announced, but I do not know what innovations, if any, have been made. Pp. 32, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1934, R.M. 1.00.

A little collection by WILLIAM HERSEY DAVIS, *Greek Papyri of the First Century*, New York, 1933, pp. xxx+84, has nothing new for papyrologists.

P. Oslo II (*Journal*, 18, 83), has been reviewed by B. OLSSON, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 52, 154-5.

H. BÜTTNER's *Griechische Privatbriefe* (*Journal*, 18, 84) has been reviewed by P. S. COSTAS, *Cl. Phil.*, 29 (1934), 178.

L. AMUNDSEN's *Ostraca Osloënsia* has been reviewed by K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *G.G.A.*, 195 (1933), 473-4; by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 138-9; P. S. COSTAS, *Cl. Phil.*, 29 (1934), 138-9; B. OLSSON, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 52, 154-5; and by A. S. HUNT, *Journal*, 20 (1934), 125, who suggests reading *περὶ ὧν ἐν ἐλέ(φασί) ἐδαπάνησε* in no. 2, l. 12, thus making the identification of Charimortos with the well-known strategus of that name, *ὁ ἀποσταλὴς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων*, almost certain.

P. Groninganae (*Journal*, 20, 91-2) is noticed by F. Z[UCKER] in *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 410.

B. PTOLEMAIC

The chief publication here is the first volume of the Zenon papyri at Columbia University. It includes dated or roughly dateable texts down to 248 B.C., so Vol. II will presumably be devoted to the remaining dated and all the undated documents. Nine of the 58 papyri have already appeared elsewhere, but the remainder include many pieces of considerable interest, among them: 2, earnings of a camel caravan trading between Palestine and Egypt. 4, record of papyrus used by the accountants of Apollonios, the daily consumption reaching the impressive average of 30 rolls. 6 is a touching petition to Zenon from the mother of a page in the employ of Apollonios. 11 an elegant appeal from three of Zenon's fellow citizens who were on a visit to Egypt, asking him to use his influence with Apollonios in some matter affecting the city of Kaunos. Apollonios's troubles with the beer monopoly at Philadelphia are the subject of 34. 40 is a receipt from an agent of the Memphite oikonomos for krotos grown in the Fayyūm for delivery in the Memphite nome. In 42 Apollonios orders Zenon to Krokodilopolis to make up the accounts of the beer and other [monopolies ?] with Phileas the eklogistes and Python the Royal banker. 55, a receipt from the nomarch Etearchos to Anosis the Komogrammateus for a quantity of wine "from the *dorea* of Apollonios" released at an agreed price to the retailers, together with a further quantity from the *apomoira* to be supplied in lieu of wages to certain *phylakitae*, seems to show that the *apomoira* was not exclusively devoted to religious purposes (though it may have been merely a temporary diversion to meet an emergency). 57, a draft *diagraphē* with covering letter to the banker, should also be noted.

Though the editing is conscientious, there are some serious defects in reading which it is to be hoped will be corrected in the second volume; to take but one example, the "monogram" read as (*ταλαντιεῖον*) in 15, l. 1, is obviously the numeral *ā*, and should be extended (*ἔνα*), thus enabling the sentence to be construed. It is also to be hoped that the editors will take some steps to obviate the prevailing confusion in the numeration of their publications; thus the present vol. is "P. Col. III", but the first document it contains is numbered 2, the reason being that no. 1 was the roll published as "P. Col. II"; furthermore, the first Columbia papyrus to be published was not no. 1, but P. Col. Inv. 480, which appeared as Westermann's *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt*, now known as "P. Col. I".

W. L. WESTERMANN and E. S. HASENOEHL, *Zenon Papyri*, Vol. I (Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, Vol. III), pp. x+177; 8 facsimiles. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1934, \$6.00 or 30s. Reviewed by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 10 (1935), 147-51.

Two unpublished Zenon papyri from the same collection, both accounts, are printed in ELIZABETH GRIER's *Accounting in the Zenon Archive*.

A group of Zenon papyri in Manchester, originally entrusted to Grenfell for publication, has been edited by C. C. EDGAR. Eighteen pieces are printed; no. 2 is the conclusion of a lively letter, perhaps from Amyntas,

in which occurs the remarkable sobriquet, Ἀντίοχος ὁ ῥαχᾶς (see § 8 below), and no. 11 contains some important metrological information which has been discussed by A. SEGRÈ in the course of an article, *Nuovi appunti metrologici*, in *Sym. Oslo.*, 13, 68–73. No. 9 is reprinted and discussed by EDGAR, *A Note on the Ptolemaieia*, in *Mél. Maspero*, 2, 53–6. *A New Group of Zenon Papyri*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 18 (1934), no. 1, 111–30. The texts are now reprinted in *S.B.* 7637–7654. Reviewed by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 350–2.

Some corrections to Zenon papyri, in particular a whole line accidentally omitted from P. Cair. Zen. 59036, are noted by C. C. EDGAR, in *Aeg.*, 14, 119. In *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 298–304, J. C. NABER continues his studies of Zenon papyri: *Ad Papyros quosdam Cairo-Zenonianos III*, undeterred by the fact that, as Edgar (*Aeg.*, 12, 371) has reported, his earlier conjectures, wherever a definite decision is possible, are unsupported by the papyri. V. TSCHERIKOWER has studied the Palestinian papyri in the Zenon archive in *Tarbiz*, 4, n. 4, 225–47, but unfortunately the article is written in Hebrew and consequently unintelligible to me, and, I suppose, to most readers of this Bibliography. N. LEWIS has an article on *New Light on the Greek House from the Zenon Papyri*, in *A.J.A.*, 37 (1933), 397–9, and several Zenon papyri are discussed and conjecturally restored by E. BERNEKER, *Zu einigen Prozessurkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, in *Ét. Pap.*, 2 (1933), 59–69. A rather belated reference may be made here to ROSTOVITZEFF's popular book, *Out of the Past of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, 1932), one chapter of which is devoted to Zenon and Apollonios.

It would be hard to find a more surprisingly appropriate contribution to the Wilcken *Festschrift* than that of Prof. A. CALDERINI. Some years ago he purchased, from a South-Italian Jew, a papyrus containing the first 24 lines of Euripides' *Telephos*; this now turns out to be one of the Serapeum find! Beside the *Telephos*, publication of which elsewhere is promised *al più presto*, it contains some accounts showing close affinity with U.P.Z. 98 and 99. *Un nuovo papiro del Serapeo di Memfi nella raccolta Milanese*, in *Aeg.*, 13, 674–89.

P. COLLART and P. JOUGUET have published an interesting petition to the strategus (of the Peri Thebas?) dating from about 150 B.C. and found during the excavations at Dêr el-Baḥrî. It concerns some land which had apparently been wrongly confiscated and sold during the *ραραχί*, that is, the dynastic struggles of the preceding decade, but the editors have not completely elucidated the document, which they have christened "P. Baraize". *Un papyrus ptolémaïque provenant de Deir-el-Bahari*, in *Ét. Pap.*, 2 (1933), 23–40 (with Plate). The proper names occurring in the papyrus are examined in a special article by CH. KUENTZ, *À propos des noms propres du Papyrus Baraize*, *ibid.*, 41–57.

Tebtunis Papyri, III, i (*Journal*, 20, 88–9), has been reviewed by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 136–8; K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.*, 54 (1934), 1302–19; and A. ROSTAGNI, *Riv. di fil.*, 11 (1933), 526–8. B. A. VAN GRONINGEN has suggested that the name "Krokodilopolite nome" applied to the Fayyûm in the proclamation of Antiochos as King of Egypt (*P. Tebt.* 698) points to a definite intention to obliterate all traces of the Ptolemaic domination in Egypt, among them, of course, the name of the Arsinoite nome: *Petite note sur Pap. Tebt. 698*, in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 120. L. WENGER's article, *Papyrologische Miscellen*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 580–8, is largely concerned with the form of P. Tebt. 703. All readers of this Bibliography will welcome the news that the preparation of the second part of *Tebtunis Papyri*, III, has been entrusted to Mr. C. C. EDGAR.

B.G.U., VIII (*Journal*, 20, 89), has been reviewed by C. C. EDGAR, *Journal*, 20, 127–8, by M. SAN NICOLÒ, in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 600–2, and by E. SEIDL, *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1933, 2281–3.

O. GUÉRAUD's *ENTEYΞΕΙΣ* (*Journal*, 18, 84), is reviewed by M. HOMBERT, in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 145–6. The first fascicule is reviewed by H. I. BELL, *J.H.S.*, 53 (1933), 319–21; the second by P. COLLART, *Rev. de Phil.*, 8 (1934), 90–1, and M. HOMBERT, *Rev. Belge*, 13 (1934), 545. It is a pleasure to record that the *Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* has awarded the volume its prize for 1933 (announced, with a report by E. BRÉHIER, in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 46 (1933), pp. lxxi–lxxiii).

Although Demotic papyri are not usually noticed here, an exception must be made in favour of the magnificent publication of SIR HERBERT THOMPSON, *A family archive from Siut, from papyri in the British Museum, including an account of a trial before the laocritae in the year B.C. 170*. 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. xxiii+148, vol. II, 31 pls., Oxf. Univ. Press, 1934, 42s.

In discussing the papyrus published by B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Un autographe du méridarque Polemon?* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 21–4 (see *Journal*, 20, 89), C. PRÉAUX agrees with Wilcken and others in referring it to the second century B.C.: *Est-ce un autographe du méridarque Polemon?* in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 132–3. The papyrus itself was sold at Sotheby's on April 23, 1934, lot 61.

D. SCHÄFER has identified some new fragments of *B.G.U.*, VIII, 1794 A—C; A+B now proves to be a form

of proclamation (by the strategus?) requiring the attendance within three days of certain persons who had ignored a preliminary *παράγγελία*, on pain of judgement going by default; Schäfer adds an unpublished fragment of a similar document. 1794 C is a report by a komogrammateus of the holdings of an ex-sitologos. *Zwei spätptolemäische Ladungsprogrammata*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 610–20.

C. PTOLEMAIC-ROMAN

Papyri Bononienses, published by G. COPPOLA, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 663–6, are four private letters from a small group of papyri recently acquired by the University of Bologna. They are here designated *P. Bonon.* 4–7, nos. 1–3 being literary pieces which are to be published by Vogliano. *P. Bonon.* 4 is from the Zenon archive, the others late Ptolemaic-Roman.

Three papyri from the Hamburg collection, a lease of house property with a fragmentary official report on the verso (3rd–2nd cent. B.C.), a list of cheirographa (Hadrianic) and a private letter (2nd–3rd cent.) are published by E. ZIEBARTH, *Aus der Hamburger Papyrus-sammlung*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 356–62.

Twenty-five ostraca from Elephantine in the Cairo Museum are published by P. JOUGUET and O. GUÉRAUD; 3 are Ptolemaic, the rest Roman. Most are tax-receipts of familiar types, but nos. 1 and 5 show distinct points of interest. *Ostraca grecs d'Éléphantine*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 443–54.

D. ROMAN

An extraordinarily illiterate letter, dated A.D. 16, previously published as P. Frib. 39, is attacked by W. ALY, who has made substantial progress in elucidation: *Privatbrief aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 487–92.

C. H. ROBERTS and T. C. SKEAT publish and study *A Sale of ὑπόλογος at Tebtunis in the reign of Domitian* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 455–71, with photograph. The papyrus, P. Lond. Inv. 1876, contains the official correspondence concerning the transaction. On pp. 470–1 *B.G.U.* 422 is reprinted with conjectural restorations.

A roll of *syntaximon* receipts dated in the seventh–ninth years of Domitian, the tax-payers being all members of the same family, is printed by HERBERT C. YOUTIE, *Family συντάξιμων Records from Karanis*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 569–79.

A fragmentary *συγγραφή προφίτις* belonging to the Greek Archaeological Society is edited by GEORGE A. PETROPOULOS: *A [sic] Unpublished Greek Papyrus of the Athens Collection*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 563–8. It is dated A.D. 111, the dating clause showing the remarkable addition *καὶ τῶ[ν] ἱερ[ε]ῶν τῶν ὄντων ἐν Ἀ[λε]ξανδρείᾳ*.

The second fascicule of M. NORSÄ's fine series of facsimiles includes three unpublished papyri, all from Oxyrhynchus, and all to appear subsequently in *P.S.I.* 12. The first (Tav. 14, pp. 21–2) is a report (c. A.D. 80–90) to the strategus by the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐκτῆσεων*; the second (Tav. 18, p. 29) a receipt by a member of a very influential family in Middle Egypt, *Ἀῦρ. Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός, γυμνασιάρχος βουλευτῆς τῆς Ὀξ. Πόλ.*; the third (Tav. 18, pp. 29–30) is a splendid private letter (A.D. 235) beginning with expressions of condolence: *μάρτυρες οἱ θεοὶ ὡς πυθόμενος περὶ τοῦ κυρίου μου, υἱοῦ ἡμῶν (l. ὑμῶν), οὕτως ἠχθέσθην καὶ ἐπένθησα ὡς ἴδιον τέκνον . . . ἀλλὰ γενναίως φέρετε· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπόκειται. Papyri greci delle collezioni italiane. Scritture documentarie: fasc. II (= *Pubbl. Scuola Filol. class. Università Roma, Serie II: Sussidi e materiali*), pp. 17–34, pls. 11–20, Rome, 1933.*

P. COLLART has edited a papyrus from the Weil collection under the self-explanatory title *Demande d'assignation à la session du Préfet adressée au Stratège*, in *Mél. Bidez*, 91–8. It dates from shortly before A.D. 107.

The past year has seen remarkable progress in the study of Antinoopolis; beside the publications of Wilcken, Curschmann and Gapp (see below), H. I. BELL has published five papyri in the British Museum, all coming from the archive of an Antinoopolite family settled at Tebtunis. The first, an extract from the *ὑπομηματισμοί* of the strategus of the Herakleopolite nome and dated A.D. 135, reveals that Antinoites were exempt from the *ἐγκύκλιον*. II is a return to the nomarch of Antinoopolis of the birth of a child, made in order to qualify for benefit from a fund established by Hadrian for maintenance of children of Antinoites registered within thirty days of birth (A.D. 151). III and IV are birth-certificates of children of Antinoopolite citizens issued in the name of the prytanis, and V is an epikrisis record similar to that published by Boak in *Journal*, 13 (1927). *Diplomata Antinoitica*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 514–28.

Two Oxyrhynchite *ἀπογραφαί*, from a father and his daughter, each existing in several copies, are made the basis of an elaborate study by A. M. HARMON, *Egyptian Property>Returns*, in *Yale Classical Studies*, 4, 133–234. The documents, which date from A.D. 148, are in the collection of Yale University. The

comprehensive discussion touches upon points of law, administration, and diplomatic, for which reference may be made to §§ 4, 6, and 7 below.

The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, the text of which was issued as *B.G.U.*, v, 1, has now been provided with an admirably succinct commentary, forming the second and concluding part of the volume, by GRAF WOLDEMAR VON UXKULL-GYLLENBAND; for further details see § 6 below.

MARCEL HOMBERT edits in full P. Gand 52, partly published by Grenfell and Hunt as P. Oxy. 1446, in *Mél. Bidez*, 495-503.

A paragraph in *T.A.P.A.*, 64 (1933), p. lxi, describes a paper read by O. W. REINMUTH, entitled *A fragmentary Edict of a Prefect of Egypt*. The papyrus, which dates from the second century, is in the Princeton collection, and appears to concern malpractices of the *τελώναι*.

ANGELA ZAMBON has published a curious though very fragmentary apprenticeship contract dating from the second to third centuries; the document seems to be preceded by an incomplete draft, which is continuous with it. *Minute di un contratto di servizio nella raccolta dei papiri milanesi*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 651-62.

HERMANN SCHMITZ has re-edited, in the light of archaeological evidence furnished by the German Hermopolis Expedition, the well-known third-century papyrus recording the expenditure on buildings flanking Antinous Street, the main east-west thoroughfare of the city. *Die Bauwerkunde in P. Vindob. Gr. 12565*, in *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft (Münch. Beitr.)*, 19, 406-28.

Antinoopolis again provides the chief topic of interest in a Princeton papyrus published by KENNETH S. GAPP, *A Lease of a Pigeon-House with Brood*, in *T.A.P.A.*, 64 (1933), 89-97, with pl. The lessor is the same Aur. Theon who, in P. Oxy. 1119 (A.D. 253), successfully petitioned the strategus for a declaration that he, as an Antinoopolite citizen, was exempt from nomination to municipal office outside Antinoopolis. In the present document, however, which is only three years later, he describes himself as *Ἀντινοεὺς κοσμητῆς βουλευτῆς τῆς Ὀξύρυγχίτων πόλεως*. The editor therefore concludes that in the interim this privilege of the Antinoites had been abolished.

P. Mich. II (*Journal*, 20, 90) has been reviewed, generally very appreciatively, by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 133-6; T. C. SKEAT, *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 64-7; H. I. BELL, *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 149-50; A. S. HUNT, *Journal*, 20, 124-5.

P. Princet. Univ. (*Journal*, 18, 85) is reviewed by F. HEICHELHEIM in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 395, and by C. PRÉAUX in *L'Antiquité classique*, 3 (1934), 561-3.

LÖSCH, *Epistula Claudiana (Journal)*, 17, 126, is reviewed by E. BRECCIA, in *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.*, 29 (1934), 355-8.

P. Col. II (*Journal*, 19, 75) is reviewed by P. COLLART, *Rev. de phil.*, 8 (1934), 224-6; M. HOMBERT, *Rev. belge*, 12 (1933), 1160-1; H. COMFORT, *A.J.A.*, 37 (1933), 642-4; O. MONTEVECCHI, *Boll. fil. class.*, 5 (1934), 283-5; B. SCHUMAN, *Cl. Phil.*, 29 (1934), 361-2.

P. Berl. Leihgabe (*Journal*, 19, 77) is reviewed by P. COLLART in *Rev. de phil.*, 8 (1934), 224-6, and *Rev. ét. gr.*, 47 (1934), 269-71; M. HOMBERT, *Rev. belge*, 13 (1934), 201-2; K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *G.G.A.*, 196 (1934), 426-9.

E. ROMAN-BYZANTINE

The contents of a paper read by EDMUND H. KASE, JR., *Selected Papyri from the Princeton Collection*, are given in *T.A.P.A.*, 64 (1933), p. lxi, viz. (1) Pilot's receipt, A.D. 154; (2) Receipt for payment of debts, A.D. 144; (3) Custom-house receipt, third century; (4) Letter of recommendation, fourth century; (5) Christian amulet against fever, fifth century.

P. Lond. Inv. 2554, 2555 are published by C. H. ROBERTS, *Two Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, in *Journal*, 20, 20-8. The former, an application to the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* (A.D. 249), is not only of considerable juristic interest, but provides a remarkable problem in the profession of the applicants, *θεαγοὶ Ὀσηρείου ἐξαγορείων καὶ ἐτέρου Σιντάνω λεγομένου* (see above, § 2); the other is a private letter of the fifth or sixth century.

F. BYZANTINE

Of the seven *Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum*, published by A. E. R. BOAK in *Ét. Pap.*, 2, 1-22, the first is one of the most important texts we have for the administration of Byzantine Egypt. It is a prefectorial edict, dated A.D. 297, publishing the decree of Diocletian which announced the reform of the entire system of taxation. Though the actual decree is lost, the Prefect has, fortunately for us, described it in some detail; its aim was to make known *πόσα ἐκάστη ἀρούρα πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τῆς γῆς ἐπεβλήθη, καὶ πόσα ἐκάστη κεφαλῇ τῶν ἀγροικῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ποίας ἡλικίας μέχρι ποίας*. This, with the tax-receipt published by Bell

(see below), finally proves the introduction into Egypt of the *capitatio humana* as well as the *iugatio*. Some minor corrections to the text are made by BELL in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 241: l. 12, read *ποιήσασθαι*; l. 13, read *τὰ* before *εἰς*; l. 20, read *ε'* for *ς'*. P. COLLOMP, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 36 (1934), 538–40, reads the mutilated word in l. 10 as *συνο[ρῆ]ν*, while EDGAR allows me to quote his correction [*δν*] for [*καί*] in l. 9. No. 2 is a return of olive-trees under the new system (A.D. 298) and 3–7 are receipts for rental of grainland, the locality in each case being specified as *περὶ κώμην ὀριδοκτίαν Καρανάδα, vel. sim.*

A roll from Philadelphia containing a series of receipts, chiefly issued by *sitologoi*, and ranging in date from A.D. 310 to 324, is the subject of a dissertation by EDMUND H. KASE, JR. The dates in these receipts are of unusual importance, and the conclusions the editor draws from them are assembled in two excursions: (1) The Dating of the First Fifteen-year Indiction Cycle, which is shown to have been reckoned from A.D. 312, following on an unsuccessful five-year cycle beginning in 297 (here the editor might have referred to the important discussion by Amundsen, *Ostraca Osloënsia*, 64–8); (2) The Consulship of the Licinii, now placed in 321. In the three succeeding years the Licinii remained consuls without changing the numeration of their respective consulships; instead, their first joint consulship was regarded as an era, subsequent years being designated by the formula *τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάρτοις τὸ β' (γ', δ')*. *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection*, Baltimore, 1933, pp. v+36.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI, *Un Papyrus chrétien épistolaire de l'ancienne collection Offord*, in *Mél. Bidez*, 857–9, with pl., publishes a letter of the early fourth century.

H. I. BELL has published *A Byzantine Tax-Receipt* of remarkable form in *Mél. Maspero*, 2, 105–111, with pl. The document, P. Lond. Inv. 2574, is dated A.D. 359 and comes from Oxyrhynchus. Each of the various charges is assessed by the *caput*, a fact which confirms the evidence of the decree of Diocletian as to the *capitatio humana* in Egypt. In reckoning up the total, however, the amount is calculated at one and one-sixth *capita*—presumably a form of “super-tax” for the wealthier classes. The charges themselves raise a host of problems: *γρι(?) καὶ σιρώματος, πρωτίου, ἀναβολικοῦ, ναύλου σιππίου, τριμηταρίων, and ναυτῶν Ἰνδίας*, the last presumably a subsidy for the merchants trading to India.

4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography, and Chronology

A. GENERAL

In Vol. x of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge, 1934, H. I. BELL deals with *Egypt under the Early Principate* (chap. x, pp. 284–315: bibliography, pp. 922–31). The third volume of HANOTAUX, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne* (see *Journal*, 20, 92), is reviewed by P. GRAINDOR in *Rev. belge*, 13 (1934), 285–8, by G. ROUILLARD in *Rev. hist.*, 173, 157–9, and by W. SCHUBART in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 172–4.

B. POLITICAL HISTORY

The most important contribution to Ptolemaic history in the year comes from W. OTTO, *Zur Geschichte des Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers*, in *Abh. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Abt.*, N.F., Heft 11 (1934). Other articles to be consulted with reference to the same period are by W. W. TARN, *The new dating of the Chremonidean War* in *J.H.S.*, 54 (1934), 26–39; by P. LACAU, *Un graffiti égyptien d'Abydos écrit en lettres grecques*, in *Ét. Pap.*, 2, 229–46, which mentions a native rebel king in Upper Egypt early in the second century B.C.; by F. CASPARI, *Studien zu dem Kallixeinios-Fragment*, *Athenaios* 5, 197e–203b, in *Hermes*, 68 (1933), 4, on the festival of Philadelphus. HERMANN STRASBURGER, *Ptolemaios und Alexander* (Leipzig, 1934), is reviewed by W. W. TARN in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 194–5. Further reviews are by A. M. WOODWARD in *History*, 19 (1934), 253–4, of RADET'S *Alexandre le Grand* and ROBINSON'S *Ephemerides* (see *Journal*, 20, 92); by P. JOUGUET in *Rev. de phil.*, 3, 8 (1934), 408–10, of WINKLER'S *Rom und Aegypten* (see *Journal*, l.c.); by A. CALDERINI in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 117, of EHRENBERG'S *Gr. u. hellen. Staat*. A dissertation by KARL JAX, *Ägypten in hellenist. u. röm. Zeit nach antiken Papyrus* (Münster, 1932, 32 pp.), is reviewed by H. KORTENBEUTEL in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 107–8. C. BRADFORD WELLES, in his collection of *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic period* (New Haven, 1934), includes and discusses six Ptolemaic documents.

For the Roman period material information is contained in the following papers: J. P. V. D. BALSDON, *Notes concerning the principate of Gaius*, in *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 13–24, in which the chronology of Gaius' dealings with the Jews is discussed in § 4; K. SCOTT, *The rôle of Basilides in the events of A.D. 69*, in *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 138–40; A. WILHELM, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana*, in *A.J.A.*, 38 (1934), 178–80. LÖSCH'S *Epistula Claudiana* (see *Journal*, 18, 89), is reviewed by E. BRECCIA in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 29, 355–8.

C. BIOGRAPHY

A. LEPAPE has an article on *Tiberius Julius Alexander, préfet d'Alexandrie et d'Égypte*, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 29, 331-41. J. N. COROI, *Caius Vibius Maximus*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Diritto Romano*, 1 (1934), 513-24, discusses the career of the man accused in P. Oxy. 471.

D. ADMINISTRATION

Under this head should be noted three articles in *Aegyptus*, 14 (1934) by GEORGE M. HARPER, on *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris* (14-32); *Tax-contractors and their relation to Tax-collection in Ptolemaic Egypt* (49-64); and *The relation of ἀρχώνης, μέτροχοι, and ἔγγυοι to each other, to the Government, and to the Tax-contract in Ptolemaic Egypt* (269-85). In the same volume of *Aeg.*, 293-7, are *Alcune osservazioni sulle tasse del bestiame nell'Egitto greco-romano*, by SANDRA AVOGADRO. A. DÉLÉAGE discusses *Les cadastres antiques jusqu'à Dioclétien* in *Ét. Pap.*, 2, 73-228. U. WILCKEN, in his *Mitteilungen aus den Würzburger Papyrussammlung* (Berlin, 1934), deals with the constitution of the Antinoite nome in his discussion of no. 8, pp. 52-7. W. MATTHES, *Prosopographie der Ägypt. Deltae 300 A.C.-600 P.C.*, is reviewed by A. CALDERINI in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 113.

E. BYZANTINE

The edict of the Prefect Aristius Optatus (March 16, 297), found at Karanis, publishing the Imperial decree which introduced the new system of taxation ordered by Diocletian and his colleagues, is noted above (§ 3). Besides finally proving that the *capitatio* was introduced into Egypt it supplies some evidence for the chronology of Diocletian's stay in Egypt.

E. H. KASE, JR.'s *A Papyrus Roll in the Princeton Collection* (see above, §3), is of importance for early Byzantine chronology. In two appendices he gathers up the evidence to show (1) that the fifteen-year indictional cycle was introduced in 314-15, but was ante-dated to run from 312, and (2) that the first joint consulship of the Licinii must be dated to 321, not 322, subsequent years being indicated, in papyri at any rate, by the formula *τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάρους τὸ β' (γ', δ')*. The latest date of his curious "era" incidentally confirms Stein's new date (324) for the Battle of Chrysopolis.

H. I. BELL, *A Byzantine Tax-Receipt* (P. Lond. Inv. 2574), in *Mél. Maspero*, 2, 105-11, is likewise noted in § 3; its chief interest lies in the confirmation it affords of the new evidence of the Karanis papyrus regarding the introduction of the *capitatio*, but it also mentions a number of novel imposts, including one for *ναυτῶν Ἰνδίας* which he explains as an attempt to revive the commercial connexion with India.

H. I. BELL's paper, read at the International Papyrological Congress at Munich, on *Papyrology and Byzantine Studies*, has been printed in *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft* (= *Münch. Beitr.*, 19), 314-26.

There may also be mentioned as of interest to students of papyri, J. R. PALANQUE, *Essai sur la Préfecture du Prétoire du Bas-Empire*. Boccard, Paris, 1933, pp. vii+144 (cf. *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 327-53, 703-13); E. HERMANN, *Zum Asylrecht im byzantinischen Reich*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Roma), 1 (1935), 204-38; J. SIMON, *Le monastère copte de Samuel de Kalamon*, *ibid.*, 46-52; and two monographs on Athanasius: R. SELLER, *Athanasius' Apologia contra Arianos (Ihre Entstehung und Datierung)*, Diss. Tübingen, 1932, and K. F. HAGEL, *Kirche und Kaisertum in Lehre und Leben des Athanasius*, Diss. Tübingen, 1933.

5. Art, Economic History, Numismatics

A. ART

A. ADRIANI continues his studies of *Sculture del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria* in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 29, 306-11, with an article on a statue of a Muse with a lyre. C. R. MOREY reviews DELBRUECK'S *Antike Porphywerke* (see *Journal*, 20, 93) in *A.J.A.*, 27 (1933), 649-51.

B. FINANCE, AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY

Much useful material is collected in A. SEGRÈ'S *Note sull'economia dell'Egitto ellenistico nell'età tolemaica*, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 29, 257-305. G. CATON-THOMPSON and E. W. GARDNER describe the irrigation system of Ptolemy II in vol. 1, part ii of *The Desert Fayum* (London, 1935). F. HEICHELHEIM'S article, *Sitos*, in *Pavly, Real-Encyclopädie*, suppl. Bd. 6, should be noted. There are reviews of N. LEWIS, *L'industrie du Papyrus dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1934), by E. H. MINNS in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 241; and of

HANS SCHAAL, *Vom Tauschhandel zum Welthandel*, by A. CALDERINI in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 112-13. MICKWITZ, *Geld u. Wirtschaft* (see *Journal*, 20, 94), is reviewed by the same, pp. 116-17, and by M. BESNIER in *Rev. de Phil.*, 3, 8 (1934), 129-30.

C. NUMISMATICS

A. C. JOHNSON has some *Notes on Egyptian Coinage* in *A.J.A.*, 38 (1934), 49-54. There are two articles in *Numismatik*, 2 (1933) by B. HILLIGER: *Die Kupferrechnung der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit* (55-6), and *Follis und Milliarense im Zeitalter Konstantius d. gr. u. seine Söhne* (66-9). MICKWITZ, *Die Systeme des röm. Silbergeldes*, is reviewed by J. W. E. PEARCE in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 43.

6. Law

A. GENERAL

(i) Bibliography, Necrology, Congresses.

(a) *Bibliography.*

P. M. MEYER, *Juristischer Papyrusbericht VIII. (Oktober 1931 bis Oktober 1933)*, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 339-72. A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), *Bibliografia metodica*, 129-202, 355-77 (*Diritto e amministrazione*, 172-3, 368-70); also *Testi recentemente pubblicati*, *ibid.*, 305-42. M. HOMBERT, *Bibliographie*, 1933-4, *Égypte gréco-romaine*, in *Chron. d'Ég.*, nos. 17-18 (1934), 173-5, 387-90. *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 171-5, 408-12, *Papyruskunde*; 249-53, 473-6, *Jurisprudenz*. P. COLLART, *Rev. ét. gr.*, 47 (1934), 449-78, *Bulletin papyrologique (Documents)*, 462-9). F. OLIVIER-MARTIN and R. BESNIER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), suppl. with fasc. 4, *Bibliographie courante, 1932 et 1933*, 65 pp. (economic and legal history in general; *Antiquité* 9*-23*). A note by R. MONIER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 148 mentions that the *Annuario* of the Italian Royal Academy, 4 (1931-2), gives full bibliographies of two new members, S. RICCOBONO and C. A. NALLINO.

(b) *Necrology.*

Notices of V. SCIALOJA: by V. ARANGIO-RUIZ and A. J. BOYÉ, *L'Égypte Contemp.*, 24 (1934), 335-60; by E. ALBERTARIO, *Ann. Univ. Roma*, 1933-4 (12 pp., with portrait), and *Il pensiero e l'opera di Vittorio Scialoja* (Milan, 1934); by S. RICCOBONO, *R. Acc. Lincei*, 10 (1934), 21 pp., with portrait; by E. RABEL, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 492-6. Notices of A. FLINIAUX: by E. L(EVY), *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 496-7, and by G. SCHERILLO, *Arch. Giurid.*, 112 (1934), 115. Notice of B. BRUGI: by F. MAROI, *Arch. Giurid.*, 112 (1934), 227-32.

(c) *Congresses.*

The papers of the Bologna-Rome (April, 1933) congress of Roman law are being published in four volumes; the first for Bologna and the first for Rome have appeared. To the Roman volume (*Atti del Congresso Internaz. di Dir. Rom. Roma*, Vol. I, Pavia, 1934), A. CALDERINI, 525-43, contributes an account of the beginning and progress of modern Italian papyrology, which contains a good deal of useful bibliography. An account of the Congress is given by E. SEIDL, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 481-6; cf. *Journal*, 20 (1934), 94. The papers of the Munich papyrological congress (September 1933) have been published under the title of *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft* (Münch. Beitr., 19, 1934). An account of the proceedings is given by E. SEIDL, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 486-90, and there are notices of the book by M. SAN NICOLÒ, *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1934, 2382-4, and by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1935), 157-62. P. COLLINET's contribution (pp. 186-232), *La papyrologie et l'histoire du droit*, gives a clear, unpretentious, account of results, with a good deal of bibliography (useful list of juristic texts recovered by papyrology, pp. 192-4). *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, 1, *Diritto Romano e Bizantino* (Padua, 1934), has now reached us. The contributions of J. C. NABER, A. STEINWENTER, A. A. SCHILLER, and R. MONIER, have been mentioned previously, in *Journal* 19 (1933), 84, 89; 20 (1934), 96, 99; G. LA PIRA's is mentioned below (F). G. SEGRÈ's *Nuove Osservazioni in tema di Istituzioni Alimentarie Imperiali* (pp. 349-66) concern us here more nearly than the rest of the volume, but only remotely.

(ii) Legal history of antiquity.

(a) *Cuneiform law.*

M. SAN NICOLÒ, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 434-5, does not judge very favourably of the legal side, so far as it exists, of *Die Völker des antiken Orients*. H. JUNKER, *Die Ägypter*; L. DELAPORTE, *Die Babylonier, Assyrer, Perser u. Phöniker* (Freiburg i. B., 1933). In *Archiv Orientalní*, 6 (1934), 335-41, M. SAN NICOLÒ continues his *Parerga Babylonica* (*Journal*, 20, 95, etc.). He draws attention to a late Babylonian example of antichrestic

self-pledge, of 562 B.C., published in *Neubab. Rechts- u. Verwaltungstexte* (TuM II-III, 112, reproduced). None such had been known, but this one is not decisive on the question of oriental ideas in P. Dura 10 (*Journal*, 19, 83; 20, 96). W. EILERS, *Gesellschaftsformen im altbab. Recht* (*Journal*, 20, 95), has been reviewed by G. BOYER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 752-4 and V. KOROŠEC, *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 162-4. BOYER gives, with a few criticisms, a brief, useful *résumé*; KOROŠEC also is favourable, but thinks the book stronger on the philological side than the legal, though not negligible by jurists.

(b) *Egyptian law.*

In *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 534-9, P. COLLINET describes as "admirables" the first two volumes (Brussels, 1932, 1934, to be followed by a third), which he summarizes briefly, of *Hist. des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte*, by J. PIRENNE. W. F. EDGERTON's *Demotica*, being accessible to all in *Münch. Beitr.*, 19, 281-301, requires only bare mention: topics treated of are the double document, inheritance, marriage, registration of land; Greek and demotic papyrology are declared to be inseparable. In *Journal*, 20 (1934), 223-8, B. GUNN reviews *A Family Archive from Siut, etc.*, ed. by Sir H. THOMPSON (2 vols., Oxford, 1934); he regards this as the most important group of demotic texts published for many years and as of the utmost importance for Egyptian legal procedure of the Ptolemaic period and earlier.

(c) *Greek law.*

In *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 382-7, A. STEINWENTER reviews U. E. PAOLI, *Studi sul processo attico* (Padua, 1933, not seen). Like critics of PAOLI's *Studi di diritto attico* (*Journal*, 19, 83; 20, 95), the reviewer sees objections to isolating Attic law. Most of the review is occupied with the question how far *παραγραφή* and *δίκη ψευδομαρτυρίου* should be regarded as independent processes, how far as merely incidental. In general STEINWENTER thinks PAOLI rather too absolute in his conclusions. E. SEIDL, reviewing in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 484-5 M. MÜHL, *Untersuchungen z. altorientalischen u. althellenischen Gesetzgebung* (*Klio*, Beiheft 29, 1933), makes the criticism that the writer, having set out to treat of Greek law in the light of oriental legal thought and having succeeded, here and there, in showing oriental influence on Greek law, does not make clear precisely what oriental legal thought is; he ignores wide distinctions of time and place, but has made a useful collection of materials. *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ δικαίου μέχρι τοῦ 1821*, by G. A. PETROPOULOS (extract, Athens, 1934, from the *Great Greek Encyclopaedia*), gives an outline of the history of Greek law and its offshoots in seven chapters, followed by a bibliography. In the chapters on Hellenistic, Coptic, and Romano-Hellenic law papyrology is naturally prominent.

(d) *Roman law. Hellenistic influence.*

The number of recent studies on this subject, important though it is in legal papyrology, is too great to allow of more than bare mention of them. In *Atti del Congresso Internaz., Roma*, 1 (Pavia, 1934), B. KÜBLER (81-98), F. SENN (101-10), J. STROUX (113-32), and R. HARDER (171-6) treat of the influence of Greek speculation on early classical and classical jurisprudence; E. WEISS (245-53), M. SAN NICOLÒ (257-80), and R. TAUBENSCHLAG (283-315) deal with more specifically legal influence. S. RICCIBONO (179-92) regards the development of the doctrine of *voluntas*, by the help of Greek speculation, as classical, and (319-50) insists on the importance of development of law by practice in the later empire. G. BORTOLUCCI (433-48) studies the evolution of the conception of *hereditas* as *universitas* (against BONFANTE). H. NIEDERMEYER (353-84), E. ALBERTARIO (387-411), and H. SIBER (415-30), discuss the problem of re-Justinian interpolations. The growth of Justinian's own ideas during the course of the codification is the subject of an interesting paper by F. PRINGSHEIM (451-94).

Various of these points recur in other publications. P. Frezza, *Appunti eseg. in tema di modi pretorii*, etc. (*Stud. Econ.-Giurid. Univ. Cagliari*, 1933-4, 44 pp.) treats of a familiar illustration of provincial Roman law (Gaius 2, 31). L. WENGER, *Geisteswelt des Mittelalters, Festschr. M. Grabmann* (offprint, n.d.), 1415-25, seeks examples of the operation of the ultimately Greek maxim, *sum cuique*, through the ages; e.g. in *B.G.U.* 168, P. Oxy. 71, *B.G.U.* 616, P. Masp. 67151, P. Lond. 1356. F. PRINGSHEIM, *Höhe u. Ende der röm. Jurisprudenz* (Freiburg i. B., 1933, 16 pp.), attributes the decline to orientalization; incidentally, he regards Paul's *Sentences* as an inferior *florilegium*: contrast the different conclusion arrived at by E. VOLTERRA in a detailed study (*Atti Congr. Internaz. Bologna*, 1, 35-165). W. FELGENTRAEGER, *Die Literatur z. Echtheitsfrage der röm. Juristenschriften* (*Symb. Frib. Lenel*, offprint, n.d.), insists on the certainty of pre-Justinian interpolation of our texts, ending with a valuable literary conspectus. O. GRADENWITZ, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 147-61, attacks the problem of self-interpolation by Justinian in the *Codex*. Finally, the question of the oriental character of later Roman law is a main preoccupation of two longer works: E. ALBERTARIO, *Introd.*

stor. allo studio del dir. rom. Giustiniano, Parte 1 (Milan, 1935), and S. RICCOBONO, *Corso di dir. rom. Formazione e sviluppo*, Parte 2 (Milan, 1933-4).

(e) *Coptic law.*

A. A. SCHILLER, *K.V.G.R.*, 27 (1934), 18-46, completes his *Sammelbericht* (*Journal*, 19, 83), as promised. He also brings the bibliography of his previous study up to date. The same writer's *Ten Coptic Legal Texts* (*Journal*, 20, 96), and *Coptic Law* (*Journal*, 18, 93), are reviewed by W. HENGSTENBERG, *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 78-95, favourably as regards the edition, less so as regards translation and commentary.

(iii) *Juristic texts.*

The new fragments of Gaius (P.S.I. 1182, *Journal*, 20, 96-7), would not be papyrology even if they were on papyrus. For literature see F. DE ZULUETA, *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 168, adding: A. E. GIFFARD, *Judicis postulatio et actio ex sponsione*, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 514-16; G. CORNIL, *Sur la découverte*, etc., *Rev. Univ. Bruxelles*, 39 (1934-5), 22*-7*; J. GAUDEMET, *Étude sur . . . l'indivision en dr. rom.*, 1-31 (Paris, 1934); S. SOLAZZI, *Societas e communio* (Naples, 1935, 26 pp.). In *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 621-43, E. SCHÖNBAUER gives the promised republication with fuller discussion and a photograph of the early sixth-century, pre-Justinian, text mentioned here last year (*Journal*, 20, 97). The work is in Greek, but uses Latin technical terms. The literary form of question and answer occurs. The discussion is based on classical texts, Paul being cited several times and, in a Latin passage, Sabinus and perhaps the Sabinians. No further conclusions as to subject-matter or date seem to be arrived at. On Leontius, father of the presumed author Anatolius, P. COLLINET, *École de Beyrouth*, 141 ff., should be consulted.

W. GRAF UXKULL-GYLLENBAND's commentary on the *Gnomon* has been issued as the second part of *B.G.U.* 5. The whole text, except the final fragmentary ss. 113-21, seems to be repeated, but the sections are regrouped at the head of each chapter of commentary according to subject. This makes for comfortable reading of the commentary as a whole, but for reference recourse must be had to the *Index locorum* (pp. 111-12). The numbering of lines is omitted, logically but regrettably. It is convenient to have (p. 18) the text of the law of intestate succession published in 1923 by HAUSSOULLIER (P. Dura 5), but PAPPULIAS's corrections, noted from P. KOSCHAKER in *Journal*, 18 (1932), 98, have escaped attention. At p. 42, on s. 31, we are glad to find part of P. Oxy., 17, 2089 in LEVY's reconstruction (*Journal*, 15, 129). In *Galli u. Spadones im Gnomon*, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 89-92, W. SCHUBART gives his latest conjectures as to ss. 112-15. B. BIONDI, *La vendita di cose fuori di commercio*, *St. Riccobono*, 4 (1934), 3-56, at p. 33, denounces s. 2, which appears to recognize a special Roman right to sell tombs, as an absurd error of the compiler of the *Gnomon*; but UXKULL-GYLLENBAND holds for a local privilege of Romans, granted, however, not by Hadrian, as the text implies, but by Marcus Aurelius.

(iv) *Documents and comments.*

For new publications see § 3 above. Also P. M. MEYER's *Bericht* (i, above). U. WILCKEN's *Urkunden-Referat* has not yet arrived. We mention here a few articles which do not fall readily into our scheme. J. C. NABER, *Ad papyros quosdam Cairo-Zenonianos III*, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 298-304, offers new readings of 59316, 59350, 59355, 59369, 59454, 59466, and SB. 7450 III. F. PRINGSHEIM, *Zu einer griech. Papyrus-Urkunde*, *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 111-14, makes improvements of interpretation and reading by bringing together *B.G.U.*, 4, 1187, SB. 5235, P. Oxy., 12, 1465, P. Amh. 35. C. C. EDGAR, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 119, supplies corrections of P. Ryl. Zen. 11, P. Cairo Zen. 59036 and 59013, P. Mich. Zen. 60. F. ZUCKER, *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 410 offers juristic notes on P. Groninganae. In *Phil. Woch.*, 54 (1934), 1302-19, K. FR. W. SCHMIDT reviews *Tebtunis Papyri*, 3, 1: detailed, especially 701, 703, 729, 733, 769, 785, 790, 806, 812. A short notice of P. Mich. 2 by A. E. R. BOAK, *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 149-50, makes it clear that there is much of legal interest in this volume (registers of a public record office of the reign of Claudius). In *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 600-2, there is a short notice by M. SAN NICOLÒ of *B.G.U.*, 8.

(v) *Diplomatic.*

See P. M. MEYER's *Bericht*, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 352-61. U. WILCKEN's address to the Munich Congress, *Über antike Urkundenlehre* (*Münch. Beitr.*, 19, 42-61) needs only to be mentioned. In *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 327-8, B. KÜBLER has a further note on *periculum-pariculum* (*Journal*, 19, 84), in which, citing Tac. *Ann.*, xvi, 19, he defends his etymology against A. KLOTZ, *Phil. Woch.*, 53 (1933), 445 ff. In *Egyptian Property>Returns* (*Yale Class Stud.*, iv, 1934), 135-230, A. M. HARMON publishes in the first part (135-52) two ἀνογραφαί, Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 148 (below, E), and in the second (153-220) draws conclusions as to the drafting, copying,

and office-treatment of ἀπογραφαί and as to the compulsion of owners to make them, whether in response to a special governmental order (182 ff. ; table of known calls 184–5) or in virtue of a standing regulation (213 ff.). He infers that registration of property under the empire was at the discretion of owners, except in so far as it was necessary for the purpose of a sale or imposed from time to time by general order.

(vi) The oath.

Reviews of E. SEIDL, *Der Eid im röm.-äg. Provinzialrecht. Erster Teil: Die Zeit von der Eroberung Ägyptens bis zum Beginn der Regierung Diokletians* (Munich, 1933; *Journal*, 20, 98); F. WIEACKER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 440–5 (analytical; very favourable); P. COLLINET, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 115–17 (short; draws attention to D. M. PIPIDI, *Le Numen Augusti*, *Rev. ét. lat.*, 9 (1931), 83 ff. and H. LÉVY-BRUHL, *Le témoignage instrumentaire en droit rom.*, 1910); H. I. BELL, *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 225–7; M. SAN NICOLÒ, *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1934, 278–81 (agreeing that the Egyptian oath-system of the early empire was a provincial forerunner of later imperial law); A. EHRHARDT, *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 352–5; C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, no. 18 (1934), 140–2 (appreciative). BELL thinks too weighty for the evidence of the oath-formulae SEIDL's inferences that under Augustus Egypt was connected with the Empire only by a personal tie and that this was why Roman civil procedure was not introduced. He also adds further evidence as to the oath by the emperor's Τύχη. With regard to returns of death he disagrees with SEIDL (p. 226, l. 11 from bottom, for *death* read *birth*). EHRHARDT regrets the author's abstention from discussion of the religious aspect of the oath, but is in general highly favourable. He suggests as a motive for the use of the oath in public documents the desire to obviate subsequent rescission by emphasizing the freedom of the act, as in later Byzantine documents. A. M. HARMON, in the work, just cited (v, above), 165 ff., joins issue with SEIDL on the question of the importance of local usage in the form and practice of oaths.

(vii) Defects in legal acts.

These, prescinding from failure of an *essentiale negotii* or lack of formality, *i.e.* defects resulting from lack of freedom or from injury to third parties, are considered by R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *Die Geschäftsmängel im Rechte der Papyri*, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 137–46. With regard to constraint, chiefly constraint to execute a document, he concludes from an examination of the papyri that by the native law of the second century B.C., as by the imperial law of the sixth century P.C., the document or act was not void, but could be impugned. With regard to deceit, he finds in native law a right of recovery, whereas in provincial imperial law (P. Oxy. 237, VIII, 13), the party deceived must put in his plea (a defence) at once. He then analyses the papyri on abuse of powers by guardians and on fraud on creditors and incumbancers.

B. LAW OF PERSONS

(i) Juristic persons.

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 345. The first volume of L. SCHNORR v. CAROLSFELD's *Gesch. d. jurist. Person* (*Journal*, 20, 99), has had a number of reviews: G. LE BRAS, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 539–41 (slight, but promising to return to *universitas* and to the influence of the Church in the formation of the notions of personality and foundation); E. F. BRUCK, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 412–9; P. W. DUFF, *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 84–6 (interesting on *universitas*); B. KÜBLER, *K.V.G.R.*, 27 (1934), 110–20. All are favourable, but BRUCK has some searching criticisms, and KÜBLER, though laudatory, does not accept the chief conclusions. Little papyrology.

(ii) Bondage.

Papyri are not represented to any great extent in J. LAMBERT's *Les operae liberti* (Paris, 1934), but a special chapter (pp. 59 ff.) is devoted to the conceptions *obsequium* and *paramone*: the sense of *obsequium* is more definite and that of *paramone* (*Journal*, 19, 83; 20, 96, etc.), more extensive than is commonly supposed. A. ZAMBON, *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 651–62, edits a mutilated papyrus (n.d.) which appears to be a contract of service, some of the parties to which are Romans, having affinities with agreements for *paramone* and containing clauses similar to those of διδασκαλικαί (lists of parallels given).

(iii) Status civitatis.

In the British Museum texts, published by H. I. BELL, *Diplomata Antinoitica*, *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 514–28, there is mention of Antinoite privileges; cf. P. Iand. 140 (fasc. 7, 1934) of A.D. 151. A restoration, satisfactory so far as can be, of lines 7–9 of P. Giss. 40 has at last been given by A. WILHELM, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana*, *A.J.A.*, 38 (1934), 178–80: Δίδωμι τοῖς ἀπα[σιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τῇ]ν οἰκουμένην π[ολιτ]είαν Ῥωμαίων [μ]ένοντος

[οὐδενὸς ἐκτὸς τῶν πολιτευμ]άτων χωρ[ίς] τῶν [δε]δεικτικῶν. This is all that can be reproduced here, but WILHELM gives a complete text containing other novelties, along with the versions of P. M. MEYER and J. STROUX (*Journal*, 20, 99). This article had been heralded by a note of E. SCHÖNBAUER'S, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 337-8.

(iv) The family.

(a) *Marriage.*

C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Die Zivilen Archiven in Dura (Münch. Beitr.*, 19, 379-99), publishes (pp. 389 ff.) a Greek agreement for divorce of A.D. 204 (Dura Pg. 22). Its recital that the marriage had been ἄγραφος must raise further doubt as to the Egyptian origin of that type of marriage; the fact that the divorce takes place ἐγγράφως shows the special caution required in that matter. F. BOZZA, *Il matrimonio nel diritto dei papiri dell'epoca tolemaica, Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 205-44, starting from a previous study of pure Greek marriage (*Il matrimonio nel dir. attico, Ann. Sem. Giur. Catania*, 1934, 1, not seen) arrives at some radical conclusions. Greek marriage was by συνοικεῖν, preceded by ἐγγύησις, which gave it legitimacy, *dos* being constituted at the time of ἐγγύησις. The Graeco-Egyptian documents are the συγγραφὴ συνοικίσεως and the ὁμολογία γάμου; these are evidentiary, the one of συνοικεῖν and the other of ἐγγύησις. In Attic law, if not in Greece generally, written evidence of συνοικεῖν was not taken, but such a precaution (in favour of the wife, as the terms of the documents show) was a natural development in view of the isolation of Greeks living in the χῶρα. The συγγρ. συν. was not necessary; it might be executed at the time of marriage, or later, or not at all. The ὁμολογία γάμου has not the least affinity to the τροφίτις documents, but it does combine with ἐγγύησις the constitution of the *dos*. The Alexandrian *synchoresis*, which appears with the Romans and is perhaps due to Roman abolition of the φρατρίαί, is a marriage-contract akin to the συγγρ. συν., not a parallel to the ὁμολ. γαμ. One must admit that the writer's fundamental position, that it is extremely unlikely that the Greek settlers, when marrying among themselves, followed any but their own national custom, is *a priori* very probable.

(b) *Adoption.*

E. ALBERTARIO, *La donna adottante, Μνημοσύνα Παππούλια* (Athens, 1934), 17-27, maintains that the permission given by C.8, 47 (48), 5, of 291, to a woman to adopt is due to interpolation, not to Diocletian; he cites linguistic grounds and the contradiction with C.7, 33, 8, of 294.

(c) *Tutela.*

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 351. In *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 313, R. RAU reproduces an inscription recently found at Belgrade which mentions a woman's *tutor Titianus*. P. M. MEYER, *Gesuch um Bestellung eines "tutor ad actum"*, *Atti Congr. Internaz., Roma*, 1, 507-10, gives a reconstruction in the light of numerous parallels (with commentary) of *Stud. Pal.*, 20, 50: *Immobilarkauf*. S. SOLAZZI, *L'istituto greco-egizio della madre ἐπακολουθήτρια, Atti R. Acc. Napoli*, 55 (1933), 24 pp. (offprint), expresses sharp disagreement with G. LA PIRA (*Journal*, 17, 136) and P. FREZZA (*Journal*, 18, 95). He holds that the reception of the Graeco-Egyptian institute took place probably under Justinian, certainly not before the post-classical period. P. FREZZA, *La donna tutrice e la donna amministratrice di negozi tutelari*, etc., *St. Econ.-Giurid. Univ. Cagliari*, 12 (1933-4), 37 pp. (offprint), republishes, with one or two alterations in answer to SOLAZZI, the article referred to above. He sticks to it that direct responsibility of the mother to the *pupillus* is classical and that there were cases in classical law in which a *tutor* could be appointed *periculo matris* in spite of the *SC. Velleianum*. His explanation of the term ἐπακολουθήτρια was an hypothesis, advanced as requiring confirmation.

C. LAW OF PROPERTY

(i) *Catagraphe.*

In *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), whilst P. M. MEYER declares (p. 365) that P. Colomb. 480 (*Journal*, 19, 86), definitely establishes E. SCHÖNBAUER'S widely accepted doctrine of *catagraphe*, E. RABEL devotes a closely reasoned article in the same number (*Katagraphe*, pp. 188-232) to its refutation. The doctrine is that certain important sales were not allowed to take effect without the co-operation of the public authority; therefore in such sales, besides the sale-document, protocollary in form and comprising what one would expect to find in a private conveyance, we find official registration of the sale, effected by means of declarations of the seller rendered before the public authority. These declarations are couched in the form of admission putting an end to dispute, *i.e.* are homologies, without the procedure being, strictly speaking, contentious.

The *catagraphe* is what makes the buyer owner. RABEL, on the other hand, refuses to advance beyond the position that *catagraphe* means registration and *καταγράφειν*, as an act of the seller, means to procure registration. He denies, in the first place (pp. 192–205), that *catagraphe* has any special connexion with the Egyptian practice of a separate document of renunciation by seller. Renunciation is an element in sale which may become disengaged for one reason or another—so in mediaeval German law as well as in Egyptian. Greek practice tended to abandon the separation, and under the Empire the separate document disappeared. The general Hellenistic meaning of *catagraphe* is registration, hardly distinct from *ἀναγραφή*, so that Theophrastus did not need to mention *catagraphe*. The most probable interpretation of P. Hal. I, 1, 245 ff. (pp. 209–18) supports this meaning; it is not probable that *catagraphe* was an official document or that it operated as conveyance. It meant entry by the *ταμίαι* in a list of sales, kept primarily for fiscal purposes, but available for others, arranged by demes (of sellers) and chronologically (date of notification, not of transaction). The exact effect cannot be determined, but (lines 252–6) the seller had no further claim against the buyer in respect of the land, provided that he gave the *ἀμφοῦριον* (document defining the boundaries: *Journal*, 20, 98), and received the price. The latter proviso seems to imply that in spite of *catagraphe* he could, if unpaid, claim the thing; claim for the price *in personam* he had none, nor, therefore, could he lose it by *catagraphe* or (more probable) by quittance. If he intended to give credit, he required to create a claim *in personam* by distinct act. These conclusions are not shaken by the scanty evidence of Ptolemaic common law nor by the documents of the beginning of the Empire (pp. 218 ff.). Under the system of *bibliothecae* (pp. 222 ff.), *catagraphe* retains its meaning of registration: either there were relics of special bureaucratic treatment of sales of land and slaves, or the name was simply retained for a corresponding part of the new system, namely entry in the new-style register. The registered document, *catagraphe*, became a title-deed, because of the precautions taken in its execution—seller's title having to be approved by the local *bibliotheca*. This is no real change of linguistic usage. But in the later Empire (pp. 229 ff.) the relation of the legal act to the document altered: a general phenomenon not peculiar to *catagraphe*. Hence *catagraphe* acquired the meaning of conveyance (see below, D. (ii)), though it is questionable whether even in Byzantine times some reference to registration is not implied.

(ii) Other branches.

E. BETTI, *Sul carattere della "traditio" classica*, *St. Riccobono*, 4 (?) (1934), 115–30, returns to a topic much discussed of late years: cf. *Journal*, 19 (1933), 87, and previously. Judging by M. KASER's and R. MONIER's reviews in *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 392–402, and *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 119–21, G. MICOLIER's *Pécule et capacité patrimoniale. Étude sur le pécule, dit profectice, depuis l'édit "de peculio" jusqu'à la fin de l'époque classique* (Lyons, 1932, not seen), is a good but purely Romanistic book. On the other hand, J. GAUDEMET, *Étude sur le régime juridique de l'indivision en droit romain* (Paris, 1934), though he has no special papyrological section, makes incidental use of papyrological evidence, as the table of texts shows. In his study of the text of the possessory interdicts P. CIAPESSONI, *St. Albertoni*, 2 (1934), 15–121, gives a good deal of information as to the Greek and Byzantine terminology of possession. M. KASER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 435–40, gives a very favourable account of W. FELGENTRAEBGER, *Antikes Lösungsrecht* (*Journal*, 20, 101). Lastly, there are two reviews of E. BUSSI, *Ricerche intorno alle relazioni fra retratto bizantino e musulmano* (Milan, 1933, not seen): J. ZEPOS, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 402–5, and J. ROUSSIER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 323–32. ZEPOS agrees with the author's main conclusions, namely that *protimesis* is connected with *epibole* (examples in early papyri) and that the corresponding Muslim institute is derived from Byzantine *protimesis*. ROUSSIER is more critical: as to the first point, the fiscal source may not stand alone; *protimesis* existed before *epibole*, though the two institutes interacted; as to the second, BUSSI has not proved his case, he can cite no text connecting *shefa'at* with collective fiscal responsibility; it is an independent Muslim institute, and indeed the basic idea of *protimesis*, the reaction of the family and the village against strangers, is as old as the world.

D. LAW OF OBLIGATIONS

(i) Agency. Representation.

E. RABEL, *Eine neue Vollmachtsurkunde*, *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 374–80, publishes and comments on P. Berol. 13410 of A.D. 116, in which the owner of a slave confers on another person a full power of sale. Such an empowerment can be conceived of as operating in various ways; which way the present document suggests is closely considered and fully illustrated from other documents. The same writer, *Die Stellvertretung in den hellenistischen Rechten und in Rom*, *Atti Congr. Internaz.*, Roma, 1, 237–42, denies any sharp contrast between

the development of representation in Greek and Roman law. All laws start without direct representation, and it is most difficult to arrive at it in contract. In the most important contract, stipulation, it was not reached even by Justinian. But, of course, there were ways round, even in civil law, still more in praetorian, most of all under the *extraordinaria cognitio*. These developments are not receptions of Greek law, but parallel tendencies. Analogous expedients are found in East and West, though Eastern practice was doubtless freer. The examples given of this convergence are most interesting and important. Justinian reinforced the tendency, without having the strength to reverse the principle. L. WENGER, in the second part of *Papyrologische Miscellen. I. Zu P. Tebt. III, Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 580–8, illustrates the same point in Ptolemaic procedure (P. Tebt. 770, P. Enteux. 8 and 81, 10).

(ii) Sale.

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 361–2. In the same number, at p. 181, M. KASER (*Das Ziel der actio empti nach Eviktion*, 162–88) has a note on the $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$ clause, in connexion with the stipulation “neque per se neque per heredem eius fieri, quo minus habere liceat”. The first of the two documents published by C. BRADFORD WELLES in *Die Zivilen Archive in Dura (Münch. Beitr.*, 19, 379–99), Dura Pg. 23, is a sale made in A.D. 180 by a man to his brother and co-owner of an undivided half of certain property. In anticipation of usage known as yet in Egypt only later we find *καταγραφή* meaning the contract and *καταροποιεῖν*. On the rule in *Inst.*, 2, 1, 41, E. SCHÖNBAUER has a further note in *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 355–7 (cf. *Journal*, 20, 100–1, etc.), while G. G. ARCHI, *Il trasferimento della proprietà nella compravendita romana* (Padua, 1934), adopts substantially ALBERTARIO’s position, that the rule is classical only for *mancipatio*. The conceptions of Greek, Hellenistic, and ancient Babylonian law are compared (pp. 71–4) and PRINGSHEIM’s doctrine of the victory of Hellenistic ideas over Roman is considered (pp. 190 ff.). E. SEIDL, reviewing ARCHI’s work in *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1934, 2487–92, while praising the exposition of Justinian’s law, rejects the historical conclusion. J. VAN OVEN, *Tijdschrift v. Rechtsges.*, 13 (1934), 455–7, holds that nothing is certain in the matter except that there was something relevant in the Twelve Tables, which Justinian revived archaistically, only to nullify it by the gloss about *fidem sequi*. Purely Romanistic are W. FLUME, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 328–35, on seller’s liability for fraudulent non-disclosure of defects, and M. BUSSMANN, *L’obligation de délivrance du vendeur en dr. rom. class.* (Lausanne, 1933). The latter is favourably reviewed by H. STOLL, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 416–21 and J. VAN OVEN, *Tijdschr.*, 13 (1934), 457–60. There are reviews of H. SIEG, *Quellenkritische Studien zur Bessergebotsklausel*, etc. (*Journal*, 20, 102), by G. H. MAIER (favourable), *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 468–71, and R. MONIER, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 758–60 (interesting; some criticisms).

(iii) Lease.

H. COMFORT, *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 589–609; 14 (1934), 80–8 and 286–92, writes on late Byzantine leases. In the first article he takes stock of the material by drawing up a table of leases for the period beginning with A.D. 400: on a liberal view of doubtful examples, he arrives at 163 items in contrast with the 31 known when Waszyński wrote (1905). The second article draws some conclusions from the table with regard to leases $\epsilon\phi\prime\ \delta\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$ (*Journal*, 14, 154; 16, 136). Leases of this type appear in all the best documented localities of Egypt, but nowhere supersede the lease for a limited term. The proportion of such leases is highest in the Arsinoite nome (15 out of 20), low in Oxyrhynchus (1 out of 5), where, however, the paucity of leases suggests a sinister inference. Such leases clearly indicate the depression of the tiller of the soil, though direct legal connexion with the colonate is difficult to see. The third article (*Notes on “Requests” and χειρόγραφα among late Byzantine leases*) considers what modifications of Waszyński’s conclusions with regard to the forms of lease are imposed by the new material.

(iv) Guarantee.

F. PRINGSHEIM, *Zu P. Oxy. 1041, Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 406–18, adopting WEBER’s completion (*Obligationenrecht*, 91) of l. 9, arrives at an interpretation of the document (A.D. 381) which makes it an extremely interesting illustration of the relations of the parties in a guarantee. The debtor’s promise to pay to the guarantor the sum guaranteed by him to the creditor is the earliest known example of an abstract contract to pay without fiction of a loan. Guarantor thereby secured in advance what he would have been entitled to by *cessio actionum* on having paid the creditor (cf. C. 4, 35, 10 of Diocletian. D. 17, 1, 45, 2 may be interpolated (Beseler), but the idea is at least as old as 381). The guarantor also got the debtor to promise to recover the guarantee-document from the creditor for cancellation by the guarantor. This is inconsistent with the first promise, but shows the importance of the document in Byzantine times.

(v) *Societas*.

F. WIEACKER, *Haftungsformen des röm. Gesellschaftsrechts*, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 35–79, has a note (pp. 75–6) on Byzantine papyri attempting to formulate the standard of care to be observed by partners in contracts involving work. V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, “*Societas re contracta*” e “*communio incidens*”, *St. Riccobono*, 4 (1934), 357–95, rejects the view that classical jurisprudence had a doctrine of *societas* as a real, as well as consensual, contract, but (pp. 382–6) admits that such a doctrine would have been consonant with Hellenistic law, in which *κοινωνία* (*κοινωνός*) was a comprehensive term pointing primarily to something *κοινόν*, as against *societas* pointing to *socii*. Compare the translations of Greek conceptions (*κοινός κίνδυνος*, *κοινωνία*, in the large sense) in D. 14, 2, *De l. Rhodia de iactu*. So in papyri co-liturgists are *κοινωνοί*, whence *societas muneris* in *Cod. Theod.* (D. 9, 3, 4 must be entirely interpolated). Except for a postscript, this study was written before the recovery of Gaius 3, 154a.

(vi) *Varia*.

P. COLLINET, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 114–15, and P. COLLART, *Rev. ét. gr.*, 47 (1934), 271–3, review shortly F. WEBER, *Untersuchungen z. gr.-äg. Obligationenrecht* (*Journal*, 20, 101–2). COLLART agrees with the general conclusion that the *Const. Antoniniana* did not involve a revolution in private law. E. ALBERTARIO, *Istituti commerciali del dir. rom.*, *Atti Ist. Naz. delle Assicurazioni*, 6 (1934), 16 pp. (offprint), gives a semi-popular account of Roman banking operations. H. KRELLER's article *Mutuum* in *P.W.* gives little on Greek law except references.

E. LAW OF SUCCESSION

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 349–51; also B. KÜBLER's articles, *Testament (juristisch)* and *Testamentvollstrecker*, in *P.W.*, which are as much on Greek law as on Roman, with full use of papyri.

A. M. HARMON, *Egyptian Property>Returns*, *Yale Class. Stud.*, 4 (1934), 135–230 (above, A (v)), publishes two *ἀπογραφαί* drawn December 1, A.D. 148, for submission to the *bibliotheca* of Oxyrhynchus. These two connected documents establish important points as to the Egyptian law of intestate succession. (1) An eldest child, if a male (probably not, if a female: *P. Oxy.*, 17, 2133), got a double portion. Whether an eldest son with an older sister got this is uncertain; probably not. (2) A daughter shared equally with younger sons, a point on which KRELLER, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 147 ff., had doubts; but Alexandrian law may have been different (*Gnomon*, 9). (3) Grandchildren would represent deceased parents. So by a decision of Petronius Mamertinus, cited *B.G.U.* 19 (A.D. 134–5, *M. Chr.* 85). Light is also thrown on *μερισμός* (*Journal*, 19, 89), made by a parent *inter vivos*, on the occasion of a daughter's marriage: the parent here subsequently registered the whole property in his own name, and it is stated that he died without taking action against the *μερισμός*. Cf. *M. Chr.* 313.

H. KRELLER, *Διάδοχος und κληρονόμος*, *Münch. Beitr.*, 19, 233–42, holds that it is useless to seek exact meanings for the terms *κληρονόμοι*, *διάδοχοι*, *διακάτοχοι* in Byzantine papyri. The provincial draftsmen simply cumulated them, with the object of covering all classes of successors, just as their metropolitan brethren filled out (civil law) *heredes* with *ceteri successores* or *similes personae*. But the original Greek meanings can well be distinguished. *Διαδοχή* (*διάδοχος*) is the natural word for the succession of heirs of the body in headship of the house. *Κληρονόμος*, the man who takes the *κλήρος*, is patrimonial. We have thus SOLAZZI's contrast of *suus heres* to *agnatus proximus* and *familiae emptor*. But, whereas Roman jurisprudence was able to endow the *familia*-taker with most of the characteristics of the older *heres*, Greek and Hellenistic practice, unaided by jurisprudence, allowed the term *διάδοχος* to fade without creating a clear concept of *κληρονόμος* (cf. *P. Flor.* 61, *M. Chr.* 80, A.D. 85). The later (after Commodus) combination, *τὰ κατὰ διαδοχὴν κληρονομηθέντα* (*legitima hereditas*), etc., originated in the necessity of justifying *κληρονομεῖν* in the eyes of a Roman *forum*. Thus *κληρονόμος* = *heres* is a piece of Romanization.

G. DONATUTI, *St. Riccobono*, 3 (1934), 427–33, *L'origine della “querela inofficiosae donationis”*, disputes the view that this remedy existed from the time of Alexander Severus and that it developed out of the *q. inoff. test.*

F. LAW OF PROCEDURE

See P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 367–9. D. SCHÄFER, *Zwei spätptol. Ladungsprogrammata*, *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 610–20, edits *P. Berol.* 13733, 13813, 13683, the first and last of which seem to have been less completely published as *B.G.U.*, 8, 1794. Summons by *πρόγραμμα*, or public advertisement, appears to have been resorted to when personal summons had failed. L. WENGER's remarks on Ptolemaic processual

representation have been mentioned above, D (i). E. BERNEKER, *Zu einigen Prozessurkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, *Ét. pap.*, 2 (1933-4), 59-69, comments on P. Lille, 28, 29; P. Cair. Zen. 59323, 59369, 59520, 59620; P. Mich. Zen. 39, 70, 80. Time has failed for reading the same writer's *Die Rolle des Strategen im Verfahren vor den ptol. Kollegialgerichten*, *Mél. Maspero*, 2, 1-8. W. HELLEBRAND, *Das Prozesszeugnis im Rechte der gr.-äg. Papyri. I. Die Funktion der Zeugen im ptol. Verfahrensrecht* (*Münch. Beitr.*, 18, 1934, not seen), is reviewed by M. NICOLAU, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 541-3, who holds that the author does not prove that witnesses were summoned by the court and not by the interested party, and also that more attention should have been given to comparative law. C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, no. 18 (1934), 360-4, is less critical: the book shows the antithesis of Greek to Egyptian law, which the Ptolemies, not conceiving of a territorial law, did not attempt to remove. It appears in the summoning and handling of witnesses: Greek law gave the initiative to the parties, Egyptian (and Byzantine) to the court.

G. LA PIRA, *Un caso di "vadimonium iureiurando" nel papiro Vaticano della Marmarica*, *St. Albertoni*, 1 (Padua 1934), 445-52, takes P. Vat. col. iv, lines 18-22, to mean that, two defendants having failed to appear before the praefect at Alexandria in accordance with their sworn *vadimonium*, the plaintiff requests the *strategus* to order both payment to promisee of the *summa vadimonii* and sequestration of the defaulters' revenues pending their appearance within thirty days. The parties are all Roman citizens; the *vadimonium* was reinforced by oath (*χειρογραφία*), cf. P. Oxy., 2, 260.

In *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 472-8, A. NEPPI MODONA treats of Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and the ἀγώγιμος clause. The discussion, which is not easy to follow, is an extract from a work in preparation on ἀσυλία and ἰκετεία. P. Iand. 145 (fasc. vii, 1934), Παράδειξις zur Pfandsvollstreckung aus hypallagmatisch gesicherten Exekutiv-Schuldschein, is a mutilated document of A.D. 224, which provokes comparison with *M. Chr.* 230, 231. There no *hypallagma* existed; in the present case insufficient land had been brought under it, and the creditor seeks to include more. She desires *καροχή* of the lands described.

A. STEINWENTER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 373-82, reviews P. COLLINET, *La procédure par libelle* (*Journal*, 20, 103), disagreeing with the author's principal conclusions, which depart widely from those generally received. But he agrees that the papyrological evidence requires explanation and regards the work as original and stimulating.

A. STEINWENTER, *Der antike kirchliche Rechtsgang und seine Quellen*, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), *Kan. Abt.*, 1-116, makes a very substantial contribution of general rather than of papyrological interest, though papyrological studies are part of its foundation. The main thesis is that the penal and disciplinary procedure of the Church, from the fourth century onwards, was influenced by the law and custom of the Roman state courts. Earlier, non-Roman influences have to be reckoned with, but gradually Roman influence became predominant. The Bible, especially the New Testament, was naturally important as *ius divinum*, but there was no true reception of Mosaic law, none at all of rabbinical.

G. PUBLIC LAW

C. PRÉAUX, *Réflexions sur les droits supérieurs de l'état dans l'Égypte Lagide*, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1935), 109-19, contends that the purpose of *πίστεις*, or exemptions from personal execution, was not, as might be supposed, to alleviate the harshness of the law of debt, but to enable the debtors to carry out their duties, as cultivators of the soil and so forth, to the State or king. They are a reassertion, though a feeble and ineffectual one, of the eminent rights of the Crown against the individualistic action of creditors, not measures for the relief of distressed classes or persons. *The relation of Ἀρχόντης, Μέροχοι and Ἐγγυοί to each other, to the Government and to the Tax Contract in Ptolemaic Egypt*, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 269-85, by G. M. HARPER, JR., is a study of the application in individual cases of the system revealed by *Rev. Laws* and *U.P.Z.* 112.

The first part of L. WENGER'S *Papyrologische Miscellen. I.*, *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 580-8 (D (i) and F, above), discusses the form of P. Tebt., 3, 703. He regards it as more than probable that the introduction of *mandata principis* by Augustus was influenced by the Ptolemaic practice, but doubts whether much light is thrown on the detail of *mandata* or whether, for example, the Roman mandate was similarly preceded by oral instructions. The question of *Mandata principum* is directly tackled by M. I. FINKELSTEIN, *Tijdschr. v. Rechtsgesch.*, 13 (1934), 150-69. He concludes that they were a sort of code given to a governor on his starting for his province, containing rules of conduct and administrative instructions, not new law: they were not constitutions in the sense of being enactments of new law or reinterpretations of existing law, and no Roman jurist classes them as such. They are scarce in the Digest, because the jurists preferred to quote the real sources; the military will and Marcian on *collegia* are exceptional. But, of course, they had the force

of law. They were valid for all provinces and remained in force till abrogated. The Cyrenean edicts were not mandates.

L'Edictum provinciale, *Rev. hist. dr.*, 13 (1934), 81–96, by W. W. BUCKLAND, is important. The first part of Cicero's Cilician Edict, the *genus provinciale*, had nothing to do with the private law of the province, which did not exist, nor with that of its *civitates*, which did. It dealt with administration, including debts to and *syngraphae* with *publicani*. This part was probably superseded by more permanent regulation under the Empire. For the rest, the provincial Edict, both under the Republic and under the Empire, simply extended to the provinces (with some possible modification for *solum provinciale*) the protection of the Roman Edicts, without which Roman citizens in the provinces would have been under the utterly archaic *ius civile*. The Roman Edicts often affected *peregrini* also, and to that extent the Provincial Edict (which must be thought of as common to all provinces, though issued separately for each) affected them. But otherwise the governors, if and when they interfered with local private law, must have done so by special Edict. The ordinary opinion, that there was a common Edict for all provinces and that it dealt with local private law, is absurd. It may be objected to BUCKLAND's view that it involves that Gaius commented twice on substantially the same Edict; perhaps his *Ad ed. prov.* was a simpler version designed for provincials, but, anyhow, Justinian was able to use it as though it had been written on the Urban Edict. P. M. MEYER, *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 345, points out that P. Oxy., 7, 1032, 45 (*cf.* HUNT) proves that the jurist L. Volusius Maecianus was praefect of Egypt by July 8, 161 (overlooked, *Journal*, 19, 90).

In *Ét. pap.*, 2 (1933–4), 1–22, A. E. R. BOAK publishes some texts from Karanis, belonging to the Cairo Museum. The first (57074) is an edict of the praefect, A.D. 297, announcing the application of an edict of Diocletian reorganizing the land- and poll-tax. The specific mention of *capitatio* removes the doubt as to the application of the poll-tax to Egypt. There is confirmation of the point in *A Byzantine Tax-receipt*, published (with Pl.) by H. I. BELL, *Mél. Maspéro*, II, 105–11.

7. Palaeography and Diplomatic

Easily the most important work in this section is N. LEWIS, *L'Industrie du Papyrus dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Paris, 1934, pp. xiii+186, 25 fr. Here at last we have an adequate and up-to-date treatment of the manufacture of papyrus and the organization of the industry. M. Lewis deals successively with the various places where the papyrus-reed grows or has grown; the uses of the plant or the material other than as writing material; the technicalities of manufacture; the economy of the industry, including not only the growing and harvesting of the raw material, but also the papyrus monopoly and the *χαρτηρά*. There are full indices and a good bibliography. Reviewed by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 10 (1935), 178, and E. H. MINNS in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 241.

Interest in the papyrus codex continues unabated: the new Gospel fragments in the British Museum (H. I. BELL and T. C. SKEAT, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other early Christian Papyri*, p. 2), carry back the history of this type of book for Christian writings to before A.D. 150. P. COLLOMP, in *Rev. d'hist. et de philos. rel.*, 14 (1934), 130–143, summarizes the evidence of the Chester Beatty papyri in some interesting *Observations bibliologiques*. CAMPBELL BONNER, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, pp. 10–13, has some notes on the single-quire codex; the *Hermas* was originally a single quire of 49 sheets. H. IBSCHER'S *Beitrag* to C. SCHMIDT and H. POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, pp. 81–4, gives some valuable details concerning the Mani papyrus codices. A. SOUTER, *A Papyrus Codex and an early example of "Quaternio"* in *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 241–5, draws attention to two passages in Cassiodorus (*c.* A.D. 550), while H. A. SANDERS, in *Class. Phil.*, 29 (1934), 251–2, discusses *Codices librariorum* in the well-known Asconius passage describing the burning of the Senate-house in 52 B.C. (incidentally, he has overlooked C. H. ROBERTS' note in *J.R.S.*, 23, 1933, 139–42); he points out that *vellum* codices are not at all inflammable, and while papyrus codices are an outside possibility, prefers to interpret the phrase as meaning sets of wax-tablets, perhaps temporary records of debates in the Senate. (Zucker has already made this suggestion, *cf.* SCHUBART, *Das Buch*, 2nd ed., p. 185.)

MAX PIEPER, *Die Siegelung in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens*, in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 245–52, presses for an adequate treatment of this neglected subject.

F. G. KENYON'S *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (*Journal*, 19, 90), has received further reviews: by P. COLLART, *Rev. ét. gr.*, 47 (1934), 267–9, and *Rev. de phil.*, 8 (1934), 218–19; by R. FAWTIER, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 36 (1934), 98–9; by B. L. ULLMAN, *Cl. Journ.*, 29 (1933), 57–60.

J. B. POYNTON writes pleasantly on *Books and Authors in Greece and Rome*, 1934, 94–104.

Since B. L. ULLMAN's *Ancient Writing*, in the *Our Debt to Greece and Rome* series, only deals very sketchily with papyri, I have not thought it necessary to chronicle the numerous reviews of it which have appeared.

H. J. M. MILNE's *Greek Shorthand Manuals. Syllabary and Commentary: edited from Papyri and Waxed Tablets in the British Museum and from the Antinöe Papyri in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society*, has now appeared as Vol. 24 of the Graeco-Roman Memoirs, pp. vii+79, 9 pls., London, 1934, £2 2s.

MEDEA NORSKA has produced a new part of her fine series of facsimiles: *Papiri greci delle collezioni italiane: Scrittura documentaria. Fascicolo secondo*. Pp. 17-34, pls. xi-xx. The 26 papyri range from the famous Βουλῆ-Papyrus (P.S.I. 1160) of the first century A.D., to about A.D. 380. Reviewed by M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 10 (1935), 168-9.

U. WILCKEN's paper read to the Munich papyrological congress, *Über antike Urkundenlehre*, printed in *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft (Münch. Beitr., 19)*, 42-61, is an eloquent plea for a synthesis of the Diplomatic of the ancient world, parallel to Wenger's vision of an *Antike Rechtsgeschichte*. Both these *Zukunftswissenschaften* are criticized by GIANNINO FERRARI, *Il documento privato dell'alto medioevo e i suoi presupposti classici* in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. VII, 12 (1934), 1-17 (of offprint), à propos of Steinacker's *Die antiken Grundlagen der frühmittelalterliche Privaturkunde*.

E. BICKERMANN, *Testificatio Actorum: eine Untersuchung über antike Niederschriften "zu Protokoll"*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1934), 333-55, is an important piece of research starting from the ὑπόμνημα ἐπὶ τοῦ δέϊνος of Roman Egypt, and concluding with parallels from Roman and Persian diplomatic. The revised text of *Stud. Pal.*, 22, 184, on pp. 337-8, should be noted.

C. W. KEYES, in *The Greek Letter of Introduction*, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 56 (1935), 28-44, first considers the date of the Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί attributed to Demetrius Phalereus, the original form of which he would put back to before 100 B.C., though there are signs of repeated revision in later times. The recurrent formulae found in extant papyrus letters of introduction are printed (in English translation) and discussed, together with those in letters of literary personages taken from Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci*.

BROB OLSSON, *Der Kolophon in den antiken Handschriften*, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 51 (1934), 365-7, deals with the rare examples of colophons in literary papyri.

P. COLLOMP, *La Critique des textes*, is reviewed by P. FAIDER, *Rev. belge*, 12 (1933), 1102-3 and by A. ERNOUT, *Rev. de Phil.*, 7 (1933), 232-3.

FELIX PEETERS, *La Technique de l'édition* is reviewed by H. GRÉGOIRE in *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 732-3 and anonymously in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 152.

Finally, there are some valuable observations on the duplicating of documents in A. M. HARMON, *Egyptian Property-returns*, *Yale Classical Studies*, 4 (1934), 133-234.

For articles dealing with diplomatic from the legal point of view see above Section 6 A (v).

8. Lexicography and Grammar

Part VIII of the new *Liddell and Scott* (pp. 1393-1600: περιφραγή-σιουλισμός) has appeared.

E. MAYSER's *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* is now complete in two volumes. The second volume, which is subdivided, has been reviewed by B. OLSSON in *D. Lit.-Z.*, 1934, 630-2, and 1692-4, by H. I. BELL in *Cl. Rev.*, 48, 1934, 41, 150, and 242, by G. GHEDINI, in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 105-7, and anonymously in *J.H.S.*, 54 (1934), 96-7 and 229. All these reviews give it high praise.

Egyptian proper names in their Greek transcriptions are studied by CH. KUENTZ, in *Ét. Pap.*, 2, 41-57, with special reference to the Baraize papyrus, which is published in the same volume. In *Mél. Bidez* (1934), pp. 569-78, L. TH. LEFORT stresses the importance of attending to the Greek words in Coptic, and regrets that lexicographers both of Greek and of Coptic exclude them.

H. SEESEMANN, *Der Begriff κοινωνία im Neuen Testament (= Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Fasc. 14, Giessen, 1933, 108 pp.)*, is a study of the pre-Christian as well as the Christian uses of the words κοινωνία, κοινωνός, etc. It is favourably reviewed by W. GOOSSENS in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, 30, 362-3.

A papyrus of the Zenon collection, published by C. C. EDGAR, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 18 (1934), 112, and reprinted in *Sammelbuch 7638*, contains the words Ἀρτίοχον τὸν ῥαχᾶν, where (as EDGAR notes), ῥαχᾶν "is a new word, perhaps a shortened form of ῥαχιστήν 'the braggart'; it is presumably Greek, whereas ῥακά or ῥακά of the New Testament is supposed to be Aramaic". E. C. COLWELL points out in *J. Bibl. Lit.*, 53 (1934), 351-4, that Semitic scholars cannot agree on the Semitic identification, and that the

weight of MS. authority is on the side of *ράχά* in *Ev. Matt.*, 5, 22, only the Vaticanus among important MSS. having *ράκά*. He therefore regards the word as Greek.

F. C. BURKITT, in a study in the *J. Theol. Stud.*, 34 (1933), 385–9, of the spellings *Καπερναούμ* and *Καφαρναούμ* in the New Testament tradition, mentions the occurrence of the latter in P. Oxy. 847, 1596.

H. LJUNGVIK, whose *Beiträge zur Syntax der Spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (1932) continues to receive appreciative reviews (from P. MAAS, in *D. Lit.-Z.*, 4, 1933, 2027–8, and P. CHANTRAINE in *Revue de Phil.*, 8, 1934, 101–2), shows in *Z. Neut. Wiss.*, 33 (1934), 90–2, that in *Ev. Marc.*, 6, 14, *ἤκουσεν . . . καὶ ἔλεγον* = “he heard that they were saying”, and compares *B.G.U.* 846, which he reinterprets. M. ROSTOVITZEFF on *οὗς δεξιὸν ἀποτέμνειν* (*ibid.*, 196–9) points out and interprets the similar occurrence described in P. Tebt. 793.

In the same journal, pp. 199–222, F. HAUCK discusses *ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος*, especially with reference to the Syriac and other versions. A. D. NOCK has an article on *The Vocabulary of the New Testament* in the *J. Bibl. Lit.*, June–September, 1933, to which attention should have been called here last year.

B. OLSSON has an article in *Glotta*, 23 (1934), 110–12, entitled *Syntaktisches aus den griechischen Papyri*, which deals with: (1) the article before relative clauses and indirect interrogative clauses; (2) a free use of the genitive absolute; (3) *νίος ἄρρην*. He points out that in this last expression, which he recognizes in P.S.I., 9, 1039, 36, and Apoc., 12, 5, *νίος* = *child*.

L. R. PALMER's article, *Prolegomena to a Grammar of the post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, in *J. Theol. Stud.*, 35 (1934), 170–5, includes an announcement that he is himself projecting such a grammar.

S. WITKOWSKI studies the Atticity of some Greek private letters (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 12, 21, 59, in his own collection) in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 529–41.

An important article by A. Wilhelm in *Symb. Oslo.*, 12 (1933), 1–9, collects examples of the idiom seen in P. Petr. 2, p. 11, *καὶ πρότερον μὲν σοι γέγραφα περὶ τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς περὶ ἧς νυνὶ ἀπήγγμαι*, in which a preposition is illogically repeated before a relative pronoun.

On pp. 94–5 of the same volume the idiom *ἐὰν πολλὰ πολλῶν* (see *Journal*, 19, 91) is discussed by G. ZUNTZ, who draws attention to the parallel in Plato, *Tim.* 29c 4.

I have not seen the article by J. VERGOTE entitled *Het problem van de koine in het licht der moderne linguïstiek* in *Philologische Studien*, 5 (1933–4), 81–105 (unfinished).

J. KORVER, *De Terminologie van het Crediet-Wezen in het Grieksch* (Utrecht dissertation, xi+167 pp.), Amsterdam, 1934, makes some use of papyri, as well as of inscriptions and literary texts. The work is reviewed by A. KRAEMER in *Phil. Woch.*, 54 (1934), 1386–92.

G. BONFANTE studies the accentuation of the Corinna papyrus in *Riv. di fil.*, 12 (1934), 535–46.

From the reviews by P. VANNUPELLI in *Boll. filol. class.*, 5 (1934), 264–5, and by G. GHEDINI in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 107–8, it appears that GIUSEPPE BONACCORSI's *Primi saggi di filologia neotestamentaria: lettere scelte dal Nuovo Testamento greco con introduzione e commento: vol. I, Introduzione, Vangeli, Atti degli apostoli*, Torino, 1933, in 8°, pp. clxvii+640, is intended as an introduction for students of theology, but its comments are mainly philological and historical.

9. General Works, Bibliography, General Notes on Papyrus Texts

A. GENERAL WORKS

There can be no two opinions about KARL PREISENDANZ's admirable manual of papyrology, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung*, Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1933, pp. xvi+372, 2 maps, R.M.20. Its theme is neatly summed up in the publisher's advertisement: *nicht der "Wie", sondern der "Woher" der Papyrologie*. After preliminary chapters on the mediaeval papyri of Western Europe and on the Herculaneum rolls comes the main part of the book—a lucid, readable, and fully-referenced account of the rise and progress of papyrology. A list of the existing collections and their publications follows, and a brief bibliography of *Papyruskundliche Literatur* concludes the volume. Not the least valuable feature is the magnificent index. Some reviewers, e.g., P. COLLART, *Rev. de Phil.*, 8 (1934), 226–8, and FR. SCHEHL, *D. Lit.-Z.*, 5 (1934), 2286–90, have welcomed the volume with unqualified praise; others, however, while no less appreciative in general, have called attention to a number of defects, particularly in the bibliography, which should either have been very considerably amplified or cut out altogether: A. S. HUNT, *Cl. Rev.*, 48 (1934), 141–2; H. KORTENBEUTEL, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 427–32; W. SCHUBART, *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 674–5; T. C. SKEAT, *J.H.S.*, 54 (1934), 94–6. Other reviews are by O. MONTEVECCHI, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 100–3, by G. BOTTE, *Recherches de théologie ancien et médiévale*, 6 (1934), 105–6, and in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 146–8.

A general work of the opposite kind is J. G. WINTER's *Life and Letters in the Papyri* (*The Jerome Lectures*), Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1933, pp. viii+308, \$3.50. Both in plan and execution it bears a strong resemblance to Schubart's *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, for besides dealing at great length with the social life of Roman Egypt (the Ptolemaic period is almost entirely neglected) it includes two chapters on the additions to Greek literature made by papyri, while the bibliographical information in the footnotes is remarkably generous. The frequent references to unpublished papyri, both literary and documentary, in the great Michigan collection should be noted, as should also the author's gallant attempts to interpret some of the more enigmatic private letters (in the well-known P. Grenf. 1, 53, for example, he has made, with Hunt's approval, some really important progress). Reviewed, generally very favourably, by M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 352-4, and *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 456-7; B. OLSSON, *D. Lit.-Z.*, 5 (1934), 250-1 (some valuable corrections); G. ROSENBERGER, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 432-6; C. W. KEYES, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, 55 (1934), 378-80; C. H. ROBERTS, *J.R.S.*, 24 (1934), 227-9.

A goodly selection of the papers read at the Third International Congress of Papyrology at Munich in September, 1933, has been published as Heft 19 of the *Münch. Beitr.* under the title *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft*. Edited by W. OTTO and L. WENGER, München, Beck, 1934, pp. x+476. The authors and titles may be given, but it is, of course, impossible to criticize here a volume of such multifarious contents, and none of the reviews I have seen do much more than summarize: KENYON, *Literary Papyri*; ZIMMERMANN, *Über die gr. sog. Romanpapyri*; WILCKEN, *Über antike Urkundenlehre*; JOUGUET, *L'histoire politique et la Papyrologie*; MARTIN, *Les papyrus et l'histoire administrative de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*; CALDERINI, *Il contributo della papirologia greco-romana agli studi di sociologia*; COLLINET, *La papyrologie et l'histoire du droit*; KRELLER, *Diadochos und Kleronomos*; EITREM, *Aus "Papyrologie und Religionsgeschichte": Die magischen Papyri*; GHEDINI, *I risultati della papirologia per la storia della Chiesa*; EDGERTON, *Demotica*; STEINWENTER, *Die Bedeutung der Papyrologie für die koptische Urkundenlehre*; BELL, *Papyrology and Byzantine Studies*; GROHMANN, *Die Papyrologie in ihrer Beziehung zur arabischen Urkundenlehre*; ROSTOVITZ, *Das Militärarchiv von Dura*; WELLES, *Die zivilen Archive in Dura*; CALDERINI, *Il Dizionario geografico e topografico dell'Egitto greco-romano*; SCHMITZ, *Die Bauurkunde in P. Vindob. 12565 im Lichte der Deutschen Hermapolisexpedition*; SKEAT, *The collection of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*; MANTEUFFEL, *Über einige Papyri der Warschauer Sammlung*; KIESSLING, *Über die Entstehung des Wörterbuches der Papyrusurkunden und den jetzigen Stand der Arbeiten*; RUPPRECHT, *Bericht über die Arbeiten am Wortindex zu den griechischen Novellen Justinians*.

B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

As usual, the activities of fellow bibliographers are recorded in this section: P. COLLART continues his *Bulletins Papyrologiques*, no. 12, in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 46 (1932), 443-67, no. 13, *ibid.*, 47 (1933), 449-78. M. HOMBERT's *Bulletin Papyrologique VII* appears in *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 605-26, P. M. MEYER's *Papyrusbericht VIII* (Oct. 1931-Oct. 1933) in *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 339-72. The bibliography of the *B.Z.* has the usual section *Papyruskunde*: 33 (1933), 412-24, and 34 (1934), 171-5, 408-12. W. RECHNITZ supplies the *Bibliotheca philologica classica*, 59 (1932), with a section on papyri and ostraca on pp. 101-4. Finally, there is the catalogue of *Testi recentemente pubblicati* in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 305-42, and the *Bibliografia metodica, op. cit.*, 129-202, 355-77, 511-50.

Other bibliographical items of interest are the Index to this *Journal*, vols. 1-20, listing authors, books reviewed, and obituaries. Pp. 18, issued with vol. 20, Parts 3-4. An index to vols. 41-70 of the *Z.Ä.S.* has also appeared, included in vol. 70.

C. GENERAL NOTES ON PAPYRUS TEXTS

The second and concluding part of the second volume of the *Berichtigungsliste* has appeared. Prof. BILABEL certainly deserves the gratitude of all papyrologists for the courage with which he has carried on his excessively laborious task, the pains of which he feelingly describes in the preface. *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*. Zweiter Band, Zweite Hälfte. Heidelberg, Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1933, pp. 214. Reviewed by A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 108-9.

H. HENNE, *Sur l'interprétation de quelques textes récemment publiés, Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 381-405 (see also p. 690), discusses *B.G.U.* 1216, P.S.I. 901, P. Ross.-Georg., 2, 12; 2, 41.

For comments on texts of predominantly juristic interest see § 6 D above.

10. Miscellaneous, Excavations, Personal

A number of accounts of the Third International Congress of Papyrology have appeared in various journals: by E. BERNEKER, in the volume wherein many of the papers have been published, *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft (Münch. Beitr., 19 Heft.)*, pp. 459–63; by H. KORTENBEUTEL in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 60–1; by E. SEIDL in *Z. Sav.*, 54 (1934), 486–90, and *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung*, 38 (1933), 1351–2; by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 125–8 and in *Rev. belge*, 12 (1933), 1385–7; also in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 121–2. The Fourth Congress, to be held at Florence in May, will no doubt be over before this Bibliography appears, and from the official programme just issued it seems to have every prospect of success.

A. E. R. BOAK's *Karanis: The Temples, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoological Reports, 1924–31*, has been reviewed by F. P. JOHNSON, *Cl. Phil.*, 29 (1934), 278–9; G. E. MYLONAS, *Cl. Journ.*, 29 (1934), 304; and BATTISCOMBE GUNN, *A.J.A.*, 37 (1933), 644–6.

The work of the Italian expedition at Tebtunis is described by G. BAGNANI, *Gli Scavi di Tebtunis, Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 3–13.

The deterioration to which ostraca are liable in the damp climate of Europe is by no means as widely realized as it should be: H. I. BELL has contributed a timely *Note on the Treatment and Preservation of Ostraca from Egypt* to *Chron. d'Ég.*, 10 (1935), 133–7, describing the experiences of the British Museum and the experiments made there to check the disintegration of the pottery. How far the methods now in use will prove permanently successful only time can show, and meanwhile all owners of unpublished ostraca are urged to have their specimens photographed, and if possible published, as soon as possible.

The little collection of papyri formed by the late Mr. E. P. Warren, which were being published from time to time in various journals by Prof. Hunt, have now been presented by Mr. Warren's executors to the Institute of Papyrology at Leyden, and will be published (including those already edited) by Prof. B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, who has kindly permitted me to make this announcement.

Tributes to the memory of Prof. Hunt have been paid by U. WILCKEN, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 446–8; P. JOUGUET, *Rev. de phil.*, 8 (1934), 333–7; H. I. BELL, *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 499–503; C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 9 (1934), 335–6. For obituaries of V. Scialoja and A. Fliniaux see above, § 6, A (i).

W. SCHUBART greets *Paul Viereck zum 70. Geburtstag* in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 11 (1935), 27.

The services of Prof. Hunt to papyrology are too numerous and too widely known to be referred to here; but it is not perhaps so commonly realized how little expression has been given to the appreciation of his labours. Such was, indeed, his own wish; like another Oxford scholar whose tragic fate is even more recent in our memories—Col. T. E. Lawrence—his devotion to duty was combined with an almost complete indifference to any form of public recognition: "If any one asks me whether I want a *Festschrift*", he remarked to a friend not long ago, "the answer is *No*". And for this reason I wish to put before readers of this bibliography a scheme by which all could pay a tribute to his memory in a way of which he himself would have approved. Prof. Hunt's library, the most extensive papyrological library in England, if not in the world, has been presented by his widow to the University of Oxford, and arrangements are now being made to house it, as a separate entity, in the Ashmolean Museum, where, it is to be hoped, it will be the help and inspiration of a new generation of Oxford papyrologists. It would therefore be a graceful gesture if those who have been accustomed to send off-prints or publications to Prof. Hunt, would continue to send them for the augmentation of his library. Until this is finally installed in the Ashmolean, these should be sent to Mrs. Hunt, 6 Chadlington Road, Oxford.

PART II. GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1933–1934)

By MARCUS N. TOD

IN the following Bibliography, which is a continuation of that for 1931–2 published in this *Journal*, 19, 185 ff., I attempt to give a short summary of the books and articles which appeared in 1933 and 1934 relative to Greek inscriptions discovered in Egypt or Nubia, mentioning also such reviews as are likely to be of special value to students. I denote the titles of periodicals by the abbreviations prefixed to the papyrological Bibliography (pp. 71–2 above).

Of F. PREISIGKE'S indispensable *Sammelbuch*, continued since the death of its originator by F. BILABEL, a fresh fascicule appeared in 1934 (*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 5, 1, Heidelberg), com-

prising 140 documents (Nos. 7515–7654), of which 124 are written on papyrus or ostraca, and the remaining sixteen (Nos. 7538–45, 7547–50, 7556, 7560, 7564, 7606) are inscriptions in the strict sense, found in divers places and published in various periodicals. Another work which, while concerned primarily with papyri, renders signal service to the epigraphical student is E. MAYSER'S monumental *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, of which the first volume, published in 1906, dealt with phonetics, accidents, and word-formation. Twenty years later appeared the first part of a second volume devoted to syntax, followed in 1933 and 1934 by the publication of three further instalments, two of which, comprising no fewer than 660 pages, complete the "analytical section", while the third (Band, II, 3) contains the "synthetic section", in which the sentence is considered as a whole. The work is a masterpiece in its tireless collection and its clear and systematic presentation of the almost overwhelming materials which it investigates, and its use is greatly facilitated by the full indexes which conclude each section. For reviews see p. 101 above.

I regret that I have been unable to see K. M. ΜΕΚΙΟΣ'S work on Christian Hellenism as reflected in the papyri and inscriptions of Roman and Byzantine Egypt ('Ο Χριστιανικός Έλληνισμός εν τοις παπύροις και ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ βυζαντιακῆς Αἰγύπτου, Athens, 1932), so that I know nothing of its contents save what the title suggests. Nor is the prosopography accessible to me in which W. MATTHES gives alphabetical and geographical lists, derived from inscriptions and papyri, of the names and occupations of nearly 1,300 inhabitants of the Egyptian Delta (*Prosopographie der Ägyptischen Deltagebietes auf Grund der griechischen Urkunden von 300 a. Chr.–600 p. Chr.*, Halle, 1932. Noticed by A. C[ALDERINI], *Aeg.*, 14, 113).

A considerable section of K. SCOTT'S study of Greek and Roman honorific months is devoted to an amply documented discussion of those which appear in the Egyptian calendar from the reign of Augustus onward (*Yale Classical Studies*, 2, 241 ff.).—Σεβαστός, Νέος Σεβαστός, Σωτήρ, Ἰουλιεύς, Γερμανίκευς, Καισάρειος, Νερώνειος, Γερμανικός, Δομτιανός, Ἀδριανός, Σεβαστός Εὐσέβειος and others. The evidence for these is largely derived from papyri, but inscriptions afford some additional materials.

To C. B. WELLES we owe an admirably full study, both linguistic and historical, of the surviving letters of Hellenistic kings, the main portion of which consists of a new edition of seventy-five such letters which have been preserved on stone (*Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven, 1934): among these are letters from Ptolemy II (Nos. 14, 21), III (No. 27), and IV (Nos. 30 ?, 33), one addressed to Ptolemy IX Alexander (No. 71), and several others in which references are made to various Egyptian kings (Nos. 1, 25, 72). For most purposes this work will supersede the useful but less detailed and comprehensive study of F. SCHROETER (*De regum Hellenisticorum epistulis in lapidibus servatis quaestiones stilisticae*, Leipzig, 1931).

The well-known *graffiti* of Abu Simbel, scratched by members of the Greek mercenary force which served in the Ethiopian expedition of Psammetichus (Psamatik) II, have been re-edited by M. N. TOD (*Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1933, No. 4).

Of recent discoveries made in or near Alexandria I have noted only the epitaph of two brothers painted on a sepulchral monument of a new and interesting type, which has come to light at Mustafa Pasha (A. ADRIANI, *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano*, 1, pl. xvii, 2: cf. p. 33), the legend ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ in a Roman mosaic found near the Rue d'Aboukir, Shatbi (*ibid.*, 35, pls. xix, xx, 2) and an inscribed terra-cotta lamp from Kom Truga (*ibid.*, 45). P. KÜNZLE has put forward (*Riv. di fil.*, 61, 76 f.) an attractive interpretation of an Alexandrian grave-epigram recently published by W. ΠΕΡΚ (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, 8, 53 f.).

J. B. FREY appeals (*Biblica*, 11, 385 ff.) to the evidence of a metrical epitaph of Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehūdīyah), published by C. C. EDGAR in *Ann. Serv.*, 22, 9 (= *S.E.G.*, 1, 570), to prove that the term *πρωτότοκος*, used in Luke ii. 7, need not imply the subsequent birth of another child. During the course of the excavation of the North Temple at Karanis, conducted by A. E. R. BOAK on behalf of the University of Michigan, four Greek inscriptions were unearthed, two dedications and two *τόπος*-graffiti (*Karanis: Seasons 1924–31*, Michigan University Press, 1933, pp. 10, 12 ff.): these last are interpreted by S. YEIVIN as marking the stands of groups of traders (*Aeg.*, 14, 78 f.).

The evidence on which F. ZUCKER'S examination (*Aeg.*, 11, 485 ff.) of the office and authority of the *γυμνασιάρχος κώμης* is based is almost wholly papyrological, but includes (p. 489) two inscriptions of Theadelphia (*Sammelbuch*, 6157–8). H. HENNE discusses (*Aeg.*, 13, 381 f.) an inscription mentioning the gymnasium of Aphroditopolis (cf. *Rev. arch.*, 2, 1903, 50 ff., *Archiv*, 3, 132, no. 9, *Rev. ét. gr.*, 37, 359 f.) and claims that the papyrus *B.G.U.*, 6, 1216 comes not from the Memphite but from the Aphroditopolite province.

E. KRESSLING devotes an interesting article (*Aeg.*, 13, 542 ff., 690: cf. *Rev. ét. gr.*, 47, 255) to the cult of Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who became in the Fayyūm *σύνναος θεά* to the old crocodile-god

Suchos, and after whom the Ἀρσινόης νομός was renamed. He publishes an inscription (*Sammelbuch*, 7606) of 163–145 B.C. from Ibion-Eikospentarouron (Medinet Mādī, in the south-western part of the Fayyūm) dedicating Ἀρσινόη καὶ θεοῖς εὐεργέτας a precinct ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν φιλομητόρων καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν, which confirms the assumption that Arsinoe enjoyed an independent cult in this district of Egypt.

Of unusual interest are two epigrams, one consisting of twenty-six iambic senarii and the other of two elegiac couplets, painted in red on the eastern face of an *aedicula* of the Roman Imperial period, discovered in the Graeco-Roman cemetery of Ashmūnēn (Hermopolis Magna). They have been published under the title *Le mort qui sentait bon* by P. PERDRIZET, who interprets them as commemorating a certain man who preferred the Greek to the Egyptian fashion of burial (*Mél. Bidez.*, 719 ff.: cf. G. RADET, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 36, 437), and have evoked comments from R. D[USSAUD] (*Rev. hist. rel.*, 110, 102 f.) and from R. GOOSSENS (*Chron. d'Ég.*, 9, 346 ff., *Antiquité classique*, 3, 91 ff.), who offers improved readings of ll. 2, 15, and a solution of two problems of exegesis. A brief report by C. P[ICARD] on the excavations proceeding on this site refers to a painting bearing the legends Ἀγνα (= Ἀγνοία), Θῆβαι, Ζήτημα (*Rev. arch.*, 3, 1934, 259 f.); a summary of the epigraphical discoveries is given by P. PERDRIZET (*Rev. arch.*, 2, 1933, 312).

In a note (*Aeg.*, 11, 15 ff.) on the worship of Asclepius in Egypt, O. WEINREICH calls attention to the evidence afforded by the paean to that god, a copy of which was found at Ptolemaïs (J. G. MILNE, *Greek Inscriptions in the Cairo Museum*, 9265: cf. J. U. POWELL, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 136 ff.); he emphasizes the special interest of the fourth strophe, which begins

Νείλου δὲ ροᾶς δώτης μάκαρ ἁδίου
καὶ ταῖδε πόλει θάλος ἀμβρόσιον
πάσῃ τ(ε) ἀγανὸν κλέος Αἰγύπτῳ.

In his comments on certain inscriptions at Gebel el-Dukkhān (*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts: University of Egypt*, 2, 1, 106 ff.), C. H. O. SCAIFE deals with six unpublished or incorrectly read texts, which include the dedicatory inscription of a temple of Isis in Wady Me'amil, dated A.D. 113, a votive inscription of the third century A.D. engraved by a *centurio frumentarius*, and a dedication to Isis μυριώνυμος (*I.G. Rom.*, 1, 1258). In a valuable article, in which he examines the chronology of Trajan's eastern campaigns, R. P. LONGDEN discusses (*J.R.S.*, 21, 6) the omission of the title Παρθικός in a dedication from Cysis in Upper Egypt (*I.G. Rom.*, 1, 1267), erected in April or May, A.D. 116, and concludes that its absence is due to the carelessness of the engraver or to the slow dissemination of news in the remoter parts of Egypt.

The excavations carried on in 1931 and 1932 on the fruitful site of Medamūd have enabled F. BISSON DE LA RÔQUE to reconstitute, with the aid of finds previously made at the same place, two bases, each bearing the inscription Θηβαῖοι ὁμοῦ καὶ Κεραμεῶται | τὸν πατρῶν θεόν. This confirms the identification, already suggested by G. DARESSY and by E. DRIOTON, of Madū (Medamūd) with the Κεραμική named in the inscription of Cornelius Gallus at Philae (J. G. MILNE, *Greek Inscriptions in the Cairo Museum*, 9295): the πατρῶος θεός seems, to judge from the form of the bases, to be the bull of Madū (*Fouilles de l'Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Or.*, 9, 3, 74 f.).

H. SOTTAS has published (*Mémoires présentés à l'Ac. Inscr. et B.-L.*, 13, 485 ff.: cf. *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. et B.-L.*, 1924, 199, *Rev. ét. gr.*, 47, 255 f.) a full account of three fragments, found at Elephantine, of a copy of the famous Rosetta Stone of Ptolemy V: the Greek fragment contains parts of ll. 33–54 as numbered in DITTENBERGER, *O.G.I.* 90.

U. MONNERET DE VILLARD has published, with a brief introduction, useful indexes and a number of photographic illustrations and line-drawings, some of the epigraphical fruits of his excavation of a large Christian cemetery lying to the west of the village of Sakinya, in the district of Toshka (*Le iscrizioni del cimitero di Sakinya* (Nubia), Cairo, 1933): of the 222 texts here given fifty-nine are "Greek" and the rest Coptic, and those which are capable of being precisely dated belong to the tenth century A.D.

Among a number of bronze objects preserved in the Cairo Museum and published by L. P. KIRWAN is a figure of a dog, of unknown provenance, bearing a short dedicatory inscription (*Bull. Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Or.*, 34, 60).

A. GREIFENHAGEN's account of the antiquities in the Braunsberg Museum includes a short description, illustrated by an excellent photograph, of an Egyptian grave-relief, not earlier than the third century A.D. (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1933, 452 f., no. 18), previously published by O. RUBENSOHN (*Archiv*, 5, 168 f., no. 24) and by W. WEISSBRODT (*Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen an der Kgl. Akademie zu Braunsberg im Sommer-Semester 1913*, p. 7, no. 8).

Among the 281 Greek inscriptions in the Louvre comprised in A. DAIN, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre: Les textes inédits*, Paris, 1933, forty-seven Egyptian texts are included. Twenty-seven of these come from Alexandria (nos. 147–9, 265), Benha in the Delta (204), Memphis (150–2), the Fayyūm (153–6), Acoris (157–68), Antinoe (217, 268), and Apollonospolis Magna (Edfu) (221), while the remaining twenty are from undetermined sites (169, 170–5, 205, 223, 226, 229, 232, 235–6, 256–9, 263–4). Most of them are epitaphs or inscriptions on seals and various minor objects grouped under the general description *instrumentum domesticum*, but they include also a number of dedications (150, 151 ?, 152 ?, 155, 169, 170 ?) and two magical texts (204–5). For valuable comments and corrections see L. ROBERT, *Rev. arch.*, 2, 1933, 139 ff., 146.

Two fresh indications of the spread of the Egyptian cults to the Greek islands have recently come to light. Among a group of inscriptions from Carpathos, published for the first time by M. SEGRÈ, is one of the second century B.C., engraved on the base of a thank-offering dedicated to Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis, by one who had been honoured by the *κοινὸν τῶν ἀλειφομένων* (*Historia*, 7, 580 f.), while at Upper Vathy, on the neighbouring island of Samos, E. ΒΑΜΒΟΥΔΑΚΗΣ has found a dedication made to the same three deities together with Harpocrates (written Ἀλφοκράτης) by a Samian and Tenian *ἱεροφόρος ἐπάστολος* and his wife (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1931, 173 f.).

In conclusion, I may mention an interesting and well-preserved metrical epitaph from Gaza, commemorating a certain Charmadas, a Cretan of Anopolis, who, together with his son-in-law Machaeus of Aetolia, served with distinction under the Ptolemies (*παλαίπλουτοι βασιλῆες Αἰγύπτου*). The discoverer assigned it to the third century A.D. (*Quarterly of the Dep. of Antiquities in Palestine*, 1, 155 f.), but it has been dated in the Ptolemaic era by all subsequent editors and commentators (R. MOUTERDE, *Mél. Beyrouth*, 16, 98 ff., P. ROUSSEL, *Aeg.*, 13, 145 ff., M. N. TOD, *op. cit.*, 152 ff., W. ΠΕΕΚ, *Ath. Mitt.*, 57, 62 ff.: cf. M. SCHWABE, *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.*, 13, 84 ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT (1934–1935)

By DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D.

The following abbreviations are used in this Bibliography:

<i>A.B.</i> = <i>Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.</i>	<i>J.A.</i> = <i>Journal asiatique.</i>
<i>Aeg.</i> = <i>Aegyptus.</i>	<i>J.H.S.</i> = <i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</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>B.I.F.</i> = <i>Bulletin de l'Inst. français d'Arch. orient. au Cairo.</i>	<i>M.I.F.</i> = <i>Mémoires de l'Institut Français, Le Caire.</i>
<i>B.J.R.L.</i> = <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.</i>	<i>O.C.</i> = <i>Oriens Christianus.</i>
<i>B.N.J.</i> = <i>Byzantinisch-Neugriech. Jahrbuch.</i>	<i>O.L.Z.</i> = <i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i>
<i>B.Z.</i> = <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i>	<i>P.W.</i> = <i>Philologische Wochenschrift.</i>
<i>C.Q.R.</i> = <i>Church Quarterly Review.</i>	<i>R.B.</i> = <i>Revue Biblique.</i>
<i>D.L.Z.</i> = <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung.</i>	<i>R.H.E.</i> = <i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain.</i>
<i>G.G.A.</i> = <i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger.</i>	<i>R.O.C.</i> = <i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.</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.Ä.S.</i> = <i>Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache.</i>
	<i>Z.D.M.G.</i> = <i>Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.</i>

I. BIBLICAL

By the efforts of the Abnaa al-Kanisa Coptic Bible Committee of Cairo a new and complete edition of the Bohairic New Testament has been published under the title, *ⲡⲓⲪⲱⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲗⲓⲁⲛⲏⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲣⲓ*, Cairo, 1934, 636 pp. It is a handsomely printed quarto volume whose typographical excellence does credit to the persons concerned in its production. It is entirely in Coptic, without Arabic translation, heading, or notes.

W. GROSSOUW, *Un fragment sahidique d'Osée II. 9.v.l.* (B.M.Or. 4717. 5) appears in *Muséon*, 47 (1934), 185–204.

F. H. HALLOCK, *The Coptic Old Testament*, in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, 49 (1933), 325–35, is a brief summary of work done in this subject.

On the Chester Beatty Papyri we have H. GERSTINGER, *Ein Fragment des Chester Beatty-Evangeliencodex in der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Pap. graec. Vindob., 419741)*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 67–72; P. L. COUCHOUD, *La plus ancienne Bible chrétienne: Les papyrus Chester Beatty*, in *Rev. Hist. des Relig.*, 109 (1934), 207–19; H. LIETZMANN, *Zur Würdigung des Chester-Beatty-Papyrus der Paulusbriefer*, Berlin, 1934, 11 pp.; E. SMOTHERS, *Les papyrus Beatty de la Bible grecque*, appears in *Rev. Sci. Relig.*, 24 (1934), 12–34. KENYON, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 206), is reviewed by L. CERFAUX in *R.H.E.*, 34 (1934), 634–7.

W. E. CRUM, *Un psaume en dialecte d'Akhmim*, in *M.I.F.*, 68 (1934), 73–6, 1 pl., gives the passage Ps. xlvi. 3–10 on one of seven schoolboy tablets. These tablets were purchased by the late Professor Sayce in 1908, and are now in the Bodleian under the reference Gr. Inscr., 30. 9.

O. H. BURMESTER, *The Bohairic Pericopae of Wisdom and Sirach*, in *Biblica*, 15 (1934), 451–565; 16 (1935), 25–57, 141–74. The pericopae in the Holy Week lectionary contain various readings differing considerably from the texts of the Coptic uncials. The work here, very carefully done, is divided into three parts: (1) detailed description of the manuscripts; (2) texts from the two oldest MSS., B.M. Add. 5997 of A.D. 1273, and Paris copte 70 of 1319, with variants from 20 MSS. (the texts of the Song are from Vatican copt. 98 of 1384–5, with variants from 3 MSS.); (3) Notes, giving comparison with other versions, Greek, Vulgate, and Sa'idic.

P. L. HEDLEY, *The Egyptian Texts of the Gospels and Acts*, in *C.Q.R.*, 118 (1934), 188–229, continues earlier portion of article, *ibid.*, 23–39 (cf. *Journal*, 20, 206). A very interesting article. The author regards

the Sa'idic as of the second century (p. 29); he concludes that Sa'idic Mark shows the β text (p. 30); genuine non- β readings in Bohairic are rare. He treats in detail the Coptic verses of St. John (pp. 202-4), and dates the Bohairic of this gospel to the fifth century (p. 207). Coptic Acts show mixed text (p. 216), the δ element is an integral part of Acts (p. 217), Clement uses "an almost pure δ text" (p. 222), the Sa'idic has a definitely δ element (*ibid.*).

W. TILL, *Koptische Pergamente theologischen Inhalts (Mitteilungen . . . Rainer, II. Folge)*, Wien, 1934, xviii+56 pp., 1 pl. (cf. below, sect. v.) contains 25 Bible fragments, 9 of the Old Testament—including a portion of lectionary with four passages, and the Baruch fragment already published in *Muséon* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 206)—and 9 New Testament fragments; all these are in Sa'idic. There follow seven fragments in Fayyūmic, and one Bohairic passage from St. John's gospel. On these the editor makes various notes in the introduction.

A. VASCHALDE, *Ce qui a été publié . . . 3^e groupe*, was accidentally placed under the name of H. HEBBELYNCK in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 206. I greatly regret this error, and offer my apologies to those concerned.

2. APOCRYPHAL, Gnostic, ETC.

(a) *Apocryphal*. W. GROSSOUW, *De Apocriefen in het Oude en Nieuw Testament, in de koptische Letterkunde*, in *Studia Catholica*, 10 (1934), 434-6; 11 (1934), 19-36. An excellent and useful inventory of Coptic apocryphal literature; full bibliography to date.

J. A. MACCULLOCH, *Some Coptic Christian Apocrypha*, appears in *Laudate*, 12 (1934), 11-30.

R. SODER, *Die apok. Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike*, Stuttgart, 1932, xii+216 pp., is reviewed by K. KERENYI in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 301-9.

(b) *Gnostic*. C. A. BAYNES, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 207) is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia*, 3 (1934), 308-10, by †E. A. W. BUDGE in *J.R.A.S.* (1935), 401-4, and by J. DE GHELLINCK in *Nouvelle Rev. théologique*, Tournai, 61 (1934), 978.

R. P. CASEY, *A Study of Gnosticism*, appears in *J.T.S.*, 26 (1935), 45-60.

(c) *Manichæan*. G. BARDY, *Le manichéisme et les découvertes récentes*, appears in the *Revue Apologétique*, 58 (1934), 541-59.

A. BAUMSTARK, *Manichäische Literatur, Denkmäler in koptischer Übersetzung*, in *O.C.*, 3 (1933), 92-5.

G. MESSINA, *Il Manicheismo*, forms chapter VIII (pp. 331-46) of the *Storia delle Religioni*, edited by P. TACCHI VENTURI, Torino, I, 1934, xx+632 pp., with numerous *collaborateurs*, each treating one religion. Messina's contribution takes account of recent discoveries.

H. J. POLOTSKY, *Abriss des manichäischen Systems*, in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie, Supplementband 6* (1934), 241-72.

H. J. POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Homilien* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 207), is reviewed by †F. C. BURKITT in *J.T.S.*, 35 (1934), 337-61, by W. HENNING in *O.L.Z.*, 38 (1935), 220-4, and by A. VAN LANTSCHOOT in *R.H.E.*, 31 (1935), 105-6.

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C. SCHMIDT and H. J. POLOTSKY, *Kephalaia*, Stuttgart, 1935, 50 double pp., text and translation on opposite pages. The name $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ occurs several times in the text as well as in *Epiphanius*. This belongs to *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin*, edited by C. Schmidt.

3. LITURGICAL

The Pontifical Oriental Institute of Rome has inaugurated a new quarterly review entitled *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*. The first fasc. (nos. 1, 2), published in January 1935, contains (pp. 5-45) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Canons of Gabriel ibn Turaik, LXX Patriarch of Alexandria* (First Series). This is an edition of the Arabic text after the MS. Paris Bib. Nat. arabe 251 of the first 32 canons promulgated by Gabriel, collated with three other manuscripts. The second series has been the subject of an article by the same author, bearing the same title, published in *Muséon* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 207). The well-known *Orientalia Christiana* will continue to appear, but from number 101 (1935) will bear the title *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*.

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S. EURINGER, *Die äthiopischen Anaphora des hl. Evangelisten Johannes des Donnersohnes und des hl. Jacobus von Sarug*, in *Orientalia Christiana*, 33, Roma (1934), 122, has an indirect bearing on the Coptic rite.

C. DEL GRANDE, *Liturgiae preces hymni . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 15, 264) is reviewed by P. MAAS in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1933), 524 (brief).

A. MIKAIL, G. ABD EL-MASIH, and G. GIRGIS have prepared an edition of the Coptic Missal bearing the title ⲫⲓⲱⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲟⲥ Ⲅⲁⲥⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ, ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲟⲣⲓⲟⲥ, ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲣⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ, Cairo, 1932, 653 pp., in Coptic and Arabic, a handsome edition in 8vo.

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N. SARKIS, ⲛⲓⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲗⲟⲗⲟⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲟ̅̅ⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲛⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ, Cairo, 1934, 543 pp., is an edition of the Euchologium in Coptic and Arabic.

4. LITERATURE

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†E. A. W. BUDGE, *Legends of our Lady Mary . . .* and the same writer's *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of our Lady Mary . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 207) are reviewed by J. SIMON in *Biblica*, 16 (1935), 227-30.

CAMPBELL BONNER, *A papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas, with a fragment of the Mandates*, Ann Arbor, 1934, x+137 pp., 7 pls., is reviewed by J. LEBON in *R.H.E.*, 34 (1934), 648-9. On this Michigan papyrus see also CAMPBELL BONNER, *Shepherd of Hermas*, in *B.J.R.L.*, 19 (1935), 17-19.

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HOPFNER, *Index . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 17, 250) is reviewed by P. THOMSEN in *P.W.*, 54 (1934), 185-6.

A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Allocution de Timothée d'Alexandrie, prononcée à l'occasion de la dédicace de l'église de Pachôme à Pboou*, in *Muséon*, 47 (1934), 13-56, gives an Arabic text from Vatican arab. 172, fols. 99-109, a manuscript of the fourteenth century. It is reviewed by P. PEEETERS in *A.B.*, 52 (1934), 383-6.

†The Very Revd. J. A. ROBINSON, *The Didache, with additional notes by R. H. Connolly, O.S.B.*, appears in *J.T.S.*, 35 (1934), 225-48.

J. SIMON, *Fragment d'une homélie copte en l'honneur de Samuel de Kalamon*, is published in *Miscellanea Biblica*, Rome, 2 (1934), 161-78. The text is from a Rainer MS. (Wien, Bibl. Nat. K. 9649), and consists of two double leaves, probably of the tenth century; it has but slight historic interest and is "une rhapsodie à la manière copte".

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E. TENGBLAD, *Syntaktisch-stilistische Beiträge zu Clemens von Alexandrien*, Lund, 1932, vii+102 pp., is reviewed by L. RADERMACHER in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 282 (brief).

W. TILL, *Griechische Philosophen bei den Kopten*, appears in *M.I.F.*, 67 (1934), 165-75, 1 pl., and gives material from three Rainer manuscripts, nos. 944, 945, 946. The subject-matter consists mainly of aphorisms of Diogenes and others.

5. HISTORY

(a) *General*. J. M. CARRÉ, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*: I, xxxii+344 pp., 44 pls.; II, 400 pp., 49 pls., in *Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie, et d'histoire, pub. sous la direction de M. PIERRE JOUGUET*, Cairo, 1932, an interesting work on a side issue in Egyptian history. It is reviewed by E. SUYS in *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 251-3.

C. DE CLERCQ, *Les Églises unies d'Orient*, Paris, 1934, 160 pp., in the "Bibl. Catholique des sciences religieuses". An excellent little book which gives an account of the present state of the uniat churches with a brief outline of their history. The last chapter (pp. 136-44) is devoted to the Copts and Abyssinians. It is reviewed by J. SIMON in *La Revue des auteurs et des livres*, 28 (1935), 141.

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114–38, makes a special study of the spiritual teaching of the Alexandrian school, more particularly of Evagrius Ponticus.

JAX, *Ägypten in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit nach antiken Papyris*, Münster, 1932, 32 pp., is reviewed by H. KORTENBEUTEL in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 107–8.

JOUGUET–DIEHL–CHAPOT, *L'Égypte alexandrine . . .* in HANOTAUX, *Hist. de la nation égyptienne . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 18, 184 and 20, 209), is reviewed by W. SCHUBART in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 172–4.

G. LAZZATI, *Teofilo d'Alessandria*, Milano, 1935, vii+94 pp. (in the collection "Publicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 4^o Ser.: Scienze filologiche", vol. 19) is a study in history and theology in which the oriental material is unfortunately a little neglected.

MAURO DE LEONESSA, *Dissertazioni cronologiche: I, Cronologiae calendario etiopico; II, La Tavola pasquale di Anatolio*, Tivoli, 1934, 157 and 39 pp., contains detailed studies which have a bearing on the Coptic calendar and computation of Easter.

G. MAZARAKIS, *Εμβολή εις την ιστορίαν τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, editée par E. MIKAILIDIS, Alexandrie, 1932, xxxii+690 pp., contains a history of the Greek Church in Egypt from the Arab conquest to our own days.

F. S. MÜLLER, *Die unbefleckte Empfängnis der Heiligsten Jungfrau im Bekenntnisse der koptischen und äthiopischen Kirche*, in *Orientalia Christiana*, 25 (1934), 157–92, is a brief study in historical theology.

K. PIEPER, *Atlas orbis christiani . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 19, 181) is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Biblica*, 15 (1934), 555–8. J. S. says that this atlas "n'est qu'un premier essai". It is particularly deficient in its treatment of Christian Egypt, and seems to rely mainly on Amélineau's "Géographie" without further reference to fuller knowledge acquired in more recent years; only some fifteen monasteries of the pre-Muslim period are noticed, and very little use is made of Coptic or Syriac material.

SCHWARTZ, *Acta Concil. Univ. Chalced . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 208) is reviewed by P. PEETERS in *A.B.*, 52 (1934), 99–102, and by G. SOYER in *P.W.*, 54 (1934), 462–3.

R. STROTHMANN, *Die koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 18, 184) is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 135–9. Attention is drawn to ch. v on church life in the contemporary community, and to the last chapter as bearing on recent controversies. The same work is reviewed in connexion with CL. KOPP, *Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche*, Rome, 1932, 215 pp., by W. HENGSTENBERG in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 495–7.

W. TILL, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden*, in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, Rome, 1935, xv+210 pp., 6 pls., gives material for the lives of 25 martyrs and other saints, in some cases texts with translations, in others summaries; some of these have been already published.

(b) *Monasticism*. BOON–LEFORT, *Pachomiana Latina . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 18, 185) is reviewed by A. SOUTER in *J.T.S.*, 34 (1933), 433–4.

E. A. W. BUDGE, *Stories of the Holy Fathers . . . of the Deserts of Egypt*, Oxford, 1934, xxxviii+512 pp., 1 pl., is re-edited from the *Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, London, 1907, and is a translation of the seventh-century Syriac hagiography of 'Anān 'Īsho' of Beth 'Abhe. The same writer's *The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt*, Oxford, 1934, vii+445 pp., 1 pl., is translated from the Syriac version of the "Apophthegmata Patrum" by 'Anān 'Īsho' of Beth 'Abhe. Both works are reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 254–5.

A. DEISSMANN u. P. MAAS, *Ein literarischer Papyrus des 11/12. Jahrhundert.*, in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 11–20, 2 pls., contains part of a monastic tale.

H. KOCH, *Quellen zur Gesch. der Askese . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 20, 210) is reviewed by F. HALKIN in *A.B.*, 52 (1934), 388–91.

D. O'LEARY, *The Arabic Life of St. Pisentius . . .* in *P.O.*, 22 (1930) 315–489 is reviewed by J. POLOTSKY in *O.L.Z.*, 38 (1935), 15–18, the reviewer making various corrections in the translation.

P. PEETERS, *À propos de la vie sahidique de S. Pachôme*, in *A.B.*, 52 (1934), 286–320, is a study on the Sa'idic texts collected by Lefort.

P. RESCH, *La doctrine ascétique des premiers maîtres égyptiens . . .* (cf. *Journal*, 18, 184) is reviewed by F. HALKIN in *A.B.*, 52 (1934), 386–8.

J. SIMON, *Le monastère copte de Samuel de Kalamon*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1 (1935), 46–52, gives a summary of the history of the monastery, which had a long period of prosperity during which there was a considerable output from its scriptorium, as is seen in colophons of the early ninth-century: its decadence dates from the sixteenth century.

W. TILL, *Koptische Pergamente theologischen Inhalts: I* (Mitteilungen . . . Rainer, II. Folge, 1934), xviii+

56 pp., 1 pl., contains Bible fragments as mentioned above (sect. i), two Sa'idic fragments of the life of St. Pistentius, one hitherto known only in the Bohairic version, the other only in Amélineau's Arabic: also a portion of the Coptic life of Peter the Iberian. It is reviewed by D. O'LEARY in *Journal*, 21 (1935), 121-2.

6. NON-LITERARY TEXTS

AMUNDSEN, *Ostraca Osloensia*, 4... (cf. *Journal*, 20, 210) is reviewed by A. S. HUNT in *Journal*, 20 (1934) 125.

BELL-NOCK-THOMPSON, *Magical Texts* . . . (cf. *Journal*, 19, 182) is reviewed by K. PRIESENDAZ in *P.W.*, 53 (1933), 1029-37.

F. BILABEL and A. GROHMANN, *Griechische, koptische, und arab. Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit* (Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen. Heft I, 1934), xii+452 pp., gives a magical text; it prints Brit. Mus., Morgan, and other texts dealing with St. Cyprian (of Antioch) the magician and his conversion.

A. BOAK, *Magical Papyri*, vol. 2 of *Michigan Papyri*, xvi+259 pp., 4 pls., is reviewed by A. S. HUNT in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 124-5.

P. COLLART, *Psaumes et amulettes*, appears in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 463-7, and further continues the thesis in the same writer's article on *Psaume 140 sur une amulette* in *Aeg.*, 13 (1933), 208-12.

W. E. CRUM, *Magical Texts in Coptic*, I, appeared in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 51-3, with pl. 9 (2). The texts there published were from Brit. Mus. Dept. of Oriental Antiq., 10376. The writer is identified with the scribe of Fr. Kropp's text. Part II appeared in the same volume of the *Journal*, 195-200, and gave four other texts, all by the same scribe.

JOHNSON and VON HOESEN, *Papyri in the Princeton University collections* . . . (cf. *Journal* 18, 185) is reviewed by F. HEICHELHEIM in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 395-7.

U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Le iscrizioni del cimitero de Sakinya (Nubie)*, Cairo (*Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*), 1933, viii+28 pp., 9 pls., contains the text of 222 Coptic funerary inscriptions, but without translations.

K. PRIESENDAZ, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung*, Leipzig, 1933, xvi+372 pp., is a manual of papytology. It is reviewed by M. HOMBERT in *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 457-9, by F. ZIMMERMANN in *P.W.*, 55 (1935), 463-5, by W. SCHUBART in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 674-5, by T. C. S., in *J.H.S.*, 54 (1934), 74-96, by P. COLLART in *Rev. Étud. grec.*, 47 (1934), 124-6, and in *Rev. de Phil.*, 3 (1934), 226-8, and by H. KORTENBEUTEL in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 427-32.

M. PIEPER, *Die Siegelung in den griechischen Papyri*, in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 245-52.

P. SBATH, *Bibliothèque des manuscrits Paul Sbath: Catalogue*, 3, Cairo, 1934, 146 pp., includes two liturgical manuscripts, in Arabic, of the Coptic Church (nos. 1126, 1127).

SCHILLER, *Ten Coptic Legal Texts* . . . (cf. *Journal*, 19, 182) is reviewed by W. HENGSTENBERG in *B.Z.*, 34 (1934), 78-95.

A. SCHILLER, *Koptisches Recht*, II, in *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*, 3. Folge, 27 (1934), 18-46, is a continuation of the interesting study which appeared in the same periodical, vol. 25 (1932), 250-96.

E. SEIDL, *Der Eid im römisch-ägypt. Provinzialrecht*, I, Munich, 1933, x+147 pp., is a study in historical jurisprudence, but this part only comes down to the beginning of Diocletian's reign. It is reviewed by A. EHRHARDT in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 352-5.

V. STEGEMANN, *Zur Textgestaltung und zum Textverständnis koptischer Zaubertexte*, in *B.Z.*, 70 (1934), 125-31, deals with Kropp's *Zaubertexte*. The same author's *Die Gestalt Christi in den koptischen Zaubertexten*, Heidelberg, 1934, 38 pp., in the new collection "Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und des Mittelalters, herausgegeben von F. BILABEL und A. GROHMANN" is an interesting study. It is reviewed by J. POLOTSKY in *O.L.Z.*, 38 (1935), 88-91.

A. STEINWENTER, *Die Bedeutung der Papyrologie für die koptische Urkundenlehre*, appears in *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung* . . . 19 (1934), 302-13.

Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith (see *Journal*, 19, 182) is reviewed by R. ANTHES in *O.L.Z.*, 38 (1935), 19-22.

W. TILL, *Koptische Textausgaben*, appears in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 65-70.

W. TILL, *Zu den Wiener koptischen Zaubertexten*, in *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 195-221, contains 53 fragments.

W. H. WORRELL, *Coptic Magical and Medical Texts*, in *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 1-37, 145-55. Publication of seven hitherto unedited Coptic papyri of the Univ. of Michigan collection, with English translation and philological notes. The oldest of these papyri seems to belong to the fourth to fifth centuries; for the most

part it is written in sub-Akhmîmic. The others are of fairly early date, earlier than the seventh century, and are in Sa'îdic pure or mixed. It is a carefully prepared publication, and forms an important contribution to the study of Coptic magic and medicine.

W. H. WORRELL, *An early Bohairic Letter*, in *The American Journal of Philology*, 56 (1935), 103-12. An edition, with translation and introduction, of the papyrus inv. 1526 in the University of Michigan collection.

ZANUTTO, *Bibl. etiopica* . . . (cf. *Journal*, 19, 183) is reviewed by W. LITTMANN in *O.L.Z.*, 37 (1934), 434-6.

7. PHILOLOGICAL

M. CHAÎNE, *Les dialectes coptes assiouitiques A²*, Paris, 1934, viii+90 pp., lithographed. Deals with the dialects of the "Acta Pauli" (ed. Schmidt, 1904), St. John's gospel (ed. Sir Herbert Thompson, 1933), and, so far as possible, with the Manichaean works discovered in 1931. It is supplementary to the same author's "Éléments de grammaire dialectale copte" (cf. *Journal*, 20, 211). It includes also a comparative study of some specimens of these dialects.

M. COHEN, *Chronique de linguistique chamito-sémitique*, in *Rev. des études sémitiques* (1934), xxiii-xxx, includes references to Coptic linguistics. This review is newly founded and is the organ of the recently established *Institut d'études sémitiques* at Paris.

CH. KUENTZ, *Quantité ou timbre?—à propos des pseudo-redoublements de voyelles en copte*, in *C. R. des séances du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*, 1934-5, 5-7. A summary of a communication made at the seance of Dec. 19th, 1934 to the *Groupe* which was formed in Paris in 1933 under the presidency of M. Cohen. Observations on this communication were made by E. BENVENISTE, J. J. CLERE, M. COHEN, and C. S. COLIN.

L. TH. LEFORT, *τὸ ἴσος = exemplum, exemplar*, in *Muséon*, 47 (1934), 57-60, deals with Coptic ζῖσον in a letter of Theophilus of the year 399, and it is shown that in that passage πζῖσον = *la minute, le modèle*.

D. O'LEARY, *Notes on the Coptic Language*, appears in *Orientalia*, 3 (1934), 243-58.

H. RANKE: *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* . . . (cf. *Journal*, 20, 211) is reviewed by E. SUYS in *Orientalia*, 3 (1934), 314, and by †F. LL. GRIFFITH in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 116-17.

8. ARCHAEOLOGY

E. BRECCIA, *Municipalité d'Alexandrie: Le musée gréco-romaine*, is published in *Aeg.*, 14 (1934), 351.

A. DE COSSON, *Mareotis, being an account of the History, Topography and Antiquities of the North-West Desert of Egypt and Lake Mareotis*, London, 1935, 219 pp. Note particularly chapters VII, Early Monastic Communities in Mareotis; VIII, The End of Roman Dominion and the Arab Conquest; IX, The Decay of Mareotis; XVII, Ancient Sites and Places of Interest in the Maryût. The author, who is in the Egyptian Government service, has known the Maryût district for more than twenty years past. The work is of particular interest from the geographical standpoint.

TH. J. HURI edits *Alexandrie, Portique de l'Orient*, Alexandria, 1935, 88 pp., with numerous illustrations, a work produced under the auspices of the Syndicat d'Initiative d'Alexandrie. Amongst the contributions it contains will be found E. COMBE, *Quelques réflexions sur Alexandrie et son histoire* (pp. 17-20), and W. H. THORNTON, *The monastic communities of Egypt before the Arab conquest* (pp. 21-4).

CH. MARTIN, *Les monastères de Wâdi 'n-Natrân* in *Nouvelle Revue théologique*, Tournai, 47 (1935), 113-34, 238-52. Excellent summary of the contents of H. E. White's three volumes.

M. E. PAUTY, *Les bois sculptés* . . . (cf. *Journal*, 17, 253), is reviewed by R. GUEST in *J.R.A.S.* (1935), 211-12.

R. PFISTER, *Teinture et alchimie dans l'orient hellénistique*, Prag, 1933, 59 pp. An extract from the *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VII. The treatise deals especially with the colouring used in Hellenistic and Coptic Egypt.

To the reviews already noted of †H. E. WHITE, *Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n-Natrân* . . . (cf. *Journal*, 19, 183, 184) must be added those of †F. LL. GRIFFITH in *Journal*, 20 (1934), 47, and TH. LEFORT, in *R.H.E.*, 30 (1934), 869-70, both dealing with Part III. A brief notice of Parts II and III by D. M(URRAY) will be found in *Ancient Egypt*, 1934, 124.

WILSON, *Ancient Textiles from Egypt in the University of Michigan Collection*, Ann Arbor, 1933, 76 pp., 23 pls., is reviewed by A. J. B. WACE in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), 663-4.

NOTES AND NEWS

WE offer our hearty congratulations to two British scholars who have been more or less closely connected with our Society in the past, and who attain their seventieth birthdays this year: Dr. W. E. Crum in July, and Mr. N. de Garis Davies in September. Mr. Davies's connexion with the Society began in 1897, when he assisted Sir Flinders Petrie in the excavations at Denderah. His work thereafter for the Archaeological Survey, a dozen volumes in which tombs of various periods were published in line, colour, and photography, and in which new standards of accuracy in such work were set, is one of the achievements of which the Society may be most proud: the two volumes of *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep* in 1900 and 1901, followed by *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, and *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi* in two parts, and between 1903 and 1908 by the very important corpus of *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, in six parts, and in 1913 by *Five Theban Tombs*. Since the war Mr. Davies's activities have been chiefly absorbed by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but he has acted as one of the Editors of the Theban Tombs Series, published under the auspices of the Society, with five volumes to its credit, has shared in the production of the *Mural Paintings of El Amarnah*, and has contributed a number of valuable articles and reviews to this *Journal*. Dr. Crum's chief link with the Society has been the pioneer work *Coptic Ostraca*, published in 1902, in which nearly six hundred of these documents, mostly from the collections of the Society, were edited with translations and commentaries. His *magnum opus*, the great *Coptic Dictionary*, of which the preparatory labours took up nearly twenty years, and which has been appearing in parts since 1929, is not far from completion; one more part, now in the press, will see the end of the Coptic dictionary proper, and a sixth and last part will include the Greek and English indexes. To both these friends of the Society we offer our sincere wishes for many active and profitable years to come.

Professor Schäfer has retired from the Directorship of the Egyptian Department of the State Museums, Berlin, and up to the present his successor has not been appointed. Meanwhile Dr. Anthes is Acting Director. At the Berlin University no appointment has been made to the Chair of Egyptology; but Professor Grapow is to continue lecturing next term.

We congratulate Dr. Alan H. Gardiner on his recent election to a Corresponding Membership of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.

One of the most extraordinary figures in the history of British Orientalism passed away last December, in the person of Sir Ernest Budge, for over thirty years Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. His energy was enormous: not only was he a most active custodian of the vast collections in his charge, but his literary output was of an extent rarely equalled. His publications, over a hundred in number, ranging from thin monographs to great folios, from one volume to eight, covered the fields of Egyptian, Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Assyrian literature and history, and almost every side of Egyptology, and included a number of guide-books to his Department which are in some ways models of what such works should be, not to speak of a book of travels, a history of Assyriology, and an obituary memoir of the Museum cat. With these activities he combined numerous

journeys to Egypt and Mesopotamia to obtain antiquities for the Museum, resulting in a host of important acquisitions; and he also conducted excavations in those countries and in Nubia. His works, while lacking some of the refinements of modern scholarly technique, have among other merits that of making accessible a great body of texts, very many of them new, in six oriental languages. Eye trouble caused him at times great difficulty, but did not check his indomitable will to work. His influence as a popularizer of Egyptian studies in England was very great, but his conservative views and individual methods took him aside from the lines of development pursued by most of his colleagues. His large services to Oriental studies have not ceased with his death; for he has laid Egyptology under a perpetual debt of gratitude by bequeathing almost the whole of his considerable fortune to University College, Oxford, and Christ's (his old College), Cambridge, "for founding and endowing a scholarship, fellowship or lectureship in Egyptology", to be named after Lady Wallis Budge, who predeceased him by some years. If these positions are so constituted as to give their holders full time for research there will be magnificent opportunities for valuable work. A personal sketch of Budge by one of his oldest friends appears elsewhere in this number.

We have to record the death last June, at the age of 68, of Mr. James Edward Quibell (for a number of years a member of our Committee), after a long and distinguished career as excavator and as official of the Antiquities Department, Egypt. His connexion with Egypt began a few years after taking his degree at Christ Church, Oxford; at 26 he joined Sir Flinders Petrie in the excavations at Coptos, and later at Nakāda and Ballāṣ. Quibell, who edited the volume on Ballāṣ, is said to have been the first to recognize that the quite novel remains with which he was dealing were predynastic and not those of a "New Race" of the First Intermediate Period; this all-important fact was, however, first established publicly by de Morgan. After very successful seasons of excavation, for the Egyptian Research Account, at the Ramesseum, where he discovered a quantity of very important Middle Kingdom papyri, and at El-Kāb, which yielded important tombs of the Third and Fourth Dynasties, Quibell attacked Kōm el-Aḥmar (Hierakonpolis), with sensational results; on the site of a First Dynasty temple he unearthed such epoch-making objects as the great ceremonial slate palette of Narmer, the mace-heads, covered with reliefs, of the "Scorpion King" and Narmer, the ivory figurines and reliefs of the First Dynasty or earlier, the granite doorway of Khasekhemwy, statuettes of Khasekhem, the copper statues of Phiops I and Mernerē, and the great golden-headed bronze falcon. Shortly after that he was appointed to the Catalogue Commission of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and published a catalogue of the "archaic" objects. In 1898 he became an Inspector-in-Chief of Antiquities, first in the Delta, and later at Luxor, where in 1905 he discovered and cleared the tomb of Yuya and Tjuyu, the contents of which he published in the *Catalogue Général*. Thereafter for nine years he excavated at Saqqārah, uncovering there the Monastery of St. Jeremias, the archaic mastabas of the early dynasties and other cemeteries, and the tomb of Hesirēc, and gained for the Museum a host of important objects of all periods; all these were published by him in the *Excavations at Saqqara* series. In this work Quibell was greatly aided by his wife, who made most of the copies in outline and colour for the plates of his publications; she died in 1927. In 1913 he left Saqqārah to become Keeper of the Egyptian Museum. During the difficult war period he was almost single-handed, but found time to improve immensely the decoration and installation of the Museum, and to show and explain its contents to many parties of the British and Australian soldiers stationed in or near Cairo. In 1923 he was promoted to the office of Secretary-General of the Antiquities Department. After his official retirement in 1925 he returned to excavation, becoming for two years, with characteristic

modesty, an assistant of C. M. Firth, who had succeeded him as Inspector-in-Chief at Saḳḳārah. After Firth's death in 1931 Quibell again returned to Saḳḳārah to direct and complete the excavation of the Step Pyramid site which Firth had conducted with great success. He was still engaged in this work at the time of his death, and had arranged to go over for the last time this autumn to induct his successor, Mr. Walter B. Emery. A volume by Quibell on the Step Pyramid excavations is now in the press. He was one of the most modest, gentle, and generous of men, and gained the affection of all who knew him. The writer of these lines, who was associated with him at Saḳḳārah, can testify to his unfailing helpfulness and kindness.

We have further to record the deaths of Dr. Walter Wreszinski, Professor of Egyptology at Königsberg, who died last April; and of Dr. Pieter Adriaan Aart Boeser, some time Sub-Director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leyden, and Reader in Egyptology at the University of Leyden, who died last February at the age of 76. Dr. Wreszinski is best known for his great *Atlas zur Altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, which was published from 1914 onwards and is the greatest compilation of pictorial material from tombs and temples since Lepsius's *Denkmäler*. For some years past he edited the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* which under his direction gave great hospitality to Egyptological articles and information. Dr. Boeser's chief work, apart from his university and museum functions, lay in the publication of the Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities of the Leyden Rijksmuseum.

Probably the most remarkable Egyptian "find" of the year has been that made by Professor Capart last February in Brussels, among some objects transferred to the Musées du Cinquanteenaire from the Royal Palace, whither they had been brought from Egypt as souvenirs in the middle of last century by King Leopold II of Belgium when Duke of Brabant. Among these objects was a hollow wooden funerary statuette, of quite unassuming appearance, and bearing the name of a certain Khay. The interior, plugged with linen, contained a papyrus roll some 20 cm. high; this, on being opened, proved to be not a funerary work, as was naturally expected, but the upper part of a hieratic document dated in the sixteenth year of Ramesses IX, and mentioning King Sekhemshedtawirēr Sobkemsaf, of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Almost immediately M. Capart identified the papyrus as the upper half of a document of which the lower half has been well known to Egyptology since 1873 as the Amherst Papyrus! The great importance of the latter, which was purchased by Lord Amherst from Dr. Lee in 1868, and has been published by Sharpe, Chabas, and Professor Newberry, has always been recognized, for even in its fragmentary form it gave the most remarkable of the tomb-robbers' depositions known to us, that which concerns the spoliation of the pyramid of Sobkemsaf. The two halves of the original document join so exactly that fragmentary signs on one part are completed by the other; only the first of the four pages is still somewhat defective. In its completed form the papyrus gives a very remarkable account of a judicial inquiry, during which, among other highly interesting matter, the quarryman Amenpanefer confesses (after the usual torture) that he and seven accomplices set out to plunder tombs of the Theban Necropolis; that they forced the entrance of the pyramid of King Sobkemsaf with chisels; that the loot from the mummies, worth 160 gold *debens*, was divided among the robbers, as well as the furniture; that after his arrest he effected his escape from prison by means of a bribe consisting of his share of the gold, and recommenced his plundering exploits with the rest of his gang. How the late Professor Peet, who long made a special study of documents relating to robberies of royal tombs, would have rejoiced had the missing half (now known as the Leopold II Papyrus) come to light in his

lifetime! A translation of the complete text, communicated by M. Capart to the Royal Academy of Belgium, has already been published; and it is hoped that a more complete treatment will appear before long in the pages of this *Journal*.

The second volume of *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, announced in the preceding number of this *Journal*, has now appeared. It comprises the chapels of Amen-Rêr, Rêr-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethōs, and thus completes the publication of the Seven Chapels of the Sanctuary, with their beautiful representations of the various ceremonies that the deceased king was deemed to perform in the daily cult of the above-mentioned gods and the Osirian Triad, and (in the last chapel) the funerary rites paid by the gods to the king. There are 46 folio plates, of which 4 are coloured, 12 are photographic (mostly retouched), and the rest monochrome from pencil drawings. Of those in colour, one, a triple folding plate, is no doubt the finest coloured reproduction ever published in an Egyptological work. The price, which is again very far below the cost of production, is the same as that of Vol. I: £4 to Members and Associates of our Society (if ordered through the Secretary), £5 to others.

We offer our congratulations to Professors Erman and Grapow on the publication of the first fascicule of the references to the *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*—an immense boon to all workers in Egyptian philology. This first instalment takes us to Vol. II, p. 17; the twelve large pages of abbreviations give an impressive view of the ground covered by those who for many years laboured in the copying and *Verzettelung* of published and unpublished texts.

We learn that Professor Farina, Director of the Turin Museum, discovered at Gebelēn last winter a box containing nine or ten intact papyrus-rolls of the Old Kingdom. They are at present at the Cairo Museum, whither Professor Farina will return in December, accompanied by a *restauratrice* who will open them. Professor Farina's edition of the Turin Papyrus of Kings, recently treated by Herr Ibscher, the well-known expert of the Berlin Museum, is now in the press; we understand that this eagerly awaited work will give some important new information as to the kings of the Second Intermediate Period.

On p. 217 of the preceding volume of this *Journal* it was erroneously stated that *Iraq* is published by the Oxford University Press, and that the price is £1 6s. annually. Actually the publishers are the British School of Archaeology in Iraq (2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, W. 1), and the price is 18s. for each half-yearly part. We are asked to point out that *Iraq* may be obtained for an annual subscription of £1 11s., which also secures membership of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

The following lectures have been given this year under our Society's auspices: "The Season's Work at Tell el-'Amarna", by Mr. John Pendlebury; "Crafts in Ancient Egypt", by Mr. Oliver H. Myers; "The Religion of the Phoenicians", by Mr. R. D. Barnett, of the British Museum; "Ancient Monsters", by Mr. G. D. Hornblower; "The God of the Egyptian People", by Miss Mary S. Shaw, Keeper of the Egyptian Department of the Manchester Museum; and "The Royal Italian Mission's Excavations at Tebtunis", by Dr. Gilbert Bagnani. The last of these lectures was also under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

For some years past the publication of this *Journal* in quarterly parts has been replaced

by more convenient and economical half-yearly issues. Hitherto, however, the old quarterly numbering has been retained, the half-yearly issues being called "Parts I and II" and "Parts III and IV" respectively. As there is no intention of returning to quarterly publication this numbering has become a mere fiction, and will henceforward be abandoned in favour of Parts I and II for each annual volume. In future the parts will be issued as nearly as possible in June and December.

The Editorship of this *Journal* has been taken over by Professor Battiscombe Gunn (The Queen's College, Oxford), to whom all manuscripts, proofs, and other communications regarding contributions should be sent. Books for review should be sent, as hitherto, to the offices of the Egypt Exploration Society (2 Hinde Street, London, W. 1).

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Measures and Weights. By Sir W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt., etc. London, Methuen, 1934. 8vo. x + 22 pp., 1 diagram. 2s.

In 1877 there appeared a volume entitled *Inductive Metrology; or, The Recovery of Ancient Measures from the Monuments*, showing great mathematical skill, and tackling this difficult subject in a scientific manner for the first time. The principles laid down therein were applied by their author during his work at the Great Pyramid, and some very valuable data collected. Articles on Weights and Measures by the same author appeared in the ninth and subsequent editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. *Ancient Weights and Measures*, a catalogue of these objects in the Edwards Library, was published in 1926 and went rapidly out of print.

There can be no two opinions that Professor Petrie's work is by far the most important contribution to the subject that has been made. Prior to *Ind. Met.* metrological work was highly speculative, largely inaccurate, and lacking in any system or precision. It is a strange fact that apart from the Professor's own work (there are also inductions in a number of his excavation memoirs) very little has been written on linear metrology since the publication of *Ind. Met.* Such work as has been done by others on the subject has almost invariably been marred by ignorance of the underlying mathematical principles, or by far-fetched deductions insecurely propping jerry-built theories. Professor Griffith's exceedingly valuable articles in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*¹ are a notable exception.

This neglect is strange, for as Petrie says in the present volume, "The study of ancient measures used in a country is a basis for discovering the movements of civilisation between countries. The study of ancient weights serves to show the trade connections at any given period". Perhaps many excavators to-day do not even know of the existence of *Ind. Met.*, though within its own sphere it is a masterpiece. If the present booklet does no more than draw attention to the earlier work it will have served an important purpose.²

It cannot be said that *Measures and Weights* adds anything either to the author's reputation or to the published material on the subject. The only standards by which the book can be judged are those laid down by himself fifty years and more ago, and Mr. Petrie has little mercy on Professor Sir Flinders Petrie, as the following parallel passages will show:

Measures and Weights

P. 1. "The present outline of the subject is only intended for ready reference in practical work, and does not enter into theoretical detail nor [*sic*] the full account of the material." Probable errors are only given for one unit.

Units are connected wholesale without reserve throughout the book. P. 5: "The whole cubit and *remen* series is the general Mediterranean standard in ancient times." P. 4: "From this cubit [the Royal] there are variations of . . . 20-68³ in New Mexico." P. vii: "The land measure of Egypt testifies to the early counting of time, by its being the length of a pendulum decimally dividing the day;⁴ it passed on to the prehistoric Bronze Age of England, and was the basis of the Roman foot."

Inductive Metrology

P. 31: "The use of probable errors must be a main feature in all accurate metrology; without ascertaining the probable error of our knowledge of two units, it is impossible to prove whether they are or are not likely to be connected."

See above. P. 6: "Doubts and difficulties have not been slighted or left unnoticed, but in all dubious questions the uncertainty of them is acknowledged and discussed. No attempt has been made to try to obtain the acquiescence of others by ignoring uncertainties. It has been well said that 'The reader is easily led captive by a writer who has no hesitation': but this stolen consent is an agreement that snaps at the first shock. . . ."

¹ *The Metrology of the Medical Papyrus Ebers*, in Vol. 13, 392-406 and 526-38; *Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures* in Vol. 14, 403-50, Vol. 15, 301-16.

² For the benefit of readers we may mention that new copies of this book are still obtainable from The Secretary, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, London.

³ All measurements in inches.

⁴ See also *Nature*, July 15, 1933, p. 102.

Measures and Weights

P. 4: "In Egypt this [the Royal] cubit was divided in 7 palms, 28 digits of .737, but the usual digit measure .729 was regularly formed from $\frac{1}{40}$ th of the *remen*." But on p. 7 it is implied that 28 digits of .729 make a Royal cubit.

Inductive Metrology

P. 56: ". . . not a single example of that [the Royal] cubit appears as low as $28 \times$ the mean value of the main group of digits" ($.7276 \pm .0010$; later, in *Pyramids*,¹ $.727 \pm .002$, suggested *possibly* $\frac{1}{40}$ th diagonal of square cubit) "and the probability of the group of cubits and that of digits being identical is such that it is not worth the least consideration."

No subsequent discoveries have given reason for questioning this excellent conclusion.

Though Professor Petrie considers (p. 4) that the double *remen* was derived from the length of a pendulum swinging 100,000 times a day, he also states that it is the diagonal of the square of the Royal cubit—which came first?

It may be argued that, in what claims to be only a handy reference book, there is no room for steps of reasoning, or exposition of the possibilities of error, but if this is the explanation of the contrast with *Ind. Met.*, it is a great pity that the book was not confined to facts and all theory eliminated. The metric equivalents of lengths and weights are given only intermittently. A carefully tabulated list of units given in inches and centimetres, with their probable errors and known maximum variations (from the rods and other inscribed sources) would have been invaluable. To these might have been added the dates of the units, their *provenances*, and, possibly, their suggested connexion with each other. No one could do this better than—or half as well as—Professor Petrie, but instead we have (p. 7):

"*Digit Units*. The predominance of masons' measures of courses in the Great Pyramid has suggested that a variety of measures were in use, some of which do not seem to be an even number of digits.² Another question which has never been settled is the meaning of subordinate lengths marked on the standard cubits with names (below in capitals); for these in detail, see *Weights and Measures*, xxv. Here we will compare these various suggestions to see if they support the same conclusions.

<i>Pyramid Courses</i>	<i>Digits of .729</i>	<i>Marks on Cubits</i>	<i>Known Standards</i>
20·6	28	ROYAL	Egyptian
21·4 (2 × 10·7)	30	10·93 ZESER	10·8 Khorsabad
22·2 (2 × 11·1)			11·1 Phoenician
...			
23·2 (2 × 11·6)	32	11·66 2 HANDS	11·6 Italic foot
...			
41·2	56	41·2 ROYAL	Egyptian

"The values on the cubit rods may not be an even number of digits, as there is some variation in position on different cubits, suggesting sources being independent of the cubit and digit. Four of the course heights do not agree with whole digits, yet these include the Phoenician foot and the modern Egyptian cubit; further, the digits 30 and 35 do not agree well with courses. So there is evidence for independent standards which are not formed from digits."

Only extracts from the table have been given here. The equation of the Royal cubit with 28 digits of 0·729 has already been commented on. From the last item, seeing that 56 digits of 0·729 make 40·8 it would be imagined that the figures in the column "Marks on Cubits" represented actual measurements from the rods. As a matter of fact, the intended positions of the marks on the rods are but roughly known; they are sometimes within a digit division and sometimes across a dividing line, moreover, the position of the same mark varies on different rods by as much as 4–6 Royal digits (0·737). Petrie's figures have evidently been arrived at by calculating to the nearest $\frac{1}{160}$ in. the length of a likely round number of True digits (0·729). Two hands on the rods equal 10 Royal digits, or, if two palms be meant, 8 Royal digits, but in no event 16 True digits. It is apparent that throughout the table Professor Petrie has confused the True and Royal digits, though the probability of their being identical "is only 1 in about five million" (*Ind. Met.*, 56).

There are some useful hints on method in the book, and a valuable chart of weights. In conclusion, it is to be hoped that attention will be drawn to the incomparable early works on the subject by the author

¹ *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* (1883 edn.), 181.

² See also *Ancient Egypt*, June 1925, 36–9.

(who has himself laid almost every one of the foundation stones of scientific Egyptian archaeology), and that others will be roused to contribute their quota of evidence to the work which has so far fallen chiefly on one man's shoulders. May we even hope for the reprint of *Ancient Weights and Measures* which is so badly needed?

OLIVER H. MYERS.

Charles Wycliffe Goodwin, 1817-1878. By WARREN R. DAWSON. Oxford, The University Press, 1934. xi+156 pp., 1 pl. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Dawson has in the course of years collected a great deal of information in connexion with the pioneers of Egyptology, and in the book here reviewed he gives us the fruits of his labours with regard to one of the greatest of them, Charles Goodwin, whose especial title to fame is that he made, in Mr. Dawson's words, "the first serious contribution to the study of hieratic papyri", and that it is to him we owe the first decipherment and translation, astonishingly accurate for so early a stage in the science, of many of the papyri which are now well known to scholars. His results were the more remarkable in that he was not an Egyptologist but a lawyer by profession, and his published works are by no means confined to Egyptological subjects, as a glance at Dawson's bibliography of his writings will show. Not only was he a brilliant writer in the domains of hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Coptic texts, but also a competent scholar in Greek and Anglo-Saxon, the author of legal works, the editor of a journal, and even a musical composer and critic. His versatility and industry are alike amazing, and when measuring his achievement in the Egyptological world it must be borne in mind that he was without the aids to research which present-day students have at their service in the way of adequate grammars and dictionaries; in fact during the earlier years of his work there was even no journal in which scholars could announce their discoveries, until Brugsch founded the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* in 1863, so that all interchange of ideas had to be effected through the medium of the post.

Goodwin corresponded largely with the Egyptologists of his day, and not the least important pages of this book are those in which letters to and from him are printed; these letters incidentally shed interesting sidelights on contemporary personalities in the Egyptological world. It is of no little interest to the modern student to observe this pioneer scholar feeling his way towards facts which are now the commonplace of our subject, and one cannot but be astonished at his acumen. The measure of his reputation can be gauged by the amusing account of his official send-off at his departure from Suez, quoted on pp. 42-3.

An adequate history of Egyptological research has yet to be written, but Mr. Dawson has made a valuable contribution thereto in this most interesting book, which should appeal alike to the specialist and the general reader. In that it shows what can be achieved by a scholar with the very minimum of aid, it is an object-lesson to the student of to-day, whose facilities for study and research are so much greater, and our thanks are due to the author for rendering the details of a most interesting career available to the public.

R. O. FAULKNER.

Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. IV. Lower and Middle Egypt. By BERTHA PORTER and ROSALIND L. B. MOSS, B.Sc. Oxon. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1934. xxviii+294 pp., plans and maps. 35s.

In this, the fourth volume of the now well-known *Topographical Bibliography*, the standard set by the preceding volumes has been fully maintained. The present section covers the whole of Lower Egypt, including re-used blocks of stone found in Cairo, but excluding the Memphite necropolis, already dealt with in Vol. III, and takes us up the Nile as far as Asyüt, so that it includes not only the rock-tombs of the Middle Kingdom notables, but also el-Amarna and the inscriptions of Hatnub. It is surprising to note the large number of sites in the Delta which have yielded inscriptions, and a systematic study of the material here indexed might well yield fresh information regarding the stormy period of the last native dynasties.

The whole work is a model of what a book of reference should be, authors and printers having co-operated to make a most usable volume, and the misprint *Pedusin* for *Pedusiri* at the head of pages 171 and 173 is a slip of a type exceedingly rare in this book.

R. O. FAULKNER.

Koptische Pergamente Theologischen Inhalts. I. By W. TILL. (Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Neue Serie, II.) 1934. xviii+56 pp., 1 pl.

This consists of an introduction (vii-xviii), lithographed texts (1-36, 45-48), translations of the non-Biblical fragments with illustrative material (37-43, 49-50), and lithographed index (51-56). There are

nine Sa'idic Old Testament fragments; one of these (no. 8) is a portion of a lectionary, apparently for 7th Abib, though it is difficult to restore any plan of the obsolete Sa'idic lectionary; and another (no. 9) is the passage which Till published in *Museon* for 1933. These are followed by nine New Testament fragments. Then there are seven Fayyūmic fragments which are of interest for philological reasons, and one Bohairic fragment. These are followed by two extremely interesting passages from the life of St. Pistentius, ascribed to his disciple John. The first of these (K. 9629 = Till, 31-32) gives part of the story of the priest who spat in church, hitherto known only from the Bohairic text published by Amélineau and the Arabic text procured by him, the copy of an unknown original. It does not appear in the Arabic version of Paris *arabe* 4794, nor in the Sa'idic of Brit. Mus. Or. 7024, edited by Budge in *Coptic Apocrypha*, 1913, 75 ff. (Budge gives the Bohairic version of the story in an appendix, *op. cit.*, 324); this Sa'idic text published by Till is therefore new. The second passage, two consecutive leaves (K. 9551 and 9552 = Till 33-36) is still more welcome, as it relates the story of the turbulent woman which Amélineau's Arabic MS. reckons as the 36th wonder of Pistentius, and of this we have had so far no Coptic text, nor does it occur in the older (?) Arabic of Paris *arabe* 4794. The fact that these passages given in Till's Sa'idic do not occur in the Brit. Mus. Sa'idic text tends to show that there were two or more differing recensions of Pistentius's life, the B.M. Sa'idic text not being the parent of the Bohairic, which must have been nearer to Till's Sa'idic document. In this connexion it may be noted that we find the life of St. Pistentius sometimes ascribed to his disciple John, sometimes to a disciple named Moses; this may represent a tradition of two different versions of the life.

The last passage given by Till consists of two consecutive leaves (K. 9622 and 9452) containing part of the history of Peter the Iberian, of which the Syriac text (ed. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*) is extant and a Coptic version, slightly expanded, is already known (Vatican, Cod. Borgia 168). The passage given refers to St. Theognosta (commemorated on 17th Tout). The contents of this volume are very welcome and valuable additions to Coptic patristic studies.

DE LACY O'LEARY.

A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitudes 2-9): with a Fragment of the Mandates. Edited by CAMPBELL BONNER. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, xxii.) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1934. x+137 pp., 5 pls. \$3.00.

This is a publication as important in substance as it is meritorious in its execution. The papyrus fragments which form the bulk of the text constitute by far the most extensive portion of the *Shepherd* yet found in Egypt, and they are much older than the Codex Athōus (which is, moreover, incomplete and shows a poor text), and about a century earlier than the Codex Sinaiticus, which preserves only about a quarter of the work. The Michigan papyrus dates from the second half of the third century, its orthography is in general good, the scribe was reasonably careful, and the text which it reveals is clearly on the whole a good one, deserving the respectful attention of editors of this interesting work.

In his admirable introduction the editor discusses, with praiseworthy thoroughness and critical caution, the palaeography of the papyrus, its make-up as a codex, and the textual questions suggested by his examination of this and other evidence; and even those who have no special concern with early Christian literature will find valuable material on more than one subject of papyrological interest. The edition of the main papyrus is followed by one of a small fragment, also at Michigan, from the Mandates. This appears to date from the close of the second century and must rank as the oldest manuscript of the work yet known. It is unfortunately very small, but even within its limited compass it shows some remarkable differences from the other authorities.

Altogether this is a very notable addition to the series of which it forms part. The plates, in which are reproduced nine pages of the manuscript, are excellent.

H. I. BELL.

Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the third century B.C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt. Edited with introductions and notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN and ELIZABETH SAYRE HASENOEHL. Vol. I. New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. x+177 pp., 8 pls.

This edition of more than half of the Zenon texts in the Columbia University collection will be welcomed by all students of Ptolemaic papyri and of Graeco-Egyptian life. The documents themselves are of great variety and interest. In many points they supplement and correct those previously published, and they contain a great deal of quite fresh material. Westermann, who on this occasion has had the assistance of

Mrs. Hasenoehrl, is an excellent expositor. His commentaries are always readable and clear, and he has an attractive way of actualizing the transactions which the papyri drily record. The economic questions in particular are admirably handled.

The only weakness of the book is on the philological side. A few points in the letters are misinterpreted, and better supplements than those suggested by the editors are sometimes obvious and sometimes desirable. To take one or two instances, the subject of *εὐκαίρως ἀποδοθῆι* in no. 12 must be some word like *ὑπόμνημα*, and the predicate of *πρόσταγμα* must be either *ἀποσταθῆι* or something similar. In no. 44 again we ought to read *ἐπίστη, ὃ τι ποτὲ εἶχομεν, ὡχρετο ἔχων Προίτος*, "you know that P. has gone off with all that we had", while in l. 17 ο ought surely to be δ. It is sometimes dangerous to emend without seeing the original, but in no. 18 *ἀφελῶ* would give a better sense than *ἀφέσω* and *δυνατητοῖς* does not strike one as a likely word; to risk a surmise, can the scribe have written *δεκαενάτη τοῖς Εἰσιείοις*?

Only a few of the more important texts and commentaries can be mentioned here. No. 2 is a short but unique record of commerce by camel between Palestine and Egypt. No. 4 is an account of the numbers and prices of the papyrus rolls used day by day in the offices of the dioecetes. As Westermann remarks, papyrus appears to have been reasonably cheap, in spite of the royal monopoly; indeed, when one considers how lavishly it was used in drawing up demotic contracts between humble individuals, it is difficult to imagine that it could have been otherwise. In no. 11, which the editors have completed by the happy discovery that P. Cairo Zen. 59067 is the left end of the text, we have an illuminating letter from three Caunian visitors to their fellow countryman Zenon, asking him to use his influence with Apollonius on behalf of their city; it is one more proof of the subjection in which these self-governing cities were held by the Egyptian court. No. 42 is an important letter from Apollonius, ordering Zenon to go to Crocodilopolis and pay to the state accountant and the royal banker the sums collected from various imposts; he was then to receive from them a sum equal to the advances made by Apollonius, or, as Westermann understands it, a sum equal to the amount which he had just paid in, to be deducted from the said advances. Naber has lately asserted that the taxes collected by the employees of Apollonius were his private perquisite; but P. Cairo Zen. 59297 says definitely of such sums *διαγράφομεν τῷ βασιλεῖ*, and the evidence of the present text, as far as one can see, is to the same effect: Apollonius had advanced to the local branch of the Treasury some ready money in anticipation of the taxes which would eventually be collected from his private domain. In no. 54, the important text edited by Westermann in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VI (1927), and now republished with a few corrections, the new explanation of *τῶν ἐπέργων* on p. 138 is inadmissible; it is quite certain that the phrase defines a class of men (see in particular P. Tebt. 774 and 814) and not a species of obligation. No. 55 has at last yielded the proof that Aristander was the oeconomus of the Arsinoite nome, but the most interesting point about the text is the reference to policemen receiving wages in wine from the *apomoira* of Arsinoe Philadelphus; whether the value in money was then transferred to the account of the temples seems more than doubtful; as Westermann justly says, the passage is at least evidence of a "tendency toward secularization of a once sacred revenue".

The editors have succeeded in completing some texts, one of which has been mentioned above, by junctions with fragments already published. I have lately made two other small contributions to this work of restoration and take this opportunity of adding another, more recently detected. By combining no. 7 with P.S.I. 663 we obtain the following letter, almost complete. *Φιλωνίδης ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. καλῶς ποεῖς εἰ ὑγιαίνεις· ὑ[γιαί]νομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κομίζων σοι [τὴν ἐπιστολ]ὴν φίλος ἐστὶν ἡμ[ῶν καὶ] ἀναγκαῖος. καλῶς ἂν οὖν πῶσαις συν[επι]αμβ[ανόμενος αὐτοῦ] εἴαν σε παρ[ακαλῆ]μι. τοῦτο δὲ ποίων χαρίζοι' ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ θεῶ[ι]. γράφε δὲ ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν θέ[λη]ς ὡς ἐσομένων σοι. [ἔ]ρρασο. Τῶβι κδ. Certain similarities had suggested to me that the writer might be Philonides son of Cleon (see Witkowski, *Ep. priv.* no. 1), in which case the letter would have been decidedly interesting, but a photograph shows that it is written in quite a different hand, resembling that of Polycrates, Cleon's younger son; so that conjecture may be dismissed.*

I feel sure that all readers of this new book on Zenon will feel grateful to Professor Westermann and Mrs. Hasenoehrl for their instructive and delightful work.

C. C. EDGAR.

Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. By C. G. SELIGMAN and BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN. London, Routledge, 1932. Svo. 565 pp., folding map, numerous plates and illustrations.

Professor and Mrs. Seligman have produced a monumental work. We must limit ourselves to some indication of its application to Egyptology, but in so doing we must remember that Egyptologists are

penetrating farther and farther up the Nile, and that the Meroitic kingdom, though not ultimately Egyptian, has become their deep concern.

If we consult the index of this great work we find that Egyptian influences are limited to three pages: if we read the rest of the book we realize that the authors are thinking in much wider terms of Egyptian—Nilote-and-Egyptian—negro relationships, either direct or transmitted, or culturally related or diffused over a long period of time. In fact the best introduction to the book would be to read Professor Seligman's *Egyptian Influence in Negro Africa* (in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 1932) and *Egypt in Negro Africa* (Frazer Lecture for 1933).

We are reminded also that Hamitic influences might appear equally in ancient Egypt and in the Upper Nile, and that we must not claim such as Egyptian. The authors stress the difficulty that the Sudd would have presented to penetration from the north, and point to the region of the Great Lakes as more "Egyptian" than that land of swamp. In their opinion contact was round the barrier by the Abyssinian foothills rather than through it. Even so there are some striking parallels, such as the artificial deformation of horns of cattle in ancient Egypt and among the Nuer of to-day; the Meroitic rock-gravings of Jebel Geile; sun-cult in Darfung. On the other hand, readers are specially warned against seeing Egypt in every parallel, and the warning should not be ignored; megaliths are dangerous structures, whether in the Nilotic Sudan or on Salisbury Plain! The sections on religion, among others, will provide some very serious food for thought.

It should be noted that the title of the book embraces non-Arab people remote from the Nile, e.g. the Meidobi, Zaghawa, Fur, and others—in fact all those people of the Sudan who are not purely Hamitic, Arab, or part-Arab; the emphasis should be on "Pagan" rather than on "Nilotic", so far as distribution is concerned.

There is much in these pages that is not intended for, or essential to, the generality of Egyptologists; there is a vast amount more that they would do well to read. Almost every class of specialist will find something new, and most of us will discover that things which we thought were very old and long forgotten are still in use among the authors' pagan friends.

K. S. SANDFORD.

From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt. By SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Kt., M.A., Litt.D., D.Litt., D.Lit., F.S.A. London, Oxford University Press, 1934. xii+545 pp., 240 illus. £1 1s.

This large volume, which appeared only just a month before the distinguished author's death, will no doubt, thanks to the attractive manner in which it is written, appeal strongly to that somewhat wide circle of readers who take a general interest in Egyptology. At the same time, however, it is a work that any one writing a book on the Egyptian religion, or an article dealing with some aspect of it, will be almost bound to consult, for, like so many of the late Sir Ernest Budge's publications, it is a monument of erudition.

But it must soon become evident to a reader with a modern training in Egyptian philology that the translations here given of Egyptian texts, or of extracts therefrom, are far from accurate. Accordingly, such views of the author as are based on his own interpretation of texts cannot be accepted at their face value, but the texts themselves must be consulted before a decision can be reached. Unfortunately, also, statements that arouse interest and challenge criticism are frequently made without any reference in footnotes or elsewhere to documentary or other sources. To ascertain what evidence there is for them would entail the expenditure of considerable time and labour. The book would be a dangerous guide to a student of Comparative Religion not well acquainted with Egyptian religious literature, and not possessed of a good working knowledge of the Egyptian language.

The drawing of the numerous illustrations is not always satisfactory and their provenance is too often not indicated, a fault which greatly diminishes their value. The book seems to be well indexed, and the type, as is to be expected in any publication of the Oxford University Press, is admirable.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches (XVIII.–XX. Dynastie, c. 1580–1100 v. Chr.). Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Teil I: Szenen aus dem Leben des Volkes. (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.) By LUISE KLEBS. Heidelberg, 1934. xxx+243 pp., 144 illustrations in the text.

Among the many severe losses that Egyptology has sustained during the last few years is that caused by the death of Frau Luise Klebs on Whitsunday, 1932. Egyptologists would have been deeply indebted to

her if she had bequeathed them no more than *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* and *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches*, but fortunately, when she left Heidelberg in October 1931, this new work of hers was quite ready for the press. We have still further cause for thankfulness in that the material for the second part of the volume, descriptive of the life of the upper classes during the New Kingdom, was so far collected and arranged that it will be possible to edit it and thus to complete the work that the distinguished lady had in hand.

This book is in every way the equal of its two predecessors, and no higher praise than that could be bestowed upon it. It deals at length with the home life, amusements, crafts, and industries of the common folk of Egypt from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty, but touches only incidentally upon their religious beliefs and practices. These aspects of Egyptian life will, no doubt, receive a fuller treatment in Part II, for the religion of the upper classes is better illustrated than that of the lower orders in the reliefs and paintings of the New Kingdom.

It is to be regretted that Frau Klebs had not access to the University of Chicago's splendid publication, *Medinet Habu*, vol. I, from which she could have obtained better illustrations of warships (see p. 197). She is correct in saying that the corn-*carūṣah* is hung up in houses, sheikhs' tombs, and elsewhere in modern Egypt, and a similar practice may well have prevailed in that country in ancient times. But in some of the winning scenes (e.g., N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of Nakht*, Pl. xx), the artist quite possibly intended to represent it not as hanging up, but as lying on the edge of, or actually on, the threshing floor, for which custom in modern times see W. S. Blackman in *Journal*, VIII, 237 ff. To the reference "*Journal*, VIII, S. 235" on p. 15 should now be added the further reference, "XIX, S. 31".

The book can fairly be described as a mine of information, the facts being well marshalled and clearly expounded. The illustrations are not only admirably chosen, but equally well executed, the type is clear and pleasant to read, and last, but not least, there is a good index.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

Tell El-Amarna. By JOHN PENDLEBURY. London, Lovat Dickson, 1935. 8vo. xxxiv+175 pp., 8 pls. 6s. net.

This useful and attractive little book fills the need, long felt, for a popular and inexpensive account of the famous site which has provided so much of our knowledge of the daily life of the ancient Egyptians, and which otherwise can only be studied in the technical memoirs of the Society and of earlier excavators. The author is to be congratulated on having provided a most readable description of the city of "The Horizon of the Disc", supported by adequate, if necessarily compressed, chapters on the historical and religious settings in which it was born, and illustrated by well-selected plans and photographs. The major portion of the book, according to the intention of the series, is devoted to the site itself, describing the typical El-'Amarnah house, the workmen's village, the temples, palaces, "record office", and other buildings of interest and importance. Mr. Pendlebury's account of these, which his experience as Director of the excavations at El-'Amarnah renders him well qualified to give, is straightforward and to the point, enlivened by humour and imagination. His reconstruction of the chronology and course of events at El-'Amarnah is, as he himself admits, largely tentative, but nevertheless greatly adds to the interest of the book for the general reader. The suggestion in his final chapter, however, that future excavation at El-'Amarnah may recover important historical documents which will clear up the gaps in our knowledge, appears to us somewhat over-sanguine. Further and minor criticisms are that the bibliography of the subject given in the introduction could have been made more complete; that the erroneous idea, long ago disproved, that the heart was included among the organs preserved in the Canopic jars is repeated on page 62; and that the curious statement on page 149, that it is uncertain whether incense was burned during the liturgy of the Aten, is unjustified. On the contrary, whether or no the material burning in the saucers represented in the tomb-scenes¹ as resting on the offerings heaped upon the altars is incense, in certain cases the king is actually shown holding an arm-censer of the usual type² or an attendant priest has one in readiness.³ Also the statement under Plate vii, fig. 1 (the statuette of a private individual found in 1929) that "the single lotos reminds us of the aesthetes of the Oscar Wilde school", though amusing, is somewhat misleading, appearing to suggest that the practice is yet another symptom of the aestheticism of El-'Amarnah (see also the description of the statuette on page 137), whereas it was quite usual at Egyptian banquets for men to hold lotus-blooms in their

¹ Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, I, Pl. 22 and *passim* in the tombs.

² E.g., Davies, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 5, 8.

³ E.g., *op. cit.*, I, Pls. 23, 27.

hands, as is shown by the tomb-scenes;¹ it is, however, a departure from convention for the custom to be represented in a statue or statuette of a man. But these are minor defects which do not detract from the general excellence of the book.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

Edward Hincks, a Selection from his Correspondence, with a Memoir by E. F. DAVIDSON, M.A. Oxford, The University Press, 1933. 273 pp. and frontispiece. 20s. net.

This book furnishes valuable material for the historian of the sciences of Egyptology and Assyriology, as well as an example *par excellence* of true greatness flourishing in obscurity. The subject of the memoir, the Rev. Edward Hincks, D.D., who was born in 1792, passed the greater part of his life, from the age of 33 to his death at 74, in a remote country parish in the north of Ireland. During that time his active brain was continuously at grips first with the problems of Egyptian hieroglyphic and later with those of cuneiform, in both of which subjects, then in their infancy, his discoveries were of the first importance. Hampered by lack of means, with a family to support, and in no way neglecting his duties as a clergyman, he struggled on, receiving scarcely any monetary assistance for his work, and sometimes even insufficient acknowledgement of his contribution to learning. Hincks's fame depends rather more on his cuneiform studies than on his Egyptian, but the correspondence dealing with the latter is full of interest, including letters from the foremost "Egyptologists" (as the Rev. B. H. Cooper, one of his correspondents, calls them) of the day: Leemans, de Rougé, Lepsius, Birch, and many others. The full recognition of Hincks's work for Egyptology came years after his death, when, in 1904, Maspero wished a bust of him to be placed, in company with those of the other great pioneers of Egyptian studies, in the *Galerie d'Honneur* of the Cairo Museum, where it stands to this day. The only cause for regret with regard to this excellent book is the omission of a list of Hincks's published works, which would have greatly added to its value. A reference, however, is given to the list published in the Annual Report of the Royal Society of Literature for 1867.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

A Guide to the Collections. Part I: Ancient and Oriental Art. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1934. 84 pp., illustrated. 25 cents.

This, the first part of the new general guide to the Metropolitan Museum, describes the collections illustrating the arts of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, the Near East, India, and the Far East, together with a special exhibition of the arms and armour of the Near East and Japan. In the reviewer's opinion this little book almost realizes the ideal of what a general guide should be. The description is based upon an intelligent tour of the galleries, and is not fettered by the actual position of the objects; to enable the visitor to identify the objects described in the guide, each thing so described is provided with a special number-card. Only the most typical and striking objects are dealt with, the account being mostly limited to one page per gallery, and the most important object in that gallery is figured in an illustration at the head of the page. The actual descriptive text has found the happy medium, providing all necessary facts but at the same time avoiding the stodgy effect fatal to publications of this sort. The account of the Egyptian section could scarcely be bettered, touching lightly upon the main currents of history, art, and religion in an interesting manner, every page suggesting the wealth of this great collection, which is enriched yearly by the excavations of the Museum's expedition to Egypt. The illustrations are admirable, and the whole "get-up" of the book is thoroughly attractive. Armed with a guide such as this, and, we feel sure, assisted still further by generously full and informative labelling in the galleries themselves, there is no reason why every lay visitor to a museum should not derive the maximum of the enjoyment and profit which he has the right to expect.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries. By A. LUCAS, O.B.E., F.I.C., F.S.A. 2nd ed. London, Edward Arnold & Co. 8vo., 448 pp. 16s.

This work is altogether so enlarged and replanned in its new edition that it deserves treatment without relation to its predecessor. It is, unquestionably, an exceedingly valuable and important book. No practising Egyptologist can afford to be without it, and any serious student of the subject will find it an increasingly necessary adjunct to his studies. Increasingly, because it marks an epoch in the development of Egyptology

¹ *E.g.*, Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pl. 7.

into a science, equivalent to that marked by the publication of Petrie's *Diospolis Parva*, or of Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*. It shows that the analyst and the specialist, previously called in only occasionally, have now to take a permanent place with other workers in Egyptology, and that guesswork identification of objects can no longer be tolerated. Already, from this book, we can see how the specialist may be able to settle the questions of the origins of the different arts that make up civilization, now debated with so much prejudice and so little result, and to trace trade routes and race movements of the pre- and protodynastic periods.

Mr. Lucas has made himself a unique place in Egyptology, that of technical expert on the objects, both as analyst and restorer. He has had exceptional opportunities to enlarge his knowledge and technique, not only during the treatment and examination of the great group from the tomb of Tutankhamūn, but also in the care of the unrivalled collection in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. The new edition shows that he has taken full advantage of his position, and that he has not contented himself with applying his chemical knowledge to analyses of the materials—a large field in itself—but has also mastered many of the crafts of the ancients. With this expansion of view has come an increasing interest in the documents, Egyptian and classical, where they illustrate any part of his own studies.

The author brings to all his work the scientific outlook which is essential in archaeology to-day, and this, as much as his knowledge, helps to make this volume an outstanding contribution to modern Egyptology. (The uninitiated reader may well imagine that the author's work has been carried on in a large, well-equipped laboratory, with the assistance of an adequate staff, and that this establishment must now form an important department of the Cairo Museum. Such is far from the truth, and it can only be hoped that examination of this book may influence the Egyptian authorities to show a due appreciation of the value of physical science to Egyptology.)

Like all works of importance, this book will undoubtedly be expanded and improved upon by others, and it may even be said to have outgrown its author already. Despite the immense labour which has obviously been expended on the confirmation (or more frequently refutation) of statements, and the careful original research, some important references appear to have been missed, as for example, *Le Vin sous les Pharaons*, by René Dage and Alan Aribaud, in the section on wine, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, by H. Ling Roth, in that on woven fabrics, and *The Apis Papyrus* (Demot. Pap. Wien, No. 27) in the chapter on mummies. This is inevitable in a book by one man on such a wide range of subjects, for the author discusses almost all the materials used and the crafts practised in ancient Egypt. In any future edition it seems that the best results would be obtained by a panel of experts under the critical eye and almost omniscient editorship of Mr. Lucas.

The author, as is proper in such a work, is critical, without fear or favour, of all work that comes under his examination, and searches out for censure all errors in his field so that we may no longer be misled; but, though he quotes from Robert Boyle's *The Sceptical Chymist*, "a man may be a champion for truth without being an enemy to civility", he is sometimes a little led away by righteous indignation into taking a hypercritical view of the work of all and sundry. On p. 31 he says, "... whether glue was used when the gold was only thin leaf has not been determined" and refers to p. 189, where we find "For gilding with the still thinner gold leaf . . . the nature of the adhesive is not certain, though Professor Laurie believes that in one case he has found evidence of the use of white of egg for the purpose". Professor Laurie published his conclusions and methods of work in full in *The Analyst*, and if Mr. Lucas doubted the validity of these he should surely have stated his reasons for so doing.

Attacking, on p. 250, the theory that a bath was used for soaking the body during mummification, he claims to dispose of the evidence provided by the defective and composite mummies of the Late period. He admits that the condition of these is to be connected with the facts that they belong exclusively to periods (Persian to Roman) when the skill of the undertaker was displayed in the external wrapping and decoration of the mummy rather than in the preservation of the body, and that the mummies in this condition are apparently all of persons of the poorer classes; but he states that the bath theory does not explain these limitations. Whether the bath theory be right or wrong, it does meet just these points. Excavation of provincial cemeteries has shown clearly that it was not until a very late period that mummification became general throughout the population. To meet the demand, some form of mass-treatment for the bodies of the poorer people must have been devised. If several corpses were submerged in one bath, and became disintegrated there, it would have been far easier for the undertakers to construct mummies of approximately correct dimensions from odd limbs or bones, than to re-assemble the component parts of the various bodies; but if the corpses were packed in dry natron, the reverse would have been the case. (The reviewer has seen a child's mummy made up from a skull and an adult femur.)

In the chapter on pottery the author himself shows an unexpected lack of precision, confusing the terms "slip" and "wash". On p. 327 he says, "When red oxide is applied to the surface of a vessel, it is always in the form of a red ferruginous earth made into a wash with water", whereas the difference between a slip and a wash is that the former contains clay, which the "natural earthy form of haematite" would do. On p. 319 he rightly accuses archaeologists of lack of precision in their descriptions of colours, but does not improve upon this himself, giving no colour scale for explanation of his terms. He describes the "D" ware as being ". . . in reddish-brown or brownish-grey on light red ware", but no pot of this ware that the reviewer has seen can be described as being of the colour technically known as light red.

The use of the word "chalk" to describe the whiting in gesso is misleading, for, although a very similar form of limestone is sometimes found in Egypt, the term chalk is not generally used in connexion with the Egyptian limestone deposits.

The author's style is generally clear, simple, and interesting, though such sentences as "Turquoise has been known and used in Egypt from both the Badarian and predynastic periods respectively" could be improved.

The book is systematic and well arranged, and the necessary cross-references are given, but the references in footnotes should have been repeated in full more frequently, *op. cit.* sometimes carrying the reader back five or more fully annotated pages. There is an excellent index. The format, lay-out, and printing meet the needs of the book admirably, but an expansion of the appendix into a corpus of reliable analyses, or, failing this, a classified list of references to these, would have added enormously to its value.

To repeat, lest the above criticisms (of what are after all only "traces of impurities") should be misinterpreted, the book is outstanding no less in its scope, accuracy, and usefulness to the Egyptologist, than in its interest for the historian and general reader.

OLIVER H. MYERS.

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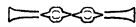
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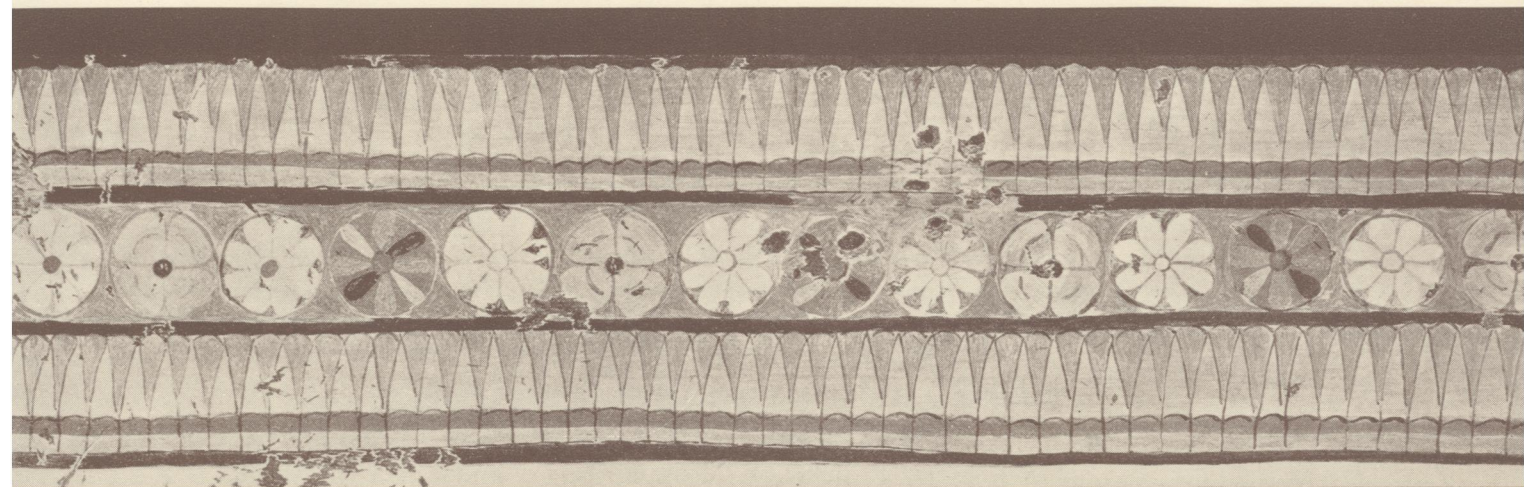
“Syrians Grovelling at the Feet of Amenophis III.” A casket lid of King Tutankhamūn’s has contributed two exquisite miniature paintings, one of a lion hunt, the other of the slaughter of Syrian foes. Temple scenes and decorative ceiling patterns supplement the varied range of tomb wall scenes. *Each folio volume contains 52 color plates.*

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PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-'AMARNAH, 1934-1935

BY J. D. S. PENDLEBURY

With Plates viii-xii

EXCAVATIONS were in progress from December 1 to February 6. Our main supporters were again the Brooklyn Museum, Mrs. Hubbard, the Ashmolean Museum, and Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins. Mrs. Gaston Smith's class at Boston also gave a donation, and we have to thank Professor Capart for a subscription from the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Brussels, which enabled us to finish off the season fairly tidily. After work had closed down further funds were received from Brooklyn, which are being held for the coming season.

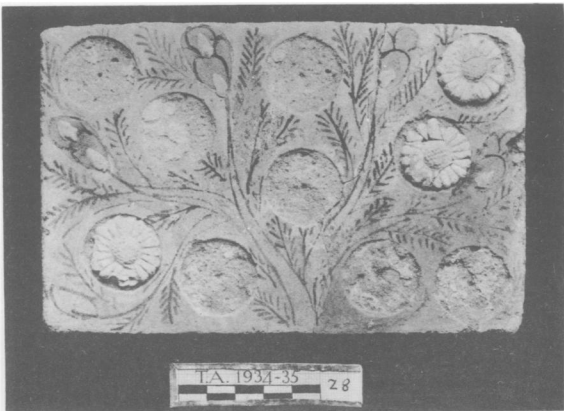
The staff was the same as for the previous year with the addition of Mrs. Sherman, who devoted herself mainly to drawing. Mr. Fairman's return was the more welcome in view of the mass of inscriptional material.

Among visitors to the site were M. Lacau, Director General of Antiquities, who not only determined the extent of the work to be undertaken in the Royal Valley but was also kind enough to facilitate the expropriation of a certain amount of the cultivated land which has encroached on that part of the Palace known as the 'Broad Hall'; M. Mekhitarian, Professor Capart's assistant, who took a number of admirable photographs of the site which were on view at the annual exhibition; and Sir Robert Greg, a member of the Comité d'Égyptologie, Cairo. After the season was finished we received a visit from the Egyptian Army Air Force, who, in conjunction with the Antiquities Department, are executing a fine series of aerial surveys of ancient sites.

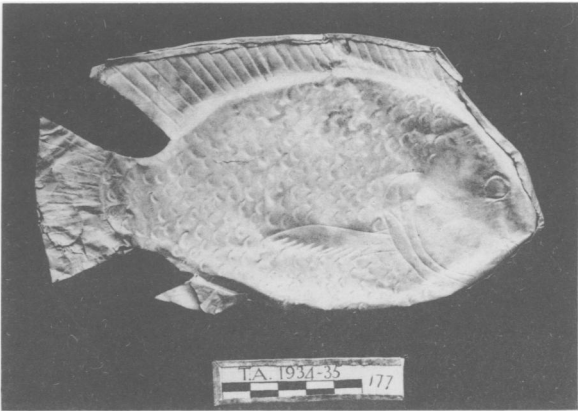
The Royal Valley

Before describing the results of the excavation on the Palace area where work this year was concentrated, it should be mentioned that a task long overdue has been completed by the Society. Fresh depredations having occurred in the Royal Valley, it was decided by the Antiquities Department that the spot must be dealt with finally, particularly in view of rumours to the effect that another tomb had been seen by the robbers. It was determined that an impregnable door should be built to the tomb itself, and that we should make as certain as possible that no other tomb existed in the neighbourhood. The blocking of the entrance to the tomb meant that work inside would be rendered virtually impossible in the future, and permission was granted to the Society to make a complete record of the mural reliefs which had hitherto been published only in a very inadequate and inaccurate form by Bouriant and others in *Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou*, I. Mr. Fairman, Mr. Lavers, and Mr. Sherman therefore spent over a fortnight at the tomb, and, in spite of every effort on the part of weather and insects, succeeded in making tracings and photographs of all the reliefs. Mr. Lavers spent a few hot days longer in building up the door of the tomb.

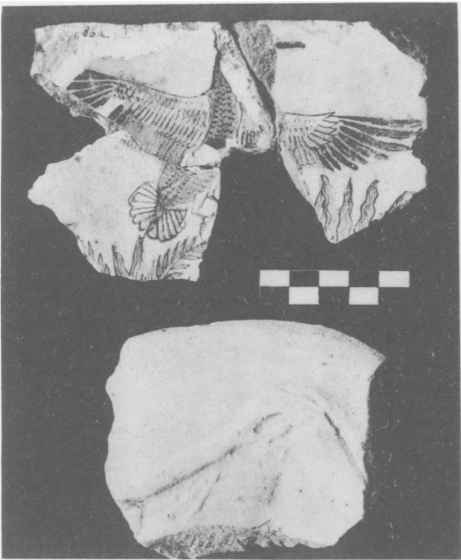
After the work on the Palace was finished, my wife and I spent five weeks in making a thorough search on both sides of the valley for the alleged new tomb and in testing every



1. Faience plaque.



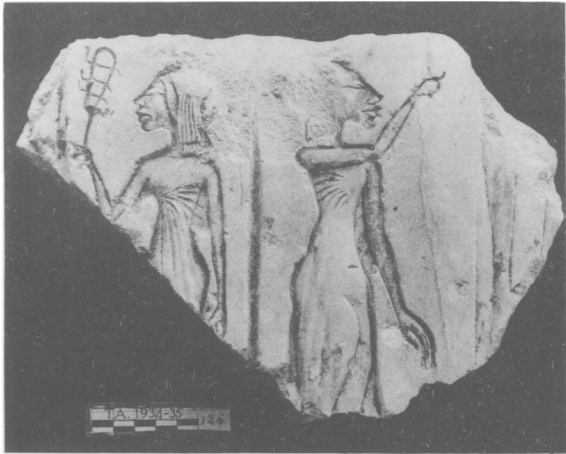
2. Fish in gold plate.



3. Faience plaques.



4. Sculptor's trial-piece.



5. Fragment of limestone column-drum.



6. Sunk relief showing foreigners.

rumour however fantastic. This tomb proved to be non-existent, although two new *shawabti*-heads and a number of interesting small objects, as well as the definite—if negative—evidence, fully justified the expenditure of the Antiquities Department.

It is hoped that in the near future the result of the Society's work here will be published as *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, VII, in which complete drawings, helped out by photographs, will be reproduced together with a discussion of the scenes and a co-ordination of the results of all the excavations conducted there.

It may be of interest to intending visitors to know that the Royal Tomb will in future only be visible by means of a special permit from the Antiquities Department, the two keys being kept at Cairo and at the Inspector's Office at Asyūt respectively.

The Palace

The work of previous seasons had practically completed the central, official quarter of the City, between the *Sikket es-Sultān* and the desert; there remained only two areas of minor importance, one lying to the south of the barracks west of the police station (*cf. Journal*, 20, 135), the other consisting of the long rows of magazines immediately south of the Temple as well as a building between them and Paneḥsy's Official Residence. These areas it was felt could wait, for their plans are practically visible in the aerial survey. But the great Official Palace which lies west of the *Sikket es-Sultān*, and was connected by a bridge over that road with the rest of the Royal Estate, still constituted a problem and a duty.

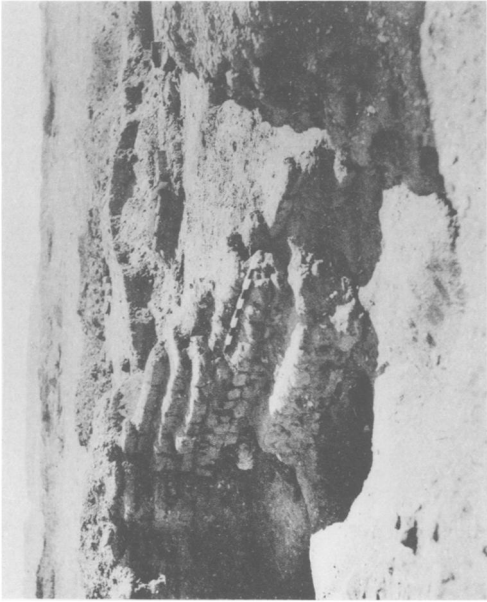
Fortunately there was not much doubt as to where to begin. The south end of the Palace lines up with the southern limits of the rest of the Central City, and is separated by a wide thoroughfare from the residential quarters immediately to the south. Furthermore the dumping problem appeared to be easier here than elsewhere, and Petrie's plan was at least intelligible, affording definite landmarks from which to advance to the comparatively unknown area to the north.

First of all, however, two small buildings lying outside the south-west corner of the Palace were excavated. These consisted mainly of heavy concrete foundations, which had kept back the modern cultivation at this point. These foundations, consisting of great blocks connected by narrow strips, were evidently intended to support some considerable weight, and resemble the foundations just inside the main entrance to the Great Temple (*cf. Journal*, 19, 114). The depth to which they run suggests the possibility of their forming part of the approach from the river, which we know existed, but discussion is better postponed until the whole of the Palace area has been excavated and can be compared with the pictures in the tombs.

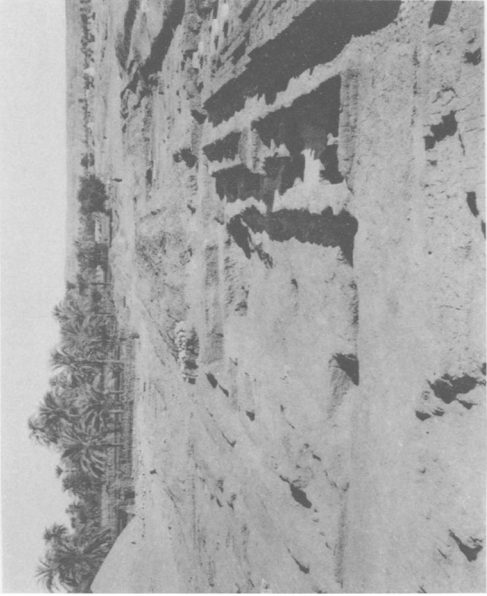
To turn to the Palace itself. The only plan in existence is that of Petrie (*Tell el Amarna*, Pl. xxxvi), and one of the most noticeable features of that plan is the double wall running the full length of the plan on the east, and forming the south and west sides of the Pillared Hall. It must be said at once that this double wall does not exist and has never existed. The only point where such an impression is given is in the Harem quarter, to be described below, where the whole block of buildings is set back slightly from the main wall, leaving a passage for a guard to see that no one was burrowing in from without. In view of such discrepancies between this plan and the facts it will be as well to describe the building as if last season's work was the first to have been done on the spot.¹

At the south end of the Palace lies a vast hall with a forest of square piers. The central aisle running north and south is wider than the rest, and a few of the piers flanking it preserve

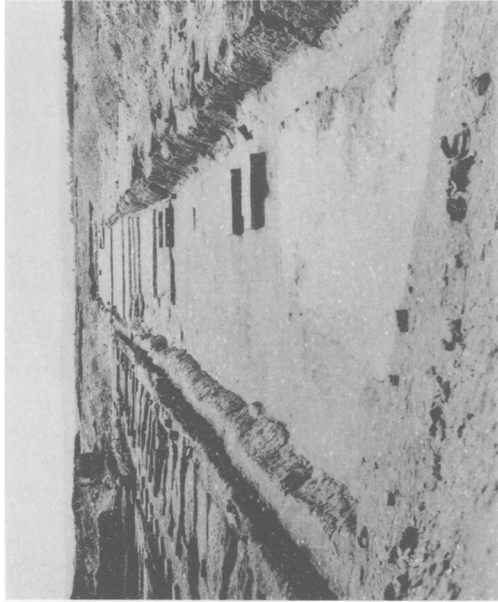
¹ For the purposes of a preliminary report the plan mentioned above suffices for the great south hall, next to be described. Additions to that plan should be noticed. An entirely fresh plan is given for the northern section, and of course the whole has been resurveyed for the memoir *City of Akhenaten*, III.



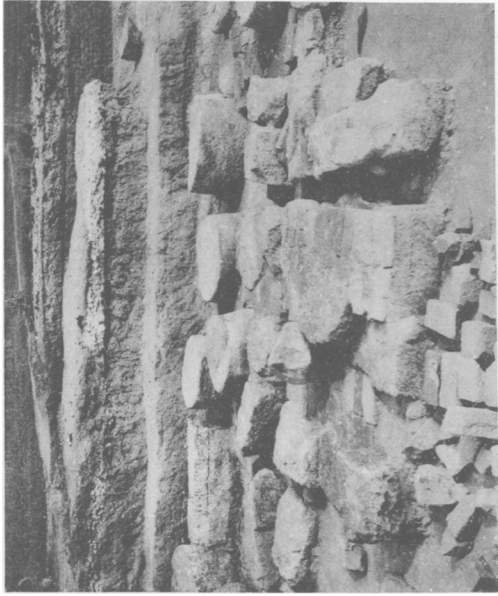
1. North entrance to the Pillared Hall.



2. Harem Garden from the south.



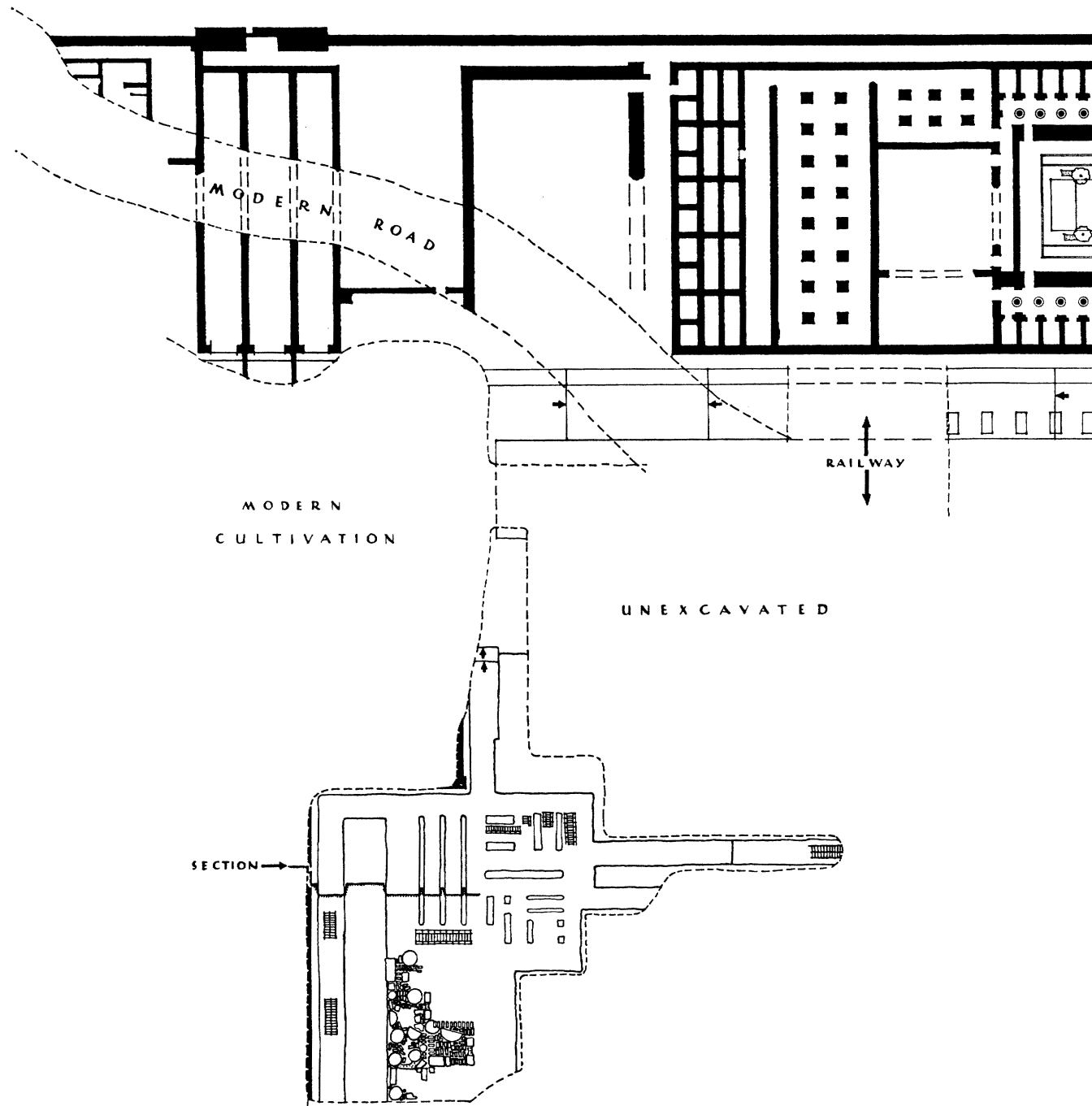
3. The Processional Way from the north.



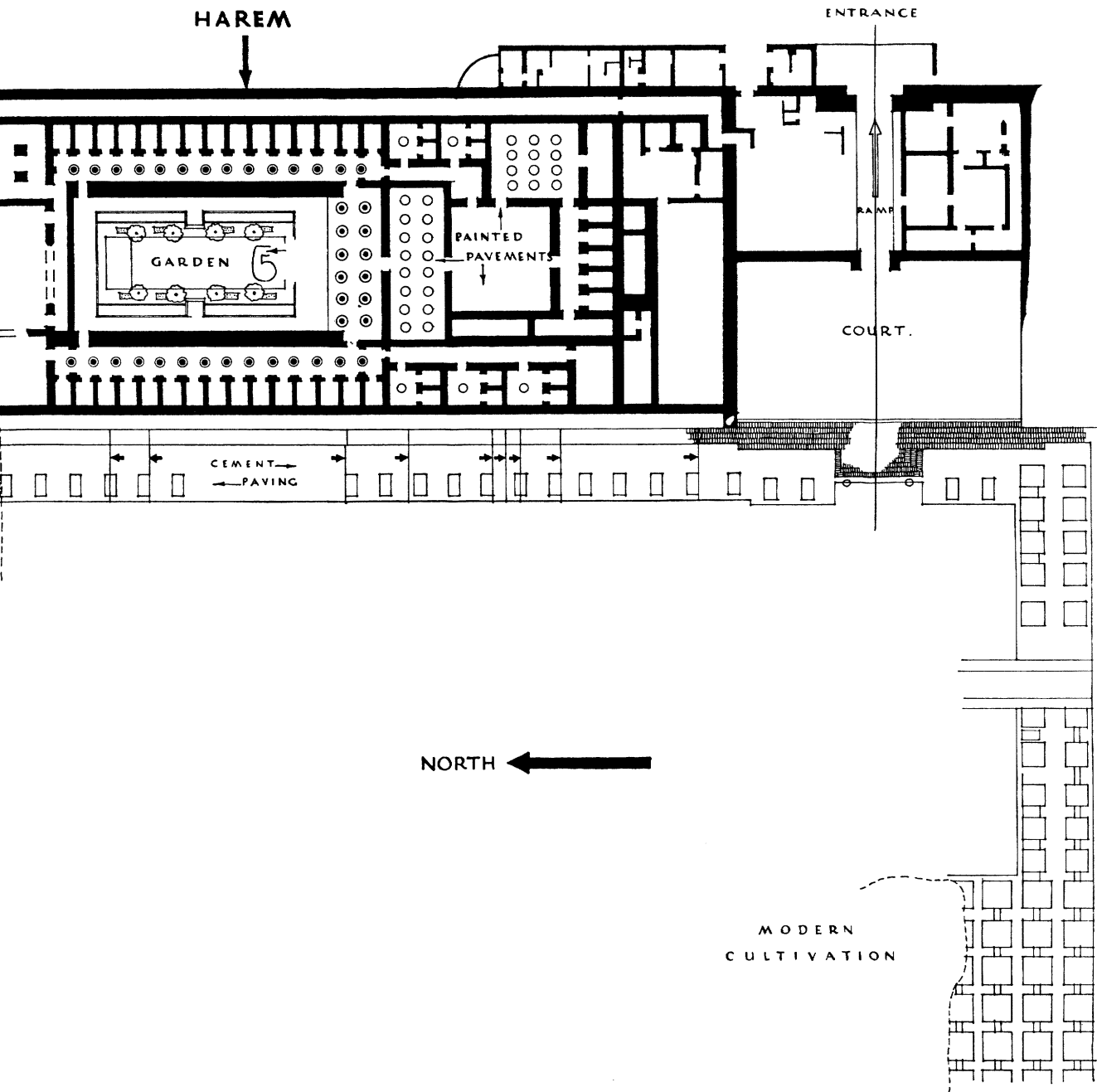
4. 'Weben-Aten': the foundations.

EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-AMARNAH, 1934-5. THE PALACE

← ROYAL ROAD →



Plan of the northern section of the
EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-'AMARNA



EXCAVATED
1934 ~ 1935.

the roll-moulding which ran up the edges. Presumably this central aisle was raised to a higher level than the surrounding parts and provided clerestory lighting. It is in fact a forerunner of the hypostyle halls of the Nineteenth Dynasty. It has been suggested that this area was a vineyard, and that the square pillars supported trellises for vines, and the present writer rashly put forward the theory that these square bases might represent the sites of offering tables such as we have in the Great Temple; but the massiveness of the piers disproves the first, as the height to which many are preserved disproves the second suggestion. Fragments of painted plaster survive, all showing a pattern of grapes. These must have come from the beams or the ceiling—our discoveries this year were too weathered to determine which.

In the north-west corner lies an altar or chapel with a gaily painted wall.

To the south of the hall lie three rooms. The central one is entered (*pace* Petrie) by a central door from the main hall, and itself provides access to the side chambers. These latter have their roofs supported on square pillars. The central room, however, betrays no sign of such, and since it is too broad to be spanned by a beam with no central support it must be assumed to have been hypaethral.

The entrances to the main hall are two. On the west side a ramp leads up to a door in the west wall. The main entrance, however, is the doorway from the rest of the Palace to the north. It appears that this door has been cut through the earlier south wall of the Palace. Weathering has been too great to allow one to see the actual bricks cut through, but the foundations of the earlier wall run right across, below where the threshold should be (Pl. ix, 1).¹ In any case it is clear that the hall is a later addition to the Palace, for a great number of tree stumps and rubbish pits exists below the floor, showing that the site had been occupied before the hall was built, and since every object discovered in these rubbish pits was of the 'Amarnah period there is no need to assume a previous settlement on the site. Furthermore a number of admittedly scattered bricks was found to bear the name of Smenkhkarē and, remembering the unroofed chamber at the south end and Akhenaten's fondness for hypaethral ceremonies, we feel justified in making the suggestion that this may have been the coronation hall erected for the occasion of the young prince's association as co-regent.

This part of the Palace has been very badly denuded, and since the deposit had been partly turned over previously and lies near the cultivation, we had little expectation of finding objects. Outside the west wall, however, just to the north of the entrance, was discovered a dump of faience consisting mainly of tiles wrenched from the walls of the hall. A number of these was fortunately intact, preserving most of the inlaid daisies (Pl. viii, 1). They are the first complete specimens of their type that have ever been found. Both size—the average is 20 cm. by 12 cm.—and decoration vary very slightly. The background is invariably green, which again varies in tone according to the firing and the composition of the glaze. The details are in black, purple, and yellow, while the inlaid daisies are white with a yellow centre. Most of them retained traces on the back of the plaster in which they had been set. With them were found smaller fragments showing birds and flowers; these had evidently been shaped to fit into some prepared setting, and it is possible that above the green plaques ran a more brightly coloured cornice. A few pieces in the shape of long green leaves were evidently intended to be inlaid into columns, and may therefore have come from

¹ The entrance has been walled up with brick like so many of the doors of official and private buildings. This presumably occurred when the site was abandoned by Tutankhamūn, the possibility of a return being envisaged not only in private but also in official circles. Note, however, that the stone threshold had already been removed.

the buildings to the south-west described above, for the austere white plaster of the square piers hardly allows of inlay. The interest lies in the inscriptions in ink on the back, which were evidently intended to indicate the places to be occupied.

The area to the north of the Pillared Hall seemed on further examination somewhat confused, and presented considerable problems in dumping. Work was therefore transferred—pending the final drawing and planning of the Pillared Hall, after which it would provide an ideal dumping ground—to the extreme north end of the Palace, or rather the point so shown on Petrie's plan (*op. cit.*, Pl. x). A number of large magazines was excavated, unproductive in themselves save for a rough trial-piece of the queen, but proving without doubt that the Palace extended farther north. These magazines had, however, been of importance, for a special guards' passage lies between them and the main wall.

South of these quarters, which must have been for servants and stores, lies the Harem. The most direct access to it was gained from a heavily guarded gate in the east wall of the Palace. The stone threshold had been removed, and in its place lay a large bronze crowbar which had evidently been used for levering it up.

As was mentioned above, the Harem quarter is set slightly back from the main wall of the Palace in order to allow a passage for guards. The southern and western portions are much denuded, and it is not always possible to determine the exact position of the doors to some of the compartments. The plan on Pl. x shows the general arrangement of the Harem.¹

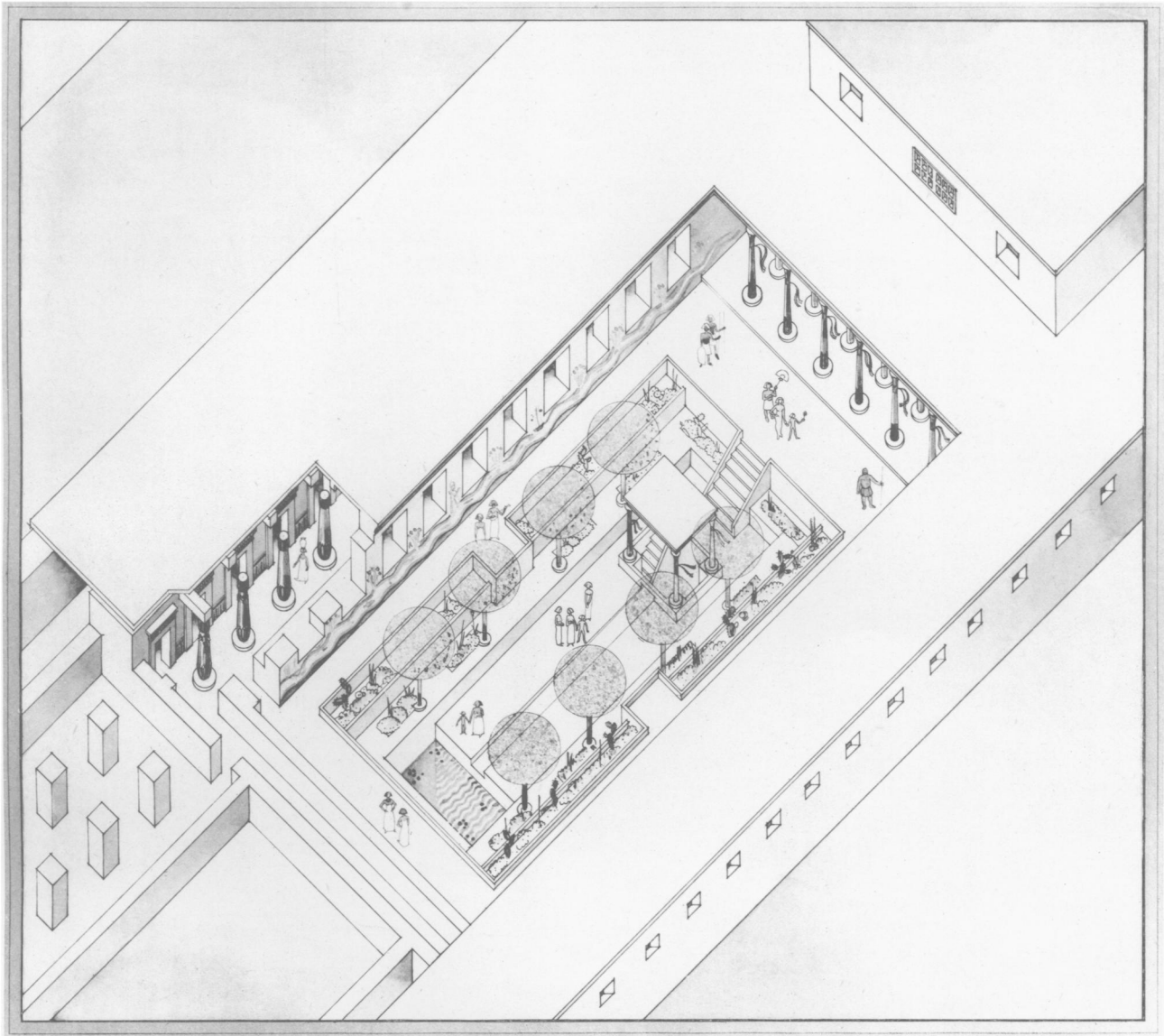
It was discovered that further examples of painted pavements existed in the rooms immediately to the south of the main halls. These were similar in style, though not in quality or state of preservation, to the famous pavement. The north wall of the pillared room which contained the latter is not preserved above the level of the podium on which it is raised, and the exact means of access thence to the colonnade to the north is uncertain. The brick paving of the latter seems to begin some two metres away from the wall, and it is possible that a flight of stone steps existed across the whole breadth, for there is a drop of 50 cm. in the floor-level.

A reconstruction of the garden court is shown on Pl. xi (*cf.* also Pl. ix, 2). There is a colonnade at the south end. To east and west lie corridors, their roofs supported on columns. In front was a low screen wall which probably supported square piers.² Off each of the corridors opens a row of small compartments; at the back of these was a shelf just under a metre high and 30 cm. wide, supported on brick piers in the corners of the room. These rooms have been taken to be cubicles, sleeping apartments for the ladies of the harem, the bed being raised on this shelf. The dimensions, however, would allow only a dwarf to sleep in comfort, and even a dwarf would not like a nasty drop of nearly a metre if she rolled out of bed. Since the wall between the compartments is painted with a series of wine jars it seems better to regard these compartments as stores for the immediate needs of the harem.

The outside of the screen wall was painted with a scene depicting life by the Nile, which

¹ It should be mentioned that the two large rooms marked 'Painted Pavements', which had been built up to protect Petrie's discovery, were not re-excavated, nor were the small rooms immediately to the east of them. The plan of these given here is therefore taken direct from Petrie, with a correction of 1.5 metres in the overall measurement.

² A small column-base was found near by, but as Mr. Lavers points out this may well have come from a kiosk in the garden. It would be a bad architectural feature to have columns of different sizes supporting the same architrave, and, as shown on Pl. xi, the square piers allow the human figures in the wall-painting to extend upwards to their natural height.



Isometric drawing of the Garden Court in the Harem.

EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-'AMARNAH, 1934-5. THE PALACE

winds its way between banks of black mud. This practice of painting outside walls exposed to the weather is very rare. The only other instance is the north wall of the King's private house, where the feet of human figures can be seen.

The arrangement of the garden is clear. The beds were still filled with rich Nile mud. At the south end was a well, of which Petrie had recovered the stone coping; from it a stone channel leads to a depression in the ground which had once been lined with stone, and which must have been an ornamental pond. Perhaps it was from some decoration here that the fish in gold plate (Pl. viii, 2) originally came, although it was found in the filling just west of the Harem.

The columns have already been described by Petrie. Many fragments were found, and it is hoped that a complete, if composite, example may be restored. They vary considerably in details, such as the number of flutes at the base, but all conform to the general type shown in Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. vii.

Along the west side of the Harem, but extending farther north and south, runs a long processional way paved with plaster (Pl. ix, 3). It is stepped up and down at intervals, to conform to the level of the ground. Along the east side ran a wall, the only traces of which are marks of blocks in the plaster. Along the west side it was open, but a long row of stone bases marks the site of colossal statues in granite and quartzite. Literally thousands of fragments of these were found; they had been systematically and carefully smashed, for hardly a fragment is more than 50 cm. long. At a point opposite to the palace entrance described above, the marks of stones extend right across the plaster, and there is a projection of ordinary sand from the west. It is possible that there was some sort of reception area here, perhaps like the low balcony at Medinet Habu. At the south end the way enters a large hall, which seems to extend very nearly the whole width of the Palace, while a corresponding way seems to have run northwards from its western end under the modern cultivation.

The marks on the plaster paving of this hall imply the presence of columns between which stood yet more statues. To discover how far south the hall continues is one of the tasks of the coming season.

The name of this hall, and perhaps of the whole area, is discussed by Mr. Fairman in the article which follows this report.

The most interesting objects from this part of the Palace are shown on Pl. viii, 3 and Pl. xii, 1. The bird rising startled from the foliage is a fine example of the glazer's art. The fragment of white faience shown below it is unusual, not only because white plaques are rare but also because human figures in relief on such plaques are practically unknown on the site. (It should be mentioned that this fragment was photographed on its side by mistake; the left-hand side should be the top.) Pl. xii, 1 shows a very delicate sunk relief of the head of a king; it somewhat resembles Nineteenth-Dynasty work, though there is no doubt that it is contemporary with the Palace.

Lastly comes the *Weben-Aten*, which lies in a bay in the cultivation within the two arms of the Processional Way. The foundations only were recovered, and these lay at a depth varying from 3 to 5 metres below the level surface of the ground. The mystery of their presence at a depth never before reached on the site was soon cleared up. The building was part of the original scheme of the Palace, but after a very few years reconstruction took place; it was razed to its foundations, and together with the northern part of the Processional Way was covered with a layer of sand in order to form a large central parade ground.

The foundations, which alone remain, are most confusing (Pl. ix, 4). Huge rough cylinders of stone are grouped quite aimlessly in the trenches cut in the virgin soil, yet flat plaques are

in some cases carefully cut to fit round them. The trenches and the cut stones seem to lie quite at haphazard, and to bear no relation to the plan of any building they could have been intended to support. An uncertain amount, however, still remains to be excavated, and when we get the point of junction between this building and the Processional Way a clue will probably be provided.

Discussion of the *Weben-Aten* as a building is therefore premature. It remains to describe the finds. The amount of relief discovered was overwhelming, and the fact that the stones had been buried at the time of the dismantling of the building meant that they had escaped not only weathering but also the deliberate destruction which followed the general desertion of the city.

Unfortunately not enough remained to enable us to reconstruct the wall-scenes with certainty. It seems indeed as if some of the sculpture had been removed for use elsewhere, for the fragments of royal portraits are very rarely of the scale demanded by the size of soldiers, priests, and horses. This is natural enough, for the royal figures would be the work of the best sculptors, while any pupil could be turned on to do crowd scenes.

The finest of the discoveries are shown on Pls. viii and xii. Pl. viii, 4 shows a good example of a sculptor's trial-piece, and is also good evidence of the way in which early burial has preserved the sharpness of outline in a soft, easily worn stone. Pl. viii, 5 is a fragment of a column on which the princesses are represented as being even more hideous than usual. Pl. viii, 6 is a study of foreigners, the disdainful, high-cheekboned Hittite being a masterpiece. Pl. xii, 2 is of historical interest, for the princess, as she certainly is from the lock of hair, has had the uraeus added when she came to the throne. Presumably she is Meritaten. Pl. xii, 3 shows one of the many fragments of statuettes; it is in black granite, and though badly worn still preserves the melancholy cast of face so common at this period. Pl. xii, 4 shows two more examples of the painted sunk reliefs.

Among other objects not illustrated was an interesting fragment which is further evidence of the curious inversion of the sexes at 'Amarnah. It shows part of the royal throne or palanquin, and, as Mr. Brunton pointed out, the supporter is not a lion but a lioness. Trial-pieces were not uncommon; one example shows a head of the king, bearing a remarkable likeness to the Karnak colossi. Another shows the apprentice trying his hand at copying hieroglyphs, and doing it very badly. The crowd scenes must have been as lively as any in the tombs; every head that has been preserved has an individuality, even the horses have character. Several blocks are carved with flowers in relief, cornflowers, papyrus, and sprays of grasses.

Within the building, whatever it was, had stood many groups of statuettes in granite, quartzite, and sandstone. The fragments of hands and feet show some of the best craftsmanship of the period. There is a number of very delicately modelled torsos, some of them from groups which showed two or more princesses with their arms round each other's waists.

As if in promise of what is in store for the coming season, the last hour's work saw the discovery of two heads in granite, one of a princess from a life-sized group, the other a miniature of the queen, as yet unfinished, for the ears are still marked out in red paint.

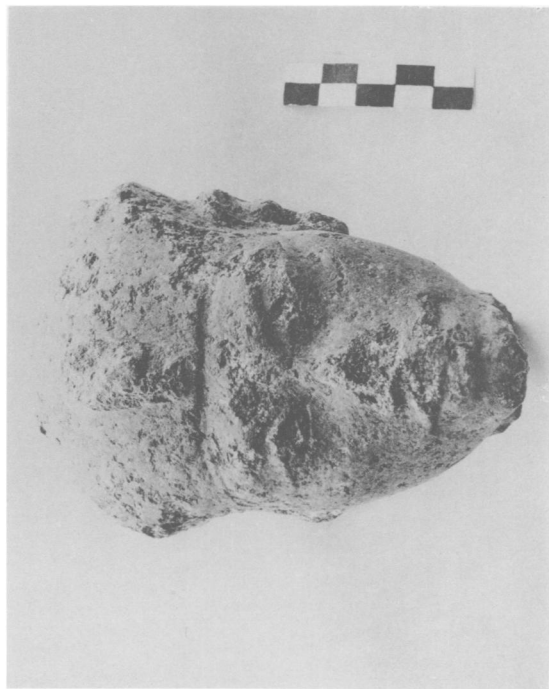
During the coming season it is intended to clear up the mystery of the *Weben-Aten* and to attempt to complete the excavation of the Palace. The possibility of recovering the waterfront should not be overlooked, since a bay in the cultivation about half-way down the west side of the Palace extends nearer to the river than does any other point, and it is practically certain that in those days the bed of the Nile was some way east of its present course. The deposit south of the point at which we stopped work is evidently of considerable depth, and has by no means been completely excavated yet. The presence of so large a section



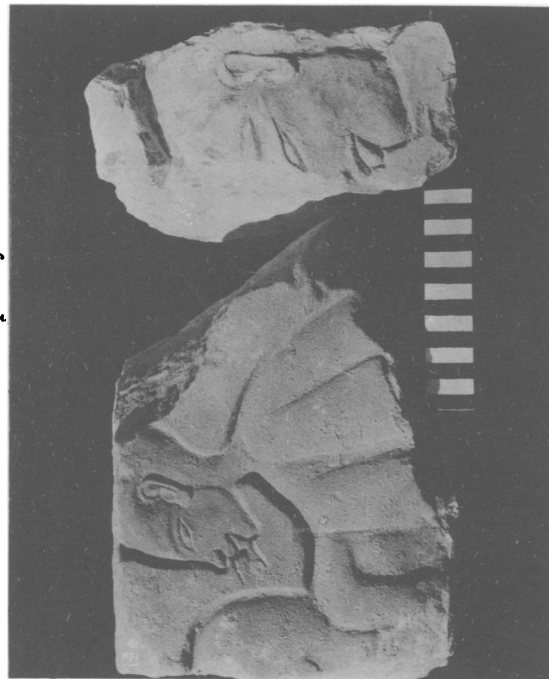
1. Sunk relief showing a king's head.



2. Sunk relief showing a princess, with the uraeus added subsequently.



3. Black granite head of a king.



4. Sunk reliefs from the 'Weben-Aten'.

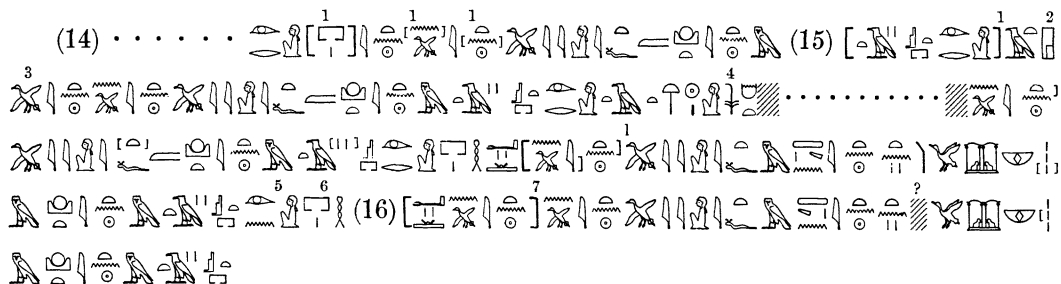
of the Palace as the Pillared Hall, which was built for Smenkhkarē, gives hopes of more remains throwing light on that obscure ruler. It is also important to identify the names of the various parts of the Palace, as can be seen from Mr. Fairman's article, pp. 136 ff. below.

It is hoped that with the funds which have been promised it will be possible, should the Palace be completed, to round off the central part of the city so that this complete section, comprising the royal and official quarters of Tell el-'Amarnah, may be published entire in the memoir *The City of Akhenaten*, Part III.

TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE CENTRAL CITY, TELL EL-'AMARNAH








BY H. W. FAIRMAN

IN a well-known passage in the so-called 'early' text of the 'Amarnah Boundary Stelae (Stelae K, M, and X), Akhenaten enumerates the chief buildings which he will erect in his new city. The precise nature and position of some of these places is still in doubt, and discussion of them would be out of place here, but the opening phrases of the building passage are of no little interest, and worthy of quotation. The following copy is based on my own collation of Stela K (Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, v, Pls. xxix, xxx), with a few restorations from X, and one or two additional restorations which seem probable, and which are inserted for the sake of clarity and continuity.



(14) I am making a House of the Aten for the Aten my father in Akhetaten in (15) this place. I am making the Mansion of the Aten for the Aten my father in Akhetaten in this place. I am making the 'Sunshade of Rē' of the [great] royal wife for the Aten my father in Akhetaten in this place. I am making a House of Rejoicing for the Aten my father in the island of 'Aten distinguished in jubilees' in Akhetaten in this place. I have made a House of Re-(16)[joicing of the Aten] for the Aten my father in the island of 'Aten distinguished in jubilees' in Akhetaten in this place.

In the following lines a brief discussion is given of those places mentioned in Akhenaten's declaration whose identification with excavated sites in the Central City is certain or probable, together with notes on other parts of the same area which it has been possible to name. These notes aim solely at affording a preliminary presentation of the present state

¹ Restored from X.
² Battered but certain.
³ The top of the sign is destroyed. It is difficult to decide whether there is room for , but it is improbable that there is any need to restore it—this name is normally spelt with the direct genitive.
⁴ Sign almost completely destroyed, but it must obviously be .
⁵ K has  clearly; Davies gives  by mistake; X has .
⁶ A mere trace of , but it is certain: X has  slightly damaged.
⁷ Both stelae have a lacuna here, but the restoration is sufficient to fill the gap. The name is clearly a longer one than that of the first *Pr-hy*.

A LAWSUIT ARISING FROM THE PURCHASE OF TWO SLAVES

BY ALAN H. GARDINER

With Plates xiii-xvi

A FEW months ago, with the kind permission of H. E. Winlock, Director of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, N. de G. Davies handed over to me for study a mass of hieratic fragments discovered by him in clearing, on behalf of the said Museum, the tomb of Surere in the Khōkhah district of Shēkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah (No. 48). These fragments proved a very heterogeneous lot, ranging in date from Amenophis III to Ptolemaic times, but for the most part early or middle Ramesside.¹ With few exceptions they were non-literary—scraps of letters, deeds of sale, reports of judicial proceedings, and accounts. One or two familiar names of necropolis officials met the eye. There was part of a duplicate of the Millingen papyrus, also phrases from a magical text, and most tantalizing of all, a few incomplete sentences betraying as their source an unknown Late-Egyptian story. The sorting of the fragments is far from complete, and may have to be abandoned, the results being incommensurate with the efforts expended upon them. Indeed, I should never have undertaken the task had I not hoped—vainly, as it turned out—to find further portions of an incomplete papyrus emanating from the same tomb which, on its return to the Cairo Museum,² is to receive the registration number 65739.

Pap. Cairo 65739, as it may therefore already be called, is a judicial document of exceptional importance, its chief claims to attention being, however, not its legal bearings, but first that it throws light on the traffic in slaves, and second that it gives new and trustworthy evidence for the ratio between the values of silver and copper. Externally it is a very attractive manuscript, especially as now mounted by the skilled hands of Dr. Ibscher (Plates xiii-xvi).³ The present length is 43 cm. and the breadth 20 cm. A join occurs between lines 1 and 2, and another, at a distance of 31·5 cm., between lines 22 and 23. At least ten lines of text are lost at the beginning, and probably much more at the end. The papyrus is inscribed upon the *recto* only, if *recto* be defined as the side where the fibres run at right angles to the joins. The text, however, is written across the breadth of the roll against, not with, the fibres. This procedure, as Dr. Ibscher points out, was economical, since it enabled the scribe to cut off his papyrus at exactly the point where the text ended, instead of risking the possibility of a nearly blank page.⁴ The rather small writing is in a beautiful literary hand without many ligatures, and the very black ink shows up brightly

¹ The cartouche of Tuthmosis III occurs on one hardly contemporary fragment, and there are also some demotic scraps.

² Permission to take these fragments to Europe for study was given by the late enlightened Director of the *Service des Antiquités*, M. Maspero, on condition that any pieces required by the Cairo Museum should in due course be returned to it.

³ I have to thank Mr. H. W. Fairman for preparing the plates of transcription.

⁴ The Berlin judicial papyrus (P. 3047) is written in exactly the same manner, but we do not possess sufficient evidence to be sure that this was the rule in manuscripts of this class during the early part of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

upon the excellently made writing-material. The state of preservation is nearly perfect. As regards date, the probabilities point to the beginning or middle of the reign of Ramesses II; not later, for linguistic and orthographic, as much as for palaeographic reasons; and scarcely earlier, since what hieratic we possess from the reign of Sethos I and before inclines to be crabbed and angular.

The language and orthography of Late Egyptian are not really separable matters, and, referring to both together, we may declare our text to be very correct and careful. In the verb-form *iwf hr sdm* (ⲁⲢⲢⲟⲩⲁ) the preposition 𓂏 is always written out, with one single exception in l. 14, where it is omitted. After the conjunctive *mtwf* (ⲡⲧⲉⲢⲢ Boh.) 𓂏 is rightly always omitted (ll. 5, 15, 16, 18, 19). The perfective relative form is several times written in the Middle-Egyptian way, 𓂏 l. 3; 𓂏 ll. 16, 19; 𓂏 ^{sic} l. 23—I am not here considering the judicial 𓂏 ll. 1, 15, 19, 28, an intentional archaism frequent in other manuscripts. Varying with this older writing of the relative form we find also the new, 𓂏 l. 6; 𓂏 l. 20. Note in l. 27 the form 𓂏 for the simple *sdm.f* with future reference, a tense-form to which Černý was the first to call attention. Several of the suffix-pronouns are deserving of notice: for 1st fem. sing. 𓂏 (20 times) is far commoner than 𓂏 , though this occurs in ll. 3, 5, 6; for 2nd fem. sing. 𓂏 is used twice in l. 5, once in 𓂏 and once curiously supplementing 𓂏 in 𓂏 'for thyself'. The 3rd fem. sing. is usually 𓂏 , but 𓂏 occurs once in l. 19 and 𓂏 (in 𓂏 , but see in l. 14) once in l. 22. As dependent pronoun of the 3rd pers. fem. we have 𓂏 in l. 21, where it is object of the participle; this is definitely an archaism, since the normal Late-Egyptian form is 𓂏 . Another apparent archaism is 𓂏 for 'there is' in ll. 16, 18, in place of which Late Egyptian regularly gives 𓂏 or 𓂏 ; if 𓂏 be found before such a 𓂏 or 𓂏 it is not the old *iw wn*, but marks circumstantial meaning. To turn to orthography, our text is very sparing in the employment of the superfluous *e* and in the accumulation of determinatives characteristic of Late-Egyptian writing; in other words, it is much nearer to Middle Egyptian than such texts as the Sallier or Anastasi papyri, so that it seems appropriate to date it as far back in the reign of Ramesses II as possible.

The purpose of the papyrus is clear enough, in spite of the defective condition. It is the *procès-verbal* of a trial in which the soldier Nakhi accused a lady named Erēnofre of having wrongfully used property belonging to another lady named Bekmūt in order to purchase for herself two slaves, one female and the other male. The opening lines may have added to the date a statement about the composition of the court. Then, after further sentences of introduction, will have followed the speech of the plaintiff, concerning the contents of which a clue is provided in ll. 21–2. The existing text begins with the speech of the defendant, preserved intact save for some words at the beginning. The translation may now be allowed to speak for itself. Small capitals are used for rubrics in the original.

TRANSLATION

[YEAR X, . . . th month of, day Y. On this day came the soldier Nakhi before the magistrates to bring a charge against the citizenne Erēnofre
SAID BY the soldier Nakhi
(amount lost unknown)]

(1) SAID BY the citizenne Erēnofre: '[I am the wife of the superintendent of the district Simūt],¹ and I came to dwell in his house, and I worked and [.]² and provided my dress.³ And in Year 15, seven years after I had entered⁴ into the house of⁵ the superintendent of the district Si[mūt],⁶ the merchant Rēcia approached me with the Syrian slave Gemnihiamente, she being

(still) a girl,⁷ and (5) he said to me: Buy⁸ this girl, and give me a price for her.⁹ So he said to me. And I purchased¹⁰ the girl and gave him a [price] for her. I will¹¹ now state in front of the authorities the price that I gave for her:

‘1 shroud¹² of Upper-Egyptian cloth, makes 5 kite of silver.

‘1 blanket of Upper-Egyptian cloth, makes $3\frac{1}{3}$ ¹³ kite of silver.

‘1 d̄yṯ-garment of Upper-Egyptian cloth, makes 4 kite of silver.

‘3 sdy-garments of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth, makes 5 kite of silver.

‘1 dress of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth, makes 5 kite of silver.

‘Bought¹⁴ from the citoyenne Kafy, 1 gzy-vessel of ḥsmn-bronze, makes 18 deben, makes $1\frac{2}{3}$ kite of silver.

‘Bought from the head of the storehouse Pyiay, 1 gzy-vessel of ḥsmn-bronze, makes 14 deben, makes $1\frac{1}{2}$ kite of silver.

‘Bought from the wēb-priest Huy-(10)Pinḥas, 10 deben of beaten copper, makes 1 kite of silver.

‘Bought from the wēb-priest Aniy, 1 gzy-vessel of ḥsmn-bronze, makes 16 deben, makes $1\frac{1}{2}$ kite of silver; 1 mnt-vessel of honey, makes¹⁵ 1 ḥekāt, makes 5 kite of silver.

‘Bought from the citoyenne Tjuiay, 1 cauldron of ḥsmn-bronze, makes 20 deben, makes 2 kite of silver.

‘Bought from the steward of the house of Amūn, Teti, 1 kbt-vessel of ḥsmn-bronze, makes 20 deben, makes 2 kite of silver; 10 mss-shirts of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth, makes 4 kite of silver. TOTAL, 4 deben, 1 kite of silver from all sources.¹⁶ And I gave it to the merchant Rēcia, there being (comprised) in it no article belonging to the citoyenne Bekmūt. And he gave me this girl, and I gave her the name Gemniḥiamente.’

(15) SAID BY the Court of judges to the citoyenne Erēnofre: ‘Take an oath by the Sovereign, saying: “If witnesses establish against me¹⁷ that there was any property belonging to the citoyenne Bekmūt (comprised) in the silver which I gave for this servant, and I have concealed it, I will be liable to 100 strokes, after being deprived of her.”’

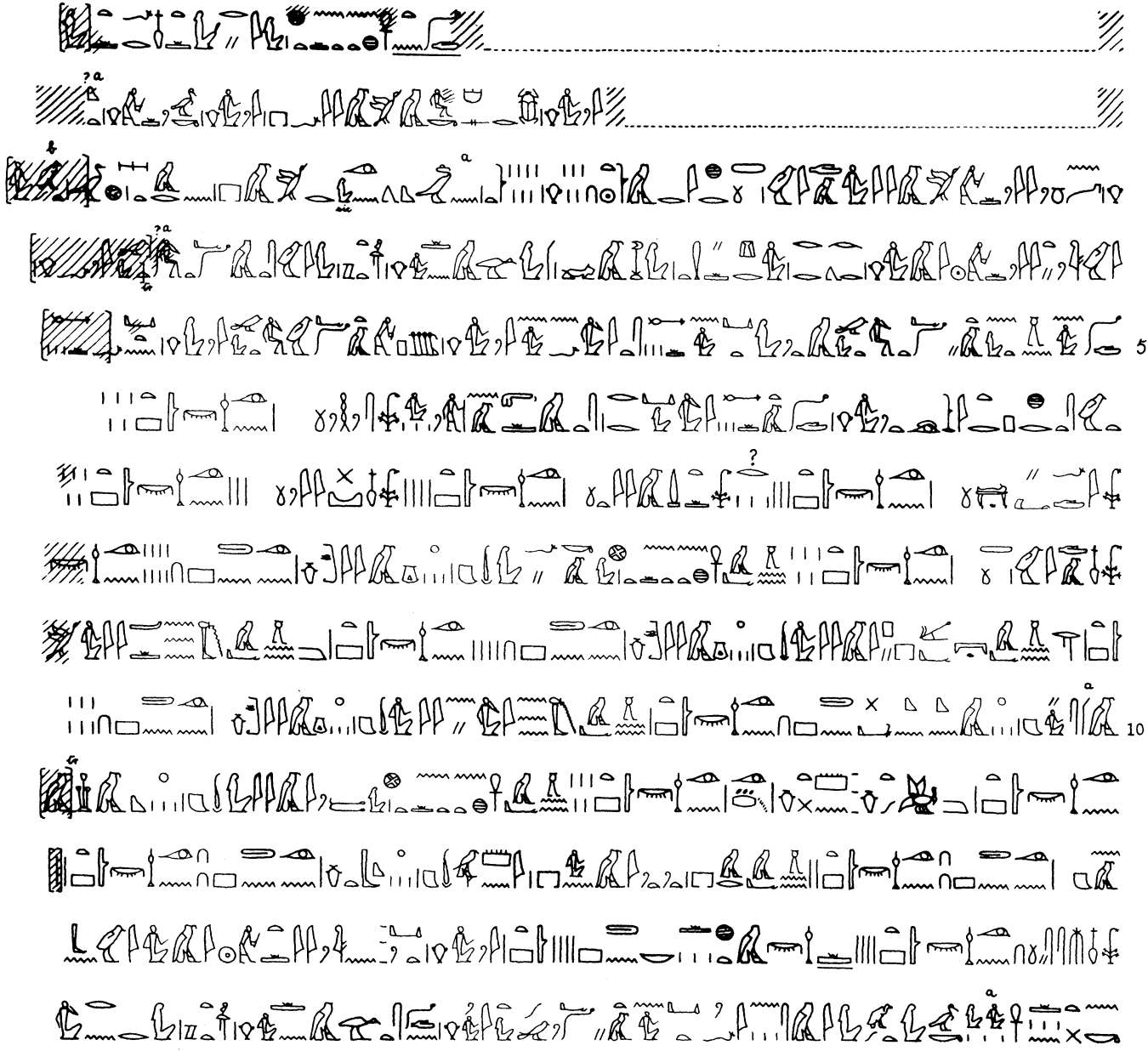
OATH by the Sovereign spoken by the citoyenne Erēnofre. ‘As Amūn endures, and as the Prince endures, if witnesses establish against me that there was any property belonging to the citoyenne Bekmūt (comprised) in this silver which I gave for this servant, and I have concealed it, I will be liable to 100 strokes, after being deprived of her.’

SAID BY the Court of judges to the soldier Nakhi: (20) ‘Let there be produced before us the witnesses of whom you said that they knew this silver belonging to the citoyenne Bekmūt which was given in order to buy the slave Gemniḥiamente, as well as the witnesses to this tomb¹⁸ which you said was made by the citoyenne Bekmūt, and the citoyenne Erēnofre gave it to the merchant Nakht, and he gave her the man-slave Tjelptah in exchange for it.’

NUMBER¹⁹ of the witnesses named by the soldier Nakhi before the Court:²⁰ the chief of police, Mini; the mayor of the West, Raḥmose; the wēb-priest Huy-Pinḥas, the elder brother of the superintendent of the district, Simūt; the citoyenne Kafy, (25) the wife of the chief of police Pashed, who is deceased; the citoyenne Wērenofre; the citoyenne Ḥatia, the elder sister of the citoyenne Bekmūt; TOTAL, three men and three women, six IN ALL.²¹ And they stood before the Court and they took an oath by the Sovereign as well as an oath by God,²² saying: ‘We will speak truthfully, we will not speak falsehood; and if we speak falsehood, the servants²³ shall be taken from us.’

SAID BY the Court of judges to the wēb-priest Huy: ‘Tell us concerning the Syrian slave [Gemniḥiamente, concerning whom the soldier Nakhi has said that]’ (The rest is lost.)

x lines lost



Notes. 2^a Or possibly 2^b? 3^a The nm is clearly separate from the foot of 2. 4^a Restored from l. 24. 5^a The oblique stroke does not look like 9; since 9 is written it can hardly be 5 which replaces that sign in l. 14; as a desperate alternative I propose to see in it a lock of hair belonging to the child. 10^a The sign is very badly made but cannot be P. 14^a A miswriting for 14^a see l. 16.

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13. The total in l. 13 demands that \mathbf{z} here should represent the fraction $\frac{1}{3}$. Still, additions in Egyptian business documents are so frequently inaccurate that one would hesitate to press this argument were there not other evidence. This is provided by a Twentieth Dynasty will in my possession where a woman contrasts her third (\mathbf{z}) with the two-thirds belonging to her children's father (\mathbf{z}). The same contrast appears to occur in *Pap. Turin* 2021, 3, 1, studied by Černý and Peet in this *Journal*, 13, 30 ff., where, however, as Černý tells me, there is a dot over the hieratic sign in question. For that reason he and his co-editor read $\overset{\cdot}{\mathbf{z}}$ with Möller, *Paläographie*, II, no. 674, who quotes *Pap. Bibliothèque Nat.* 208, II, 10, and two passages in *Harris*. The first of these three references cannot be questioned: the strokes below the dot are longer and more clearly separate, and occur in a composite fraction after $\mathbf{x} \frac{1}{4}$. Möller's examples from *Harris* are puzzling: in 12a, 8 \mathbf{z} is a fraction which simply reappears in the total 12a, 9 and consequently may possess any value. In 62b, 5-7, $8\frac{1}{4}$ added to $5 + \mathbf{z}$ gives $13 + \mathbf{z}$, where clearly \mathbf{z} with the dot cannot be identical with \mathbf{z} without it. If, however, the former be taken as $\frac{1}{3}$ and the latter as $\frac{2}{3}$, the addition $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{3}$ yields $\frac{7}{12}$. This is not an impossible interpretation, since $\frac{7}{12}$ is very near to $\frac{2}{3} = \frac{8}{12}$. On the same page, in l. 13, \mathbf{z} with the dot follows \mathbf{a} and must consequently be a smaller fraction. Doubtless the solution for *Harris* is that $\overset{\cdot}{\mathbf{z}} = \frac{1}{3}$ and $\mathbf{z} = \frac{2}{3}$, a conclusion confirmed by *Harris* 33a, 5-7, where $9\frac{2}{3} + 3\mathbf{z}$ makes 13.¹ Transferring this conclusion to the Turin papyrus above quoted we ought strictly to read $\frac{1}{3}$, but probably the scribe has confounded the two fractions. It remains obscure how \mathbf{z} came to be written for $\frac{1}{3}$, which has a quite different form in older hieratic, see Möller, *Paläographie*, I, no. 669.

14. \mathbf{f} is a strange writing for the perfective passive participle, but as such we must take it; \mathbf{f} is expected. I render 'bought' again here, since it is not to be imagined that these persons presented their goods to Erēnofre gratis. The nature of the transactions involved will be discussed later.

15. \mathbf{a} in \mathbf{a} doubtless stands for \mathbf{a} , the writing being abbreviated so as to admit of the sign \mathbf{a} being placed below it. The same writing occurs in a Ramesside letter also reconstructed from the fragments in the tomb of Surere.

16. Lit. 'consisting of all things'.

17. The meaning of \mathbf{f} here is substantially the same as in \mathbf{f} 'establish his crime against him' in the Hittite Treaty text, l. 33, cf. l. 36. The further use of \mathbf{f} with obj. of the person in the sense of 'to accuse', Coptic \mathbf{cooqe} , may well be secondarily derived from this idiom.

18. The curious writing \mathbf{f} for \mathbf{f} 'tomb' is so common in the New Kingdom that it ought not to have been omitted in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 49; a few examples are *Pap. Berl.* 10496, rt., 3, 5; *Ostr. London* 5624, rt. 3; Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, *passim*; and for the further development \mathbf{f} , etc., see my *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 72a.

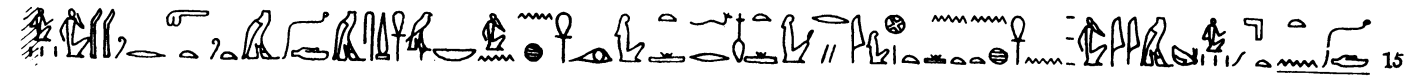
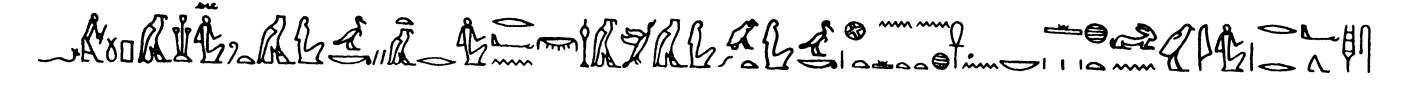
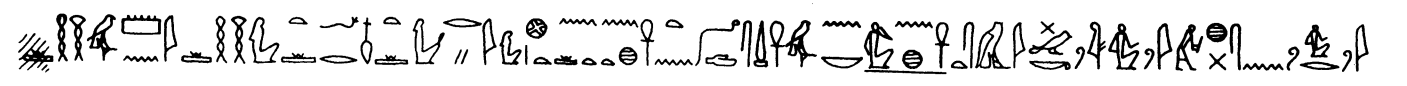

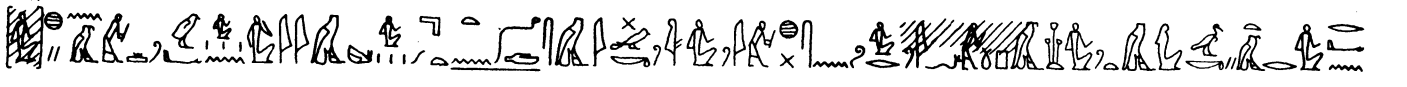

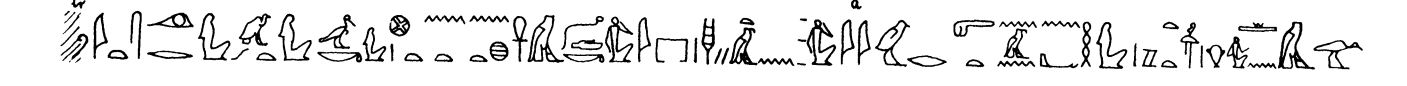
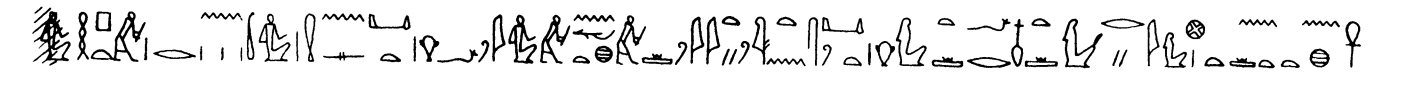


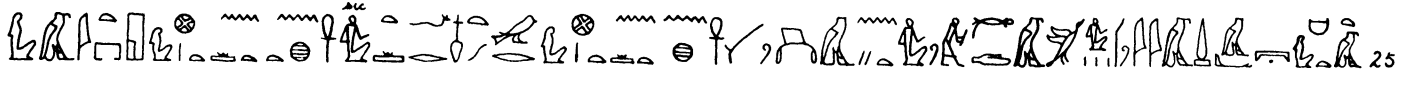
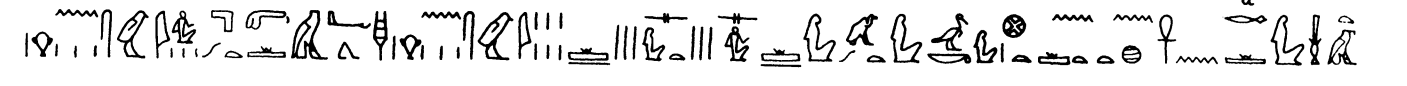


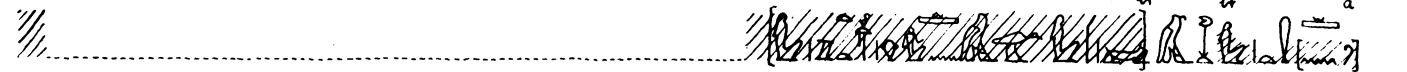
19. \mathbf{f} 'number', 'amount', is not the word which one might have expected here in the list of witnesses, and we can only suppose that it disregards the names, and anticipates the total in l. 26. The more natural terms would have been \mathbf{f} or \mathbf{f} .

20. Note the absence of the definite article both here and below l. 26; *m-bšh tš knbt* is probably commoner.

21. Lit. 'total, men 3, women 3, total 6'. The superfluous separate totalling of the men

¹ The student must be warned, however, that I have found it impossible to study all the *Harris* instances here.

² Wrongly written with \mathbf{f} in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 428. The group is doubtless to be read *pš rn-rn*; good examples are quoted Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, p. 10, n. 1.

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The rest is lost.


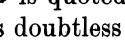
Notes. 18.^a Understand Ⓛ as in ll. 14. 16. 20. 21. 26. 21.^a Ⓟ is a mistake of the scribe for Ⓛ . 24.^a ^b Restored from ll. 9-10.
 26.^a So wrongly for Ⓛ . 28.^a is faint but certain. 29.^a There seems clearly room for a sign.

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[The text in this block is highly degraded and mostly illegible due to fading and damage to the papyrus. It appears to be a list or a series of entries, possibly containing names and titles, but the specific characters are difficult to discern. Some faint traces of Arabic script are visible.]

22. 19

and women occurs again, *e.g.*, in the will mentioned above in note 13. No special legal significance should be attached to it.

22.  is quoted in *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 203, 1, only from Piankhi and from Isis and Rēc. It is doubtless to be understood as *nh n ntr*, cf.  above and *passim*.

23. Černý calls my attention to the fact that oaths frequently invoke upon the perjurer a punishment similar to the wrong which forms the subject of the accusation. Hence *n bkw* here will refer to the witnesses' own slaves. For the alternation of *bk* and *hm* in the sense of 'slave' see *try bkt* above, ll. 16, 19, as contrasted with *hmt* in ll. 4, 29; also *Ostr. Gardiner* 90.

The clarity of the papyrus leaves nothing to be desired, so far as its positive information goes, and as regards the lost portions we may comfort ourselves with the reflection that had they been preserved, they would probably not have thrown much light on the questions which to ourselves present the greatest interest. Possibly we might not even have learnt the relationship of Erēnofre to Bkmūt and Nakhi, or how it happened that several of the witnesses invoked by Nakhi were the same as, or closely related to, the persons from whom Erēnofre claimed to have obtained articles for the purchase of her female slave. It will, perhaps, therefore suffice if I confine my further comments to the two vital matters mentioned in the opening paragraphs of the article, namely the slave-dealing transaction and the ratio of copper to silver.

Our information as to slave-dealing in Pharaonic times is very scanty, and the principal documents hitherto published in connexion with it remain as cryptic as ever. I refer to the papyri edited by me in 1906, under the title *Four Papyri of the 18th Dynasty* (*Z.Ä.S.*, 43, 27 ff.). In those texts it seemed to be a question, however, not of the sale outright of the slaves, but of a hiring out of their services for a number of days. Consequently we have here the first explicit account of the actual purchase of a slave, and it is worth while trying to imagine exactly what the transaction involved. The merchant Rēcīa may have been an itinerant huckster, though if this were true also of the merchant Nakht, who in ll. 21-3 is said to have disposed of his male slave in return for a tomb, he must at least have looked forward to finding an ultimate haven of rest in the Theban Necropolis. It was apparently the habit of such slave-dealers to offer their bargains from house to house, and on approaching Erēnofre the merchant Rēcīa was lucky enough to find an eager customer. We can picture to ourselves the hours it must have cost to fix the price, the more so since this necessitated agreement on other prices, payment in those days taking place in kind. Probably the price had to be paid over at once, and Erēnofre will not have possessed the necessary metal to meet the requirements of the case. Copper vessels or corn passed in Ramesside times as regular currency, their value (here given in terms of silver) being assessed by weight. We shall not be far wrong in conjecturing that the first five items which were offered and accepted consisted of linen goods of Erēnofre's own making. These, however, added up to little more than half the price wanted for the slave-girl, so that Erēnofre needed to have recourse to her neighbours for further contributions. From a woman named Kafy she obtained a small cup of bronze, and from Pyiay, the head of the storehouse, another such; and so forth. In some instances she may have paid immediately with her own linen wares, assessed at a suitable price; but it is also conceivable that she either had already or else now obtained credit with these neighbours for past or prospective exchanges. It is hardly to be believed that before she could settle with Rēcīa she had actually to go about and complete from start to finish six other bargains. Much more probable is the conjecture

that one or other of the articles given to Rēḥia was already in her possession when he approached her, and that in the deed of sale which she gave him was merely recorded the price she had previously paid for the article in question, and the person to whom she had paid it. Indeed, it is conceivable that a prudent housewife might keep by her a little stock of goods belonging to and priced by her neighbours which she did not desire for her own use, but might keep handy for such unexpected barter as we are here considering.

However this may be—and Černý and I are not without hope that illumination on the topic may be forthcoming from the multitude of hieratic ostraca we shall be studying together—the purchase of the slave-girl Gemniḥiamente was completed without the inclusion of any property belonging to the lady Bekmūt. Such, at least, was the contention of Erēnofre, and after so long a lapse of time we may perhaps give her the benefit of the doubt. The price was fixed at 4 *deben* and 1 *kite* of silver, or 41 *kite*. How does this price compare with others mentioned elsewhere? The evidence is exceedingly scanty. In the time of one of the Osorkons thirty-two male and female slaves were valued at 15 *deben* and 1½ *kite*, and under the Twenty-fifth Dynasty a Lower-Egyptian slave cost 2 *deben* and 4 *kite*.¹ In the Ptolemaic age the price for a young girl ranged from 50 to 300 drachmas,² but I shall not venture upon the hazardous task of comparing these figures with those of earlier times.

Let us now turn to the second point of special interest upon which the papyrus throws light, namely the relative values of copper and silver. Hitherto the only sure testimony from Pharaonic times has been a passage adduced by Peet from a late Ramesside papyrus in Turin, where the ratio works out at 60 to 1.³ In the Cairo papyrus we now obtain certain evidence that in the sixteenth year of Ramesses II silver was worth 100 times as much as copper. This ratio is given in l. 10, where a weight of 10 *deben* (or 100 *kite*) of beaten copper is valued at 1 *kite* of silver. Further indirect confirmation is provided by the values attached in the adjacent lines to objects of *ḥsmn*-bronze. We do not know the exact distinction between *ḥsmn* and copper, but the former is doubtless an alloy of the latter and not so very different from it. Of the five vessels of *ḥsmn* here mentioned, two have a silver-value exactly one-hundredth of their actual weight (both in l. 12). The other three are priced at either a little less or a little more than this proportion. The fluctuation may have depended partly upon the condition and workmanship of the articles, and partly upon the comparative keenness of buyer and seller.

¹ Both quoted by Möller, *Zwei Eheverträge*, 26; the respective references are Stela of Euerot, l. 22 = *Z.Ä.S.*, 35, 22 and *Pap. Louvre 3228A*, 4 = Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 15. The readings of the stela of Sheshonk (*Mar. Abyd.*, II, 36–7) are too doubtful to be used until Blackman's promised edition has appeared.

² Westerman, *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 60–1.

³ *Griffith Studies*, 125, n. 1.

FOUR NEW KINGDOM MONUMENTS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

By DOWS DUNHAM

With Plates xvii-xix

1. The Vizier .

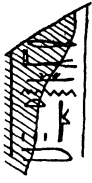
INVENTORY No. 09.287.—Fragmentary upper part of a round-topped limestone stela. Height 0.465 m., width 0.508 m., thickness 0.080 m. Pl. xvii, 1. This stone was bought of Mohassib in Luxor in 1909 and was acquired by the Museum by gift from a private donor.

The preserved portion is occupied by a scene in which the Vizier Paser, accompanied by a second person, stands in the presence of Ramesses II enthroned, while behind the king, in an attitude of protection, is a standing figure of the goddess Hathor. The figure at the left is almost wholly missing; only his right hand, raised in salutation to the king, his left arm partly clothed in a loose pleated garment, and a bunch of flowers held in his left hand are preserved. The figure of Paser is more complete. He stands facing right and slightly inclined before the king. He is shaven-headed and beardless and wears the usual Vizier's garment terminating below the arm-pits and supported by a 'halter' round the neck. His right hand is raised in salutation, and in his left hand he grasps an ostrich plume mounted on a papyriform handle and a scarf doubled over and twisted round his wrist. The king sits facing left on a wooden chair, beneath the seat of which appears the emblem of the union of the Two Lands. On his head is the war helmet with uraeus, and around his neck a broad *wsh*-collar. Hanging on his chest is a large pectoral ornament, and he is clothed in loose pleated robes. In his right hand the king holds two objects which he extends toward Paser: one appears to be a long straight staff and the other a short papyriform wand. The staff is indicated as passing in front of the head of the wand. In his left hand he holds the *hkr*-sceptre and the *cnh*-sign. The goddess Hathor stands behind the king grasping his left arm with her left hand. She wears a cornice-like crown, a uraeus with disk and horns on its head, and a fillet with pendant streamer, to which is attached another uraeus crowned with the double feathers. Beneath her long heavy wig she wears a *wsh*-collar with counterpoise, the end of the latter appearing below the base of her wig at the back. The goddess is clothed in the traditional tight-fitting dress.

The inscriptions at the top are in six vertical columns, the second of which is of double width and contains the cartouches of the king. The left-hand part of the sixth column is missing and there is room within the curve of the stone for a short seventh column, now lost. Columns 3, 2, and 1 read: (3) *mrj Imn-Rc nswt ntrw nb pt* (2) *nb tsuj* (*Wsr-mst-Rc stp·n-Rc*) *nb hcv* (*Rc-mss mrj Imn*) *msc-hrw* (1) *dj cnh dt.*¹ (3) 'Beloved of Amen-rē,

¹ The use of both *msc-hrw* and *dj cnh* in conjunction with the king's name is interesting and unusual. Another instance of a similar use of both epithets on a single monument, and referring to a dead king, is to be found on the inscribed slab of the Butcher Ptaḥhotpe published by Jéquier in *Mastabat Faraoun*, Pl. xii. The stone is dated by the author to the early Middle Kingdom or possibly to the Intermediate Period. In it Shepseskaf of the Fourth Dynasty is referred to as both *msc-hrw* and *dj cnh*, and the stone, found in the

King of the gods, Lord of heaven, (2) Lord of the Two Lands User-maet-Rē, Setep-n-Rē, Lord of Crowns Ramesses-beloved-of-Amūn, justified, (1) endowed with life for ever.' Columns 4 to 6 read: (4) *tꜣj ḥw hr wnmj n nꜣwt* (5) *imj-r nwt tꜣtj Pꜣ-šr mꜣ-ḥrw* (6) *ꜣ n išt m. . .*



(4) 'Fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, (5) Governor of the Town, the Vizier Paser, justified. (6) Chief of the workmen in '1 [(7)—text lost]. Column 6 contains the title of the person at the left, the name of the place in which the workmen laboured being lost in the missing column 7. Behind the figure of Hathor is a column giving her name and epithets: 'Hathor, Mistress of the West, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands'.

The Paser of this stela is undoubtedly the same as Weil's Vizier No. 18,² who held office under Sethos I and Ramesses II, and this monument may therefore be added to the already considerable number in which this official is recorded. In this connexion it may, perhaps, be worth while to note the occurrences of the name Paser among both Viziers and Viceroys of Ethiopia in the New Kingdom. Weil (*op. cit.*) lists two Viziers of this name: Paser I (No. 15) under Ai, and Paser II (No. 18), the owner of Tomb 106 at Thebes and the man of our stela. Reisner in his *Viceroy of Ethiopia*³ also lists two Pasers; the first (No. 9) under Ai (and Horemheb?), and the second (No. 13) under Ramesses II. It is clear that the Vizier Paser I and the Viceroy Paser I are one and the same person. Both Weil and Reisner draw their evidence from the same source, the inscriptions at Gebel esh-Shems;⁴ all titles listed by both authors are found here, but Weil omits *imj-r ḥꜣwt nbw n Imn* and Reisner omits *tꜣj wp mꜣt*. On the other hand, the Vizier Paser II is not the same person as the Viceroy Paser II, for the former is the son of Nebneteruw, while the father of the latter was named Minnose.

2. The Painter

Inventory No. 25.635.—Round-topped limestone stela found by the late C. M. Firth in the Egyptian Government excavations near the Teti Pyramid at Saḳḳārah, and acquired by the Museum from the Egyptian Antiquities Department in 1924. Height 1.025 m., width 0.515 m., thickness 0.180 m. Pl. xvii, 2.

precincts of Shepseskaf's funerary temple, is taken as good evidence that the funerary cult of this king was in existence at the time. A somewhat similar case occurs in our stela No. 25.635 published below (Pl. xvii, 2), where the deified King Teti of the Sixth Dynasty is called *dj ḥnh* but not *mꜣ-ḥrw*.

Gunn, in a letter to me, makes the comment on the Teti example that 'when a dead king is regarded as still potent to intervene in human affairs, in other words is the object of a cult other than his private funerary one, he is often styled *dj ḥnh* rather than *mꜣ-ḥrw*', and refers to Černý's article *Le Culte d'Aménophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine* in *Bull. de l'Inst. fr.*, 27, 159 ff., for many examples of this. We know that the Teti stone comes from the region of that king's funerary temple, and that similarly the Ptaḥḥotpe stone was found associated with the funerary temple of Shepseskaf. It seems evident, as Jéquier suggests in his comments on the latter inscription, that one reason for the survival of the royal funerary cults in later times was that their priesthoods found economic advantage in exploiting the piety of private people seeking to obtain for their own dead a share in the offerings to, or the intercession of, the deified king. While we are without evidence as to the original location of the Paser stela, it is probable that here too a desire to obtain the support of the deified Ramesses was a motive for its erection, for it is clearly funerary in character.

It appears clear, as Gunn has suggested, that a dead king may be referred to as *dj ḥnh* under circumstances where his intercession as a god among the gods of the Netherworld is desired or hoped for. That he may also on occasion be referred to as *mꜣ-ḥrw* as well is evident from this example and from the Ptaḥḥotpe stone. The matter deserves further study, but the inference is clear that the expression *dj ḥnh* can refer to life as a god in the other world, and need not be incompatible with the condition of being *mꜣ-ḥrw*.

¹ See restoration in the drawing.

² *Viziere des Pharaonenreiches.*

³ *Journal*, 6, 28 and 73.

⁴ *L., D.*, III, 114 e, f, h, as corrected in *L., D., Text*, v, 179-80.



2. Boston Mus. of Fine Arts, No. 25.635



1. Boston Mus. of Fine Arts, No. 09.287

The stone is in four fragments: the round-topped upper piece has been deliberately chiselled off, presumably so that the rectangular lower portion might be better suited for use as a building stone; the remaining fractures are clearly accidental. The face is divided into two fields, the upper one finished off at the top with a disk with wings drooping to fit the curve of the stela.

In the upper field the figure of King Teti of the Sixth Dynasty stands at the left presenting two spouted vases to Osiris. He wears the lappet-wig with uraeus and queue, and a pointed kilt with tail at the back, and in front two pendant uraei. In the centre stands a table piled with offerings. At the right, on a pedestal, is the figure of Osiris in traditional mummy form, while behind him is a large floral piece. In the centre, above the offerings, are four columns of hieroglyphs identifying the two figures. The two at the left read: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Son of Rēc, Teti), Good God, Lord of Deeds, endowed with life.'¹ The two at the right read: 'Osiris Khenti-Amentet, Great God, Lord of the Necropolis.'²

The lower field contains the figures of a man and a woman, each with both hands raised in prayer. The man wears a wig descending to his shoulders and a pleated garment from the waist to below the knees. The woman wears a heavy wig falling almost to the waist and bound with a fillet about the brow. On her head are a cone and a lotus flower with bud. She wears a full heavy outer garment covering the upper arms and descending to the ankles. The under garment is not represented and her dress shows no indication of pleating. The costumes of both man and woman are clearly of the post-'Amarnah type: late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties.

To the right of the male figure is an inscription in four columns as follows: (1) 'An offering which the king gives of incense and libation to Osiris Khenti³-Amentet, to Anubis (2) in front of the god's booth, (and to) the gods who are in the Netherworld, that they may grant a good life to the ka[of] (3) the Osiris, the Painter *Hpt-šthj*,⁴ (4) justified.' The inscriptions in front of and behind the woman's head read: 'His sister (= wife), the Lady *Hnwt-īwnw*.'⁵

3. The Butler


Inventory No. 24.981.—Limestone wall from a destroyed funerary chapel near the Teti Pyramid at Saqqārah. Found by Firth during the excavations of the Egyptian Government, and acquired by the Museum from the Egyptian Antiquities Department in 1924. Height 1.85 m., width 1.19 m. Pl. xviii.

The six blocks of which this wall is composed form two scenes and a band of inscription running across the bottom. In the upper scene the Royal Butler *Wn-f-ḏd-šn* and his wife *Nj* stand before the statue of Ptaḥ in a shrine.⁶ Both hold floral pieces in their left hands, and the man is pouring a libation with his right. Before the shrine is a table piled with offerings. The lower scene is of a similar nature, but the god in this case is Ptaḥ-Sokar, and *Wn-f-ḏd-šn* is burning incense and pouring libation.

¹ See note 1 on p. 147 above, where the use of *dj* *nh* in this and other examples is discussed.

² Note the writing with terminal *t*, not in use before the Eighteenth Dynasty (see *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, v, 616. 4).

³ The sign is clearly Δ , miswritten for Δ .

⁴ . The name is not listed in Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, but the combination suggests that King Sethōs I may be referred to, with a consequent dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty.

⁵ The name is listed by Ranke, *op. cit.*, 242, 19, as known in three examples of the New Kingdom.

⁶ In the upper left corner of the shrine is the god's name, followed by an epithet which is probably intended for ḏ ḏ , 'great of might'.

Each of these scenes has its appropriate inscription. In the upper scene, behind the shrine of Ptaḥ, is the lower end of a single column with the second part of the man's name preserved. A small fragment, not in place when the photograph was taken, gives the first part of the name, but the beginning of the column is lost. I reconstruct (from the level of the god's shoulder down): [Wšīr wdpu nswt n] nb twj Wn[f]-dd·sn m·hrw. ' [the Osiris, Royal Butler of] the Lord of the Two Lands, Wn[f]-dd·sn,¹ justified'. The main inscription of the upper scene is written in ten columns of varying length: '(1) giving praise² to thy ka O Ptaḥ, Lord of Truth, that it (thy ka) may give water, bread, (2) air, libations, and incense to (3) the Osiris, the Royal Butler (4) [of] the Lord of the Two Lands, Wn·f-(5)dd·sn, justified. (6) Praise to thy ka (7) thou Lord of Truth, (8) mayest thou permit my soul to live³ (9) in the Netherworld. (Spoken) by (10) the Lady Nj, justifi[ed].'

The lower scene has an inscription of fourteen vertical columns, of which the two on the right read ↘, giving the name of the god, and the remainder read ↙, with a text similar to the foregoing. The god is called '(2) Pth-skrw, Lord of (1) šjt', and behind his head stands the further epithet 'Great God'.⁴ Over the table of offerings is written 'a thousand of incense, a thousand libations'. The main body of the inscription runs as follows: '(3) Making incense and libation to Sokar⁵ (4) and to Osiris, that they may give water, (5) bread, air, libations, and (6) incense to the Osiris, the Royal Butler (lower down) of the Lord of the Two Lands, (7) Wn·f-dd·(8)sn, justified in (9) peace, in⁶ the beautiful West. (10) Praise to thy ka, O Sokar, (11) Ruler of the West, (12) Great God, Lord of Heaven. (13) (Spoken) by the Lady (14) Nj, justified.'

Across the base of the stone, from right to left, runs a single line of inscription: 'An offering which the king gives (to) Sokar the great god, that he may permit the soul to live in the Netherworld for the ka of the Chief Royal Butler (of) His Majesty,⁷ Wn·f-dd·sn, justified.'



4. The Steward .


Inventory No. 29.730.—Sandstone statue of a man seated on the ground; Nineteenth Dynasty. Height (including base) 0.730 m. Pl. xix, 1-4.

Bought by the Museum in 1929 from a private owner, in whose possession are notes indicating that the figure was acquired in Alexandria by an American ship's captain during the American Civil War (1861-5).

The figure (Pl. xix, 1) is seated on a cushion upon the ground with arms crossed upon the knees, the right hand grasping what is evidently an ear of grain⁸ (Pl. xix, 4). Between the feet and extending up to the level of the knees is a standing figure of the god Ptaḥ-Tathenen.⁹ The man wears a full, slightly waved wig and a short beard. He is entirely enveloped in a garment through which only the general forms of the body are visible. The two hands are shown uncovered on the knees, and the lower edge of the dress is defined at the

¹ The name may perhaps be translated: 'He hurries at their bidding' or the like; singularly appropriate for a butler!



²  for 

³ I read  here and again in a shorter writing in the inscription at the base.

⁴ The third sign is clearly the papyrus-roll.

⁵ Note the miswriting of *n* for *s* here; for *ts* in *twj*, line 6; and for *hrw* in line 8.

⁶ *N* for *m*.

⁷ Read:  .

⁸ That the man was an 'Overseer of Granaries' makes this identification of the object extremely probable.

⁹ Compare Cairo Museum No. 42147 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, II, Pl. ix), where the god in the shrine appears to be identical with this example, save that the Boston figure has a disk above the horns of the head-dress.



BOSTON MUS. OF FINE ARTS, No. 24.981



1. Front view.



2. Left leg.



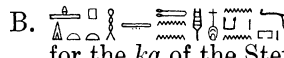

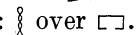

3. Inscription on back.




4. Looking down on lap.



ankles. On the feet are sandals, their fastening-thongs in high relief. Up the back of the figure, to about half the height of the head, extends a rectangular supporting pillar. The figure is extensively weathered, especially about the face and feet, but the workmanship was originally of fair quality.


This statue bears the following inscriptions: A. Double column down the pillar at the back $\leftarrow\downarrow$ (Pl. xix, 3); B. Column on right shin $\leftarrow\downarrow$ (Pl. xix, 1); C. Column on left shin $\downarrow\rightarrow$ (Pl. xix, 2); D. Line on lap between face and hands \leftarrow (Pl. xix, 4); E. Cartouche on right upper arm $\leftarrow\downarrow$ (Pl. xix, 4); F. Traces of inscription on left upper arm \downarrow (Pl. xix, 4).

- A. '(1) Boon granted by Ptah-Tathenen of *Sn-wr*, may he grant length of life upon earth under the royal favour, completion¹ of years without reckoning² them, without evil,³ (2) without experiencing (lit. hearing) terror, for the *ka* of the King's Scribe, Great Steward, King's Messenger to every foreign land, Overseer of the Granaries of the Western Border,⁴ *Ndm*.'
- B.  'Boon granted by Ptah-Tathenen, a good lifetime⁵ for the *ka* of the Steward *Ndm*, justified.'
- C. As B, except that *ts-tnn* is followed by  'every good thing'.
- D. Almost illegible, but beginning: 'King's Scribe, Steward . . .'
- E. Cartouche: (*Wsr-mst-[Rc] stp-n-[Rc]*).
- F. Illegible except for two signs:  over .

¹ Read .

² Read .

³ For . The first sign is differently formed from  elsewhere in this text, but I know of no other hieroglyph for which it could be intended.

⁴ Read:  'Western Border of the Delta'. See Gauthier, *Dict. géographique*, III, 133; Gardiner in *Journal*, 5, 259, n. 3.

⁵ The group is badly weathered.

SOME CELESTIAL ASSOCIATIONS OF MIN

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN *Journal*, 17, 185–95, I was able to show that Min was far from being the mere fertility-god we have been accustomed to think him, but was a sky-god also. Some indications were: the choice of Akhmīm as his home; the use of the light-weapon or thunderbolt, which served as his symbol and as that of his nome of Akhmīm; his feathers, streamer, raised arm, and perhaps his whip-like implement; his sacred bull; his identification with one sky-god, Horus, and his identity with another, Amūn; and his participation in, or even ownership of,¹ the *K3-mwt-f* object, which shows many signs of being a meteorite. Further, there was the fact that Akhmīm worshipped the shrewmouse as did Letopolis, a city which had as its symbol the same light-weapon as Akhmīm and Min. In its turn Letopolis itself proves to have been essentially a thunderbolt centre.² Later, Min was associated with Resheph, the Syrian lightning-god.³

It needs no emphasis that Min was a fertility-god. On the other hand, scholars, with the exception of Newberry and the few who follow him,⁴ have entirely overlooked the celestial side of Min's nature. Yet it is by no means adventitious, but is on the contrary original and important, as is shown by the majority of the facts quoted above. Nor is it in the least surprising that the weather and fertility should coalesce in the person of a single god. It occurs often enough, as the following cases show.

In most countries of the world the fertility of the earth is dependent on the rains which the sky-god sends. When crops are abundant animals and men find plenty, and thus in their turn increase and multiply. Hence the sky-deity is liable to add fertility to his or her other manifestations. Thus in Babylonia Enlil was an ancient 'Lord of the Storm', yet in due time he became the 'Lord of Vegetation' also.⁵ He seems to have died out after Gudea's age, 2600 B.C.,⁶ and with the incoming of the Semites another storm-god appears under the First Dynasty of Babylon, 2200–1900 B.C.⁷ This was Addu, Adad, or Hadad, who wielded the lightning and rode upon the bull.⁸ Yet in his turn he became the dying vegetation-god, and the 'Lord of Abundance'.⁹ Again, in the 'Hittite' hieroglyphs a group has been isolated as the personal name of a god. The god who brandishes the *harpē* bore a variant of it about 1200 B.C.,¹⁰ and the god with the axe and lightning-flashes still did so as late as

¹ Couyat and Montet, *Hammāmāt*, Pl. xv and p. 57, Inscr. 58, no. 14; Pl. xxvii and p. 74, Inscr. 106, where in both cases the object is called Min without any reference to Amūn, and once is specified as Min of *Ipw* (Akhmīm). The date of these sculptures is late, as is usual where this object is shown.

² *Journal*, 18, 159–72.

³ *Op. cit.*, 17, 192.

⁴ Liverpool *Annals*, 3, 50–2 and Pl. xix; 4, 99 second note; Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*, 54, 63.

⁵ M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, 71, 72.

⁶ Schlobies, *Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien*, 23 (publ. in *Mitt. der altor. Gesells.*, 1925).

⁷ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 8. The reference is to Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats*, this document being of Ammiditana's reign, 2000 B.C., as Mr. Gadd informs me.

⁸ *Journal*, 19, 44. For the great golden lightning-flash found in his temple see W. Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur*, Pl. xxxiv and pp. 77, 78, and *Id.*, *Hettitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur*, p. 2, and Fig. 1, for its position.

⁹ Schlobies, *op. cit.*, 9, 23.

¹⁰ For the *harpē* as the thunder-weapon see p. 157 *infra*.

about 850 B.C. (Fig. 1). It was therefore clearly the name of the storm-god, yet some hundred years later, about 735 B.C., it is given to the pure fertility-god of Ivriz (Fig. 2).¹ Had it not been for this, it would have been impossible to recognize the old thunder-god in the comfortable and benign figure bearing nothing but grapes and corn. All vestige of his earlier character has disappeared. At Tarsus in Cilicia the classical coins show him sometimes in one character, sometimes in the other.² Elsewhere, at Baalbek in Syria, the local god had been the storm-god Hadad, as is shown by many things. The *baetyl*-meteorite, which fell as a ball of fire in Mount Lebanon, announced that it belonged to the god of Baalbek.³ The god possessed the thunderbolt, and bulls were sacred to him.⁴ His titles



FIG. 1.

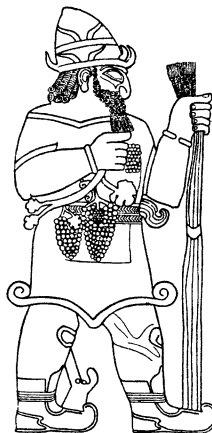


FIG. 2.

were those of Adados,⁵ and his Latin name was Jupiter, though by this time the epithet Heliopolitanus was added to it. Yet, in spite of all this, on his classical statues the thunderbolt has been degraded from his weapon of offence in his raised right hand to nothing but a major decoration of the statue,⁶ and perhaps one of the emblems held in the left hand.⁷ On the statues the left hand is now generally broken off, but where it is preserved it does not show the thunderbolt as described by Macrobius but only the ears of corn.⁸ Moreover, these figure prominently on the head-dress.⁹ An ear of corn is liable to appear on some coins of this city,¹⁰ and on others what is probably an ear of corn is shown as the sacred

¹ Bossert, *Šantaš und Kupapa*, Figs. 25a, b, c, and pp. 41-3 (publ. in *Mitt. der altor. Gesells.*, 6, Heft 3). The weapon of Fig. 25a is more clearly sickle-shaped in the photograph of the original publication. The name has been read as 'Sandas' with some show of probability. Bossert's Figs. 25a, b, are my Figs. 1, 2. Fig. 1 is drawn from Koldewey, *Die hettitische Inschrift*, Pl. i; Fig. 2 from Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. xxxiv.

² Bossert, *op. cit.*, 43.

³ I. Bekker, *Photii Bibliotheca* (Berlin, 1824), 348: 'Suddenly he saw a ball of fire running down from above . . . and Eusebius himself ran up to the ball, for the fire was already extinguished, and he perceived that it was the *baetyl*, and he took it up and asked it to what god it belonged. And it answered that it belonged to the Highborn; the people of Heliopolis (Baalbek) worship the Highborn, having set up a figure of a lion in the temple of Zeus.'

⁴ For the bulls see Dussaud in *Syria*, 1, Plates to his article pp. 3-15; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 1, figs. 435, 437, 441, and Pl. xxxiii.

⁵ Dussaud in *op. cit.*, p. 11; Cook, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 550, 551.

⁶ Dussaud in *op. cit.*, Pls. ii, iii, facing pp. 8, 10; Cook, *op. cit.*, 1, figs. 440, 442, 443, 445, and p. 570.

⁷ Macrobius, *Sat.* 1, 23, 12, describing the statue says: 'with a whip in its raised right hand, a thunderbolt and corn-ears in its left'.

⁸ Cook, *op. cit.*, 1, fig. 436.

⁹ Cook, *op. cit.*, fig. 440; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁰ Id., *op. cit.*, fig. 427.

object within the temple.¹ The storm-god of Baalbek had very definitely become the fertility-god.

Again, Aphrodite fell as a star at her famous shrine of Aphaca² and had omphaloi at Byblos³ and Paphos.⁴ She was Urania, the sky-goddess. But this was not all, for she was also Pandemos, the goddess of love, and this has practically obscured from us her other nature. Similarly, at Tyre it was Astarte, the fertility goddess, who put on the head of the bull and picked up the sacred 'star fallen from the sky'.⁵ It was the same with Artemis, who was a meteorite-, omphalos-, arrow-, and *labrys*-goddess, and 'sister' of Apollo the god of light.⁶ But besides being a celestial deity she was also the 'Lady of Wild Animals', and is known to us primarily as a fertility-goddess. In Roman times she developed that most maternal of all statues, Polymastos, the one with many breasts. She was served by emasculated priests.⁷

Castration was suffered by various sky-gods at the hands of others, and historically seems to represent the supplanting of one by another.⁸ It was one of the features which passed from them to the fertility-gods. Seth was a storm-god, and he suffered it at the hands of his victorious brother Horus.⁹ Yet in the classical story of the vegetation-god, Osiris, something of the sort is ascribed to him.¹⁰ So it was in other lands, for the sky-god Uranus was thus mutilated by his son, the sky-god Cronus,¹¹ yet it was the vegetation-god Attis who has become best known to us for this loss.¹²

The foregoing examples show that the combination of fertility with a celestial nature is very general. In Min it was already complete in his statues of the Archaic period—say 3500 B.C. Hence, the matter for remark in Min is not the fact of this combination. It is only that in him may be seen an early and very thorough example of the workings of a widespread and age-long trend of thought.

As is well known, Herodotus (II, 91) speaks of the festival held at the city of Chemmis, *i.e.* *Ypw*, Panopolis, or Akhmim, and identifies the local god, Min, with Perseus. Scholars have been hard put to it for an explanation of this, being unaware, as they have been, not only of the celestial character of Min but also of that of Perseus. They have mostly looked for it in various names and titles upon which Herodotus might have fastened in a wild

¹ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 558 and fig. 420.

² Sozomen, *Eccles. Hist.*, II, ch. v (publ. in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 1859, vol. LXVII, col. 948).

³ G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek Coins: Phoenicia*, Pl. xii, 13 = p. 103, no. 38 = p. 102, no. 37.

⁴ *Id.*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek Coins: Cyprus*, Pls. xv, xvi, xvii, xxvi. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, ch. 3; Maximus Tyrius, *Philosophumena*, II, § 8.

⁶ *Journal*, 17, 193.

⁵ Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.*, I, x, 31.

⁷ Strabo, XIV, i, 23.

⁸ It also has a weather and fertility significance. For instance, in Nigeria this sacrifice is made to renew the power of the juju which combines protection from damage by lightning and thunderbolt with the giving of plentiful harvests, P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, 74-6.

⁹ Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 535, 946, 1463. The mutilation is referred to in §§ 594, 679. With this last compare § 418, where the damage is done to the Bull (of the Sky?).

¹⁰ Diodorus Siculus, I, 22, 6, cf. IV, 6, 3; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 18, where the member was carried off and a substitute had to be supplied. A tendency towards assimilation to the sky-god is observable as early as the Sixth Dynasty, when Osiris is called 'Lord of Heaven', Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*, 233.

¹¹ Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 180, 181. Cronus in his turn is said to have been so treated by Zeus, Sir J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris (Golden Bough)*, 3rd ed., 1914, Pt. IV, I, 283. The finally successful sky-god, Zeus, suffered a milder form of mutilation at the hands of the unsuccessful Typhon, for he only had sinews cut out. For a collection and discussion of these passages see Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 447-50.

¹² Frazer, *op. cit.*, 263-5; cf. 268, 269.

attempt to make some sort of identification at all costs. These efforts, however, have led nowhere, and are quite valueless, as indeed Wiedemann has shown.¹ Instead of being foolish, Herodotus shows himself to have been well informed on the religion at Panopolis, for he does not use the civil name of the city, *Ἰρω*, but had found out its sacred name *Ἥν(τ)-Μίν*,² which he reproduces as Chemmis. Hence it is *a priori* likely that he would have some good reason for his identification of the Egyptian god with the Greek hero.

Perseus was primarily not a Greek but an Oriental, perhaps Philistine, hero, and was a considerable figure in Syria and certain parts of Asia Minor. In fact, there was a strong tradition in antiquity that the 'Ethiopia' of the Andromeda story was Joppa on the Palestinian coast.³ At Iconium, in Asia Minor, he figured as one of the chief types on the coinage.⁴ He founded the city and an image (*εἰκών*) of the Gorgon's head was set up there,⁵ and this was supposed to have caused the corruption of the old name Kuwanna, Kawania, into its Greek and Latin form.⁶ The Cilician cities of Iotape, Coropissus, and Carallia⁷ put his figure on their coins, and it was one of the most important types at Anemurium, another city of Cilicia.⁸ At Tarsus, the leading city of this country, he again provided one of the most important coin types.⁹ In fact, there was a strong tradition that he founded this city as well as Iconium,¹⁰ and a little to the east of Tarsus Aegeae also claimed connexion with him.¹¹ Of special interest to us is the fact that the foundation of Tarsus is attributed to Perseus by Nonnus the fourth-century poet of Min's city Panopolis,¹² and by two writers of Antioch which is in the direction of Tarsus. They are Ammianus Marcellinus,¹³ who wrote in the same century as Nonnus, and Ioannes Antiochenus, who was of later date.¹⁴ Hence we are well justified in looking to this region for the elucidation of our problem, and as a matter of fact Herodotus shows himself to have in mind the legends of this part of the world. Not only is he greatly concerned as to how the 'Egypto-Assyrian' Perseus could have become a Greek (VI, 54), but also he is largely interested at Panopolis in Perseus' sandal (II, 91). This plays no leading part in the ordinary tales of classical literature, but on turning to Cilicia and Phoenicia we find it to have an importance of its own. At Aegeae a boot is one of the types used on the coinage,¹⁵ and, as a connexion was recognized between this city and Perseus, it may well have belonged to him. But the coins of another city leave no doubt at all. This was Ace-Ptolemais on the Phoenician coast, where the boot or foot is figured again. In the first place the worship of Perseus was strong there,¹⁶ and secondly the boot or foot is definitely marked as belonging to him by his *harpē* which accompanies it as well as the thunderbolt.¹⁷ The fame of Perseus' foot or footgear was such that it provided

¹ *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 369, but see his own attempt on similar lines in *Philologus*, 1891, pp. 179, 180.

² Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, IV, 176, 177, and cf. V, 167.

³ Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Iope*, cols. 293, 294.

⁴ G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, p. xxiv.

⁵ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

⁶ Kuwanna is the Hittite form, and Kawania is the Phrygian; Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, 31 (*Brit. School of Arch. in Jerusalem, Suppl. Papers*, I, 1923); Calder in *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 31, 189, n. 48.

⁷ Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii, lvii, and p. 47, n. 1. ⁸ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. xli. ⁹ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. xcvi.

¹⁰ Lucan, *De Bello Civili*, III, l. 225; C. Iulius Solinus, *Collect. Rerum Mem.* (ed. Th. Mommsen), xxxviii, 3.

¹¹ Vollgraff in *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 28, 422, ll. 20 ff.

¹² Nonnus Panopolitanus, *Dionysiaca*, xviii, ll. 293, 294.



¹³ *Roman History*, xiv, 8, 3, though he does not give it great credence.

¹⁴ *Fragmenta*, VI, 18 (C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, IV, 544).

¹⁵ Hill, *op. cit.*, Pl. V, I, and p. 26, no. 37 and n. 2.

¹⁶ *Id.*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, Pl. xvii, 3, and p. 134, nos. 35, 36; cf. the *harpē* Pl. xvii, 4, and p. 135, nos. 37, 38.

¹⁷ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvii, no. 11 = p. 138, nos. 51-53, and p. 137, no. 47.

Nonnus, *ibid.*, with a *Volksetymologie* for the name of the city of Tarsus. He says that when Perseus founded his new city among the Cilicians, it took its name from his swift *ταρός*. This word means primarily 'a flat tray of wickerwork, a mat', and by extension any flat surface such as 'the sole of the foot', and then by further extension 'the foot' itself. This vague word aptly expresses the lack of definition revealed in the use of the 'foot' at Ace-Ptolemais, the 'boot' at Aegeae, and the 'sandal' at Panopolis. However, the full explanation of Herodotus' version probably lies in the fact that there actually was a legend of a sandal in the near neighbourhood. This was in the Aphroditopolite nome, *Wdyt*, the tenth of Upper Egypt, which was the next north of the Panopolite. The capital city was called  *Tbw* 'Sandal-city', because on conquering Seth Horus had made himself a pair of sandals there.¹ The tenth nome was not unrelated to Min, for it will be encountered again on p. 163 in the study of the pole, another of Min's celestial associations. Then again, as with Min² there was a certain 'doubleness' there,³ and the symbol , so well known as the standard of Min's nome of Coptos, might be used for the eastern district of the tenth nome also. This standard referred to Horus and Seth,⁴ concerning whom the legend of the sandals arose. It might have been this which turned Herodotus' thoughts in the first place to Perseus, a hero with a sandal, rather than to Zeus, Apollo, Herakles, or any other of the better known sky-gods. Then, in their turn, the priests of Panopolis may have been enabled to reply the more readily to his inquiries about the sandal.⁵

Herodotus' evident concern with the beliefs of Syria and Cilicia gives special importance to the following statements. The Orontes was anciently called Typhon, for, according to the legend, the river bed represented the trail of the monster, when crawling away after his overthrow by means of thunderbolts.⁶ A relic of this still survives in the modern Arabic name of the river *العاصي* *al-'Āsy* 'the Rebel', 'from its occasional violence and windings'.⁷ Seth being identified by the Greeks with Typhon, we are still near the conquest of Seth at the 'Sandal-city' close to Panopolis. Two Antiochene writers have already proved helpful, and another, John Malalas of the sixth century A.D., says it was Perseus who controlled the river with a thunderbolt. Typhon was a huge serpent, and Malalas says that the Orontes, or River Draco (*i.e.* Serpent) as it was previously called, had once been swollen to a dangerous degree by a great storm. On Perseus' exhorting the people to prayer and religious exercises, 'a ball of thunder-fire (*σφαίρα πυρός κεραυνού*) fell down from the sky, stopped the storm, and restrained the violence of the river'.⁸ Further evidence that the thunderbolt was wielded by Perseus is provided by the coin of Ace-Ptolemais just discussed; it shows not only his foot, but also his *harpē* and the thunderbolt. Thus, in Syria at least, Perseus was clearly a god of the heavens, for not only could he still the storm, but he controlled the thunderbolt as well. A further and very important point for this argument is that his conquest of 'Typhon' is comparable to that of Seth by Horus, with whom Min was identified. This view of him as a thunderbolt-god lasted on into the Middle Ages. It may be found, for instance, in one of the curious inventories of classical gems and their supposed magical

¹ Gauthier in *Rec. de trav.*, 35, 9, 10.

² *Journal*, 17, 191, n. 4.

³ Gauthier in *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 12-14.

⁴ Sethe and Gardiner in *Z.Ä.S.*, 47, pp. 48, 49.

⁵ As originally suggested by Dümichen, *Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (Oncken, *Allgem. Gesch.*, 1), pp. 160, note *, 162, note *.

⁶ Strabo, xvi, ii, § 7.

⁷ Barker in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 7, 99. The idea seems to go back at least to the time of Yāqūt, thirteenth century A.D. In the early centuries of our era the river had been called **Aξιος*, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v.

⁸ Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, II, ch. O, 44 (ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831, p. 38); and in less detail, Ioannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta*, vi, no. 18 (ed. C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv, 544).

virtues, which states that a gem engraved with Perseus is a preservative 'against lightning and tempest and the assault of devils'.¹ It is perhaps significant, that the editor of this thirteenth-century document remarks that it has a somewhat Oriental character.

Though not appreciated hitherto, this aspect of the hero is present in the conventional classical legends. Already by Herodotus' time Perseus had exchanged his original indefinite 'sword' (*ἄορ*) for his well-known and more definite *harpē*.² Long before classical times this weapon had been shown in the hand of a god, who otherwise brandishes the axe and lightning flashes. This was on the 'Hittite' sculpture from near Malātia, dating to about 1200 B.C., which was mentioned on p. 152. After this, early Greek legend had given the *harpē* to Cronus,³ and stated it to be made 'of grey steel' (*πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος*).⁴ On another occasion the Phoenician writer, Sanchoniatho, says that Cronus' weapon was made 'of iron' (*ἐκ σιδήρου*).⁵ Iron coming from meteorites and the meteorite being the thunderbolt,⁶ Cronus' weapon, which passed to Perseus, proves to have been one more of the many representatives of the thunderbolt.⁷ This has already been demonstrated by the coins of Perseus' city, Ace-Ptolemais, where both *harpē* and thunderbolt are figured on the one coin.

Cronus was an old sky-god,⁸ and evidence has already been forthcoming that Perseus was one also. There are yet other clues to his nature, and these occur in the original account of his deeds. They are that, like the meteorite and flash of lightning, he came flying to the attack through the air,⁹ and like the air itself he was invisible, for he wore the Cap of Hades.¹⁰ This last characteristic is reminiscent of Amūn, Min's other self, whose name meant 'invisible' and was originally determined with an empty space representing the invisible air.¹¹

Perseus, then, was one more of the many personifications of the sky and its phenomena, and he was identified with Min. That their identification was due to this aspect of his is proved by a document, which, through its publication in a non-Egyptological journal, has never received the attention due to it. An antiquity dealer possessed a strip of tanned calfskin which came from Akhmīm (Panopolis). Written on it in large uncials was 'The sacred, triumphal, universal, Olympic, contest of the celestial (*οὐρανίου*) Perseus in the Great Paneias'.¹² Its value to the present argument lies both in the word 'celestial' and in the date. The epithet is not only one more piece of evidence that Perseus was indeed a sky-god, but also shows that this was the aspect that commended him to the Min-worshippers of Akhmīm. Moreover, the date of the document, about A.D. 100,¹³ makes it valuable in two

¹ Wright in *Archaeologia*, 30, p. 450, no. 20.

² First in Pherecydes, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 721, n. 7. He was a contemporary of Herodotus, W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, s.v.

³ Hesiod, *Theogony*, II, 175, 179.

⁴ Id., *op. cit.*, II, 161, 188.

⁵ Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, I, x, 18, 21 (Teubner ed., I, pp. 45, 46).

⁶ *Journal*, 17, p. 189 and n. 8; 18, pp. 4, 7, 8, 10.

⁷ Other implements serving in this capacity have been axes, whether double or single, arrows, the trident, whip, etc.

⁸ Cook, *op. cit.*, II, p. 548; cf. also Wainwright in *Journal*, 19, 51.

⁹ Hesiod, *The Shield of Hercules*, II, 220, 222.

¹⁰ Id., *op. cit.*, I, 227. For the invisibility of the wearer see *Iliad*, v, l. 845; Pherecydes, *Fragm.* 26 (publ. in C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, I, 76).

¹¹ Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§ 153, 179 ff., and *Pyr.*, §§ 399, 434. For the similar view of Shu, the air-god, see Id., *Amun, etc.*, §§ 225, 240.

¹² Iconomopoulos in *Revue des Études grecques*, 2 (1889), 164-8.

¹³ The date is deduced from the use of the very rare word *εἰσελαστικός*, *triumphal*, which at present is not known to occur earlier. It is chiefly found in the correspondence between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan, *Letters*, 118 (119), 119 (120).

ways. In the first place it carries back the idea of Perseus as a sky-god to a date earlier than any of the records quoted hitherto. It also forms a link between Herodotus, who wrote about Perseus at Panopolis (Akhmīm) some five hundred years earlier, and Nonnus of that city, who wrote about him some three hundred years later. It shows that the identification of Min with Perseus was no vagrant whim of Herodotus but was well established and permanent. Proofs are fast accumulating that it was made with good reason.

It has been abundantly shown that the bull represented the sky-god whether in Egypt or abroad.¹ As so much evidence has been forthcoming that Min belonged to this category, it is natural that his sacred animal should have been a bull. This was one of the differences between him and his derivative Amūn, for the latter's sacred animal was the ram, who, however, was also concerned with the sky.²

But before discussing Min's bull it will be necessary to consider the commonly held opinion that he was Buchis and belonged to Monthu. It will be shown immediately that already in archaic days Min had had a sacred bull; that in the Min ceremonies of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties he appears again, when he is called 'The White Bull'; and that the White Bull occurs all through history, generally not far removed from Min. There would, therefore, never have been any doubt that the White Bull was his, but for the unfortunate chance that several inscriptions from Armant of Caesarion's time give this title to another and neighbouring bull, Buchis.³ He seems to have been a very late creation,⁴ and was connected in some secondary way with Monthu,⁵ who himself was one of the bull-gods.⁶ It is known from several sources that Monthu's own bull was not entirely white but parti-coloured, being white with black head and shoulders.⁷ Hence the epithet 'white' for Monthu's bull was either inaccurate or only given to Buchis. If the latter was actually the case, then the choice of a bull that was entirely white would seem to suggest that an attempt was made to give the new incarnation a respectable ancestry. It would have been all the easier to attach the new bull to Min since Monthu had long been a bull-god and approximated to Min, or Amūn, whose stiff feathers he wore.

Returning to Min, we find the bull along with other sacred symbols carved on one of the archaic statues of the god from Coptos.⁸ Moreover, the pole, which was probably Min's original shrine, was surmounted by the horns of a bull.⁹ As stated above, Min's bull was white, and figures with his name in the Min procession and harvest ceremonies of the Nine-

¹ *Journal*, 19, 42-52; *Pal. Explor. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1934, 37. To these may be added the statement that in Heracleopolitan times the Four Winds are called 'Bulls of Heaven', Kees, *Totenglauben, etc.*, 320.

² *Journal*, 20, 140-5, 152.

³ *L., D.*, iv, Pl. lxiv, a = *Text*, iv, 7. Cf. *L., D.*, iv, Pls. lx, d, lxi, d.

⁴ Fairman, *Bucheum*, II, 46, 'not even the name of Buchis is known before the reign of Nekhtorheb'.

⁵ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 45.

⁶ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 49.

⁷ For a coloured picture see Griffith, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, Pl. x, 16. See also the phrase in Drioton, *Médamoud* (1925), II, 46, Inscr. No. 102: '... Monthu the Mighty. The Two Horuses are united in him as one white of body and black of face'. This accurately describes the bull, and shows the colouring to have been so clearly established as to have originated a religious doctrine. The plain blue given to his hieroglyph in Inscr. 80, Drioton, *op. cit.*, 6, is probably meaningless.

⁸ The others are, a pair of his thunderbolt-emblems, a pair of saws of sawfish (?), a pair of pteroceras shells, an oryx (?) head, an elephant, a bird, and a hyena. Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. iii = iv. Of these, the thunderbolts we already know to have been sacred to him, and the gazelle (?) seems to have had a special sanctity at Coptos. The remains of the bird look very like those of a vulture, and the fact that its wing droops makes it comparable to the definite and roughly contemporary vulture, Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xxvi, b. Later a colossal vulture was dedicated at Coptos by Amenemhat III, Petrie, *Koptos*, p. 11, § 21.

⁹ See p. 165. Bulls with the wide-spreading horns are shown for instance in Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, I, Pl. xxi, as well as the shorter-horned breed.

teenth and Twentieth Dynasties. In the more complete set of sculptures of Ramesses III he figures twice,¹ and once in the more damaged ones of Ramesses II.²

The White Bull is ancient, and is mentioned occasionally all through history. The priestly title $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ 'Attendant of the White Bull' is already known under the Third Dynasty,³ and is not uncommon in the Old Kingdom.⁴ In the Fifth Dynasty Saḥurē gave the White Bull an endowment of land in the nome of Tanis, the fourteenth of the Delta.⁵ In the Twelfth Dynasty Sensusret I calls himself 'White Bull trampling the Nubians'.⁶ In Ptolemaic and Roman days the White Bull appears occasionally, but in unexpected guise. An inscription at Edfu represents him as Horus' enemies, that is Seth and his company,⁷ and at Armant his name is given to Monthu's bull Buchis. As has just been shown, Monthu at least had some relationship with him, for he wore Min's feathers and was worshipped at Thebes, where the White Bull lived. Moreover, the animal had not lost his celestial character in representing Seth, for he was the storm-god and was related to Min's derivative, Amūn.

At the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty the titles of Nefermaat and his eldest son *Hm-īwnw* seem to imply some connexion between Min and the White Bull. The father holds five priesthoods, among them that of $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$;⁸ they are all inherited by his son except this one, but he was appointed 'Attendant of the White Bull',⁹ an office his father had not held. The presence of the one and the absence of the other in each case perhaps imply some connexion between the two.

Again, Saḥurē's endowment brings the White Bull into association with Min. The estate lay in the nome of Tanis, to which city Min was brought in the Twenty-first Dynasty¹⁰ along with other gods, but not Monthu, after the suppression of Seth.¹¹ His worship was continued here by Sheshonq,¹² and in Ptolemaic times Min, Horus, and Wadjet formed the triad there.¹³ Among the mass of figurines found there those of Min were not uncommon.¹⁴ Min's worship was not confined to Tanis, but was widespread in this north-eastern corner of the Delta, being celebrated in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in the neighbouring cities of Nebeshah and Defennah.¹⁵ Thus, at some time or other both the White Bull and Min were established at Tanis and in the neighbourhood. The antiquity of the White Bull in this district may well account for the inclusion of Min among the gods to be brought there.

¹ Champollion, *Monuments*, Pls. ccxii, ccxiv. For the whole scene see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* (1878), III, Pl. lx, facing p. 357. For a study of these scenes and their texts see Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, 176-84, 241-50.

² L., D., III, Pl. clxii.

³ Statue of Sepa, E. de Rougé, *Notice des monuments au musée du Louvre*, 8th edn., p. 26, no. 36 = Boreux, *Antiquités égyptiennes: Guide-Catalogue*, I (1932), Pl. xxx, facing p. 229.

⁴ Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, xxv, col. c; Junker, *Giza*, I, p. 149, no. 11. Fairman, *op. cit.*, p. 43, c, gives Dr. Murray's list, but unfortunately says the references are to the White Bull 'in *tpht dsr*'. These words are not in the inscriptions. Hence that amount of supposed early connexion between Monthu and the White Bull falls away.

⁵ Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, 36; cf. Gardiner in *Journal*, 19, 125.

⁶ Breasted in *P.S.B.A.*, 23, 232=Pl. iii, l. 2.

⁷ A text referred to by Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 37, n. 1.

⁸ Petrie, *Medum*, Pls. xvi, xx, xxi.

⁹ Junker, *Giza*, I, 151.

¹⁰ Siamūn offers to Min-Amūn, Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. viii, no. 151.

¹¹ Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (1929-32), 172.

¹² Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. ix, no. 161.

¹³ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. xv, figs. 2, 3 = vol. II, Pl. x, nos. 164, 165. For Min's relationship to Wadjet see pp. 166 *infra*.

¹⁴ Montet, *op. cit.*, 115. Monthu is not there.

¹⁵ Amasis worships Min at Nebeshah, Petrie, *Nebeshah* (bound with *Tanis*, II), Pl. ix, 4 and p. 34; a stela was set up at Defennah in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to 'Min, Lord of Koptos', Petrie, *Defenneh* (bound with *Tanis*, II), Pl. xlii and p. 107.

Senusret's dreadfully damaged stela from Wādī Ḥalfa is a remarkable document in many ways, not least in those epithets of the king which remain. Selecting that of 'White Bull', and ignoring the rest, Lefébure not unnaturally supposed that it referred to Monthu, the Theban war-god, who appears in the scene at the head of the stela.¹ Not only is this not necessarily so, but there is much to suggest that the allusion was to Min. The epithets that interest us here are 'Star of the South illuminating the Two Lands, White Bull trampling the Nubians'.² In the Eighteenth Dynasty we get a variation of the theme of Two Lands, Bull, and Stars. This time it applies to Amen-Rē, Min's derivative, who is called 'Bull of the Two Lands and of the Stars [in] Deir el-Bahri'.³

Senusret's stela seems to connect the White Bull with Min in several ways. First it was set up under a king who was specially devoted to Min. Not only was he one of the chief builders at the temple of Coptos,⁴ but at Thebes he has left us our first pictures of the ithyphallic Amūn.⁵ On our stela he does not wear any one of the royal crowns, but the cap and feathers of Min which were inherited by Amūn.⁶ Then, also, it is natural that in Nubia the king should be likened to Min, for the Sudan and its neighbourhood were peculiarly under this god's care. The *Sudāny* of Pwenet officiates at the Min ceremonies.⁷ In the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and again in the Twenty-sixth, gratitude is expressed to Min for rains in the Sudan.⁸ In Ptolemaic times he and his wife Triphis are the deities of the Pwenet chamber at Athribis.⁹ He rules the Sudan, creates its inhabitants, and overthrows them,¹⁰ and on several occasions presents the Nubians to the Pharaoh.¹¹ Then again, the association of a star, and a Bull, and Nubia, is not new here. The same grouping had already occurred in the Pyramid Texts, where a star is mentioned with the 'Pillar of the Stars', and both are connected with the 'Pillar of Nubia' and the 'Bull of the Sky'.¹² It may be that this leads further towards Min, for it will be seen that Min's own bull was identified with a pole or pillar (p. 164), and Min himself was a sky-god, a thunderbolt-god, and a shooting star is the thunderbolt. Breasted, *ibid.*, naturally compares the 'Star of the South' to the *ššd* to which later Pharaohs often liken themselves in battle, and the *ššd* was a shooting star.¹³ Perhaps it is worth adding that on one occasion (*Pyr.*, § 1207) Nubia was in some way associated with the storm. We have already dealt with the star in so far as it was in combination with the Two Lands and the Bull, and this has suggested Amūn. But it may be that the star of itself indicates Min or Amūn. Among the *Ḥeb-sed* symbols the fan peculiarly represented this god.¹⁴ It may, therefore, be worth noting perhaps that at Deir el-Bahri a star is sometimes set in the centre of it.¹⁵ Thus in various places stars are connected with Nubia, with a Bull—whether the White Bull or the Bull of the Sky—and with Min-Amūn. In other places they all seem to be united again through the

¹ *Sphinx*, 8, 10.

² Breasted, *ibid.*

³ Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, I, Pl. ii and p. 5.

⁴ Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. ix, 2, x, xi, 3(?).

⁵ Chevrier in *Ann. Serv.*, 28, Pls. i, iv of his article pp. 126–8.

⁶ There has been much alteration in this part of the stela, which may reduce the value of this scrap of evidence.

⁷ Gauthier, *Fêtes*, p. 61, l. 6, p. 200. He appears to address himself especially to the White Bull, p. 202.

⁸ *Journal*, 20, 150.

⁹ Petrie and Walker, *Athribis*, Pls. xvii, xviii, and pp. 17, 18.

¹⁰ Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 201 and n. 1; p. 202.

¹¹ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 198, 199.



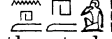
¹² Sethe, *Pyr.*, § 280, a. In § 121 a bull and Nubia come together again, when 'the Great Bull who smote Nubia' is named.




¹³ *Journal*, 18, 162. To the references given there in note 6 add G. A. and M. B. Reisner in *Z.Ä.S.*, 69, p. 27, l. 5.

¹⁴ Kees, *Opfertanz*, 127, 128; Jéquier in *Rec. de trav.*, 27, 174.

¹⁵ Tuthmosis II, Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, I, Pl. ii, where the god is called "Bull of the Two Lands and of the Stars"; Hatshepsut, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. lxiv (?); IV, Pl. cx.

pillar. There is thus a good deal to suggest that on Senusret's stela, as elsewhere, the White Bull belonged to Min. Moreover, the stela provides a valuable, and perhaps the only, scrap of information that we possess as to his violent and raging nature. It, however, accords with an equally little-known side of Min, which emerges occasionally, as in the comparison of the victorious Amenophis II to 'Min in the year of terror',¹ and in the name of the Ptolemaic god 'Min-Slayer-of-Enemies-Resheph'.² Presumably Ramesses III's hymn to Min refers to the same thing in the words 'I am Min standing upon the mountains, after conquering all lands'.³ This dangerous nature which is to be found in Min and his White Bull is a common characteristic of sky-gods.

Consideration of Senusret's White Bull has led back to the 'Bull of the Sky', and other passages leave no doubt of the correctness of this train of thought. In the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the hymn which addresses Min as the 'Great Bull' proceeds 'opening the rain-clouds, the wind on the river'.⁴ Here we have a clear indication that Min's Bull was the Sky-Bull. But the association of the god and the sky neither was secondary nor can it have been borrowed from Amūn, as Gauthier supposes;⁵ for Min had been a thunderbolt- and bull-god from the beginning, and long before Amūn appears on the scene. To all that has already been adduced for this⁶ we may now add the Ptolemaic text which seems to call Min 'the King upon the rain-clouds', reading  for .⁷ Twice again in the above-mentioned hymn,⁸ and on other occasions also,⁹ Min is addressed as 'Great Bull', and this side of his nature is so marked that elsewhere a class of worshippers was called his 'Bellowers' .¹⁰ Like the bull himself, bellowings and roarings have often been met during the study of the storm- and air-gods, notably in the cases of Amūn and Seth in Egypt,¹¹ Rammān (Hadad) in Babylonia, and Yahweh in Palestine.¹² Hence Min's association with the White Bull and his warlike character are yet other indications of his nature as a sky-god.

The earliest picture of Min's Bull shows him striding on the mountain-tops. Hence a few words may be devoted to these, and they prove to be no mere artistic detail but to be full of significance. It has already been shown that the Mountain has been widely held sacred to the storm-gods.¹³ Like the light-weapon  of Min and/or Letopolis¹⁴ the mountains had already been deified in the Second Predynastic Age,¹⁵ when their symbol was used as a standard on the well-known boats. Here they are shown quite indifferently as a group of five, four, three, or two peaks, , suggesting that it is mountains generically which are depicted. If the somewhat indefinite animal's head be really the bull's head the discoverers supposed it to be, the bull and the mountains would be set together as a group on a vase of protodynastic age,¹⁶ and would therefore be roughly contemporary with Min's archaic statues. In Dynastic times Xoīs, the sixth nome of the Delta, definitely set the bull and the mountains together, employing the group  as its standard.¹⁷ Its neighbour Metelis, the seventh nome, worshipped the god H̄.¹⁸ He was the Mountain-god, for though

¹ L., D., III, Pl. 65, a, l. 5.

² L., D., IV, Pl. 11, a and Wainwright in *Journal*, 20, 152, 153.

³ Gauthier, *Fêtes*, p. 190, l. 16.

⁴ Id., *op. cit.*, p. 190, R. 11, M. 7, 8.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 194.

⁶ *Journal*, 17, 185-95; 20, 150.

⁷ Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 195.

⁸ Id., *op. cit.*, p. 190, l. 12, and 'Great Bull (thrice) of thy Mother' (?) ll. 15, 16.

⁹ Id., *op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁰ Id., *op. cit.*, p. 179, l. 2.

¹¹ *Journal*, 20, 149, 150.

¹² *Journal*, 19, 44; 20, 150.

¹³ *Journal*, 19, 47, 48.





¹⁴ *Journal*, 17, 185, 186; 18, 159, 160.





¹⁵ Newberry in *Liverpool Annals*, 5, 139, 141, and l. 24; Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, Pl. xxiii, fig. 5, nos. 18-21.

¹⁶ Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xvii, and p. 7.

¹⁷ *Journal*, 19, 48.

¹⁸ *Journal*, 19, 48, and n. 8.

his symbol is generally written , which might mean 'foreign lands',  is also used, *Pyr.*, § 119,¹ and this clearly means 'mountain'. He also bore the title  'Overlord of the Two Mountains'.² It is interesting, therefore, to observe that this Mountain-god was closely related to Min's cycle. For in one place in the Pyramid Texts he unites with Horus to make a compound deity Horus-*H*,³ and in another is correlated both with Min himself and with a damaged name which may have been Amūn or possibly an early form of Min.⁴ Horus, of course, had been early identified with Min. The *labrys*  is a thunder symbol,⁵ and in company with this, Min, and Horus, *H*, forms one of the small group of five gods who were served by the *imy-ht* or *ht* priest.⁶ The mountains, therefore, need not be merely a support for the bull, but are likely to have an identity of their own, and in any case the deified mountains are closely related to Min himself.

Actually the mountains are much in evidence on the archaic statue of Min, for not only is the bull shown upon them, but also the elephant and the hyena(?).⁷ Elephants go upon the mountains elsewhere in archaic art.⁸ In this last case there have been three animals, and they are shown naturalistically in mountainous country. Among the mountains shown, the tops of three are used to support each of those elephants which are still preserved, and the animals adopt the same attitude as the bull on the statue of Min. Indeed, three supports are the minimum with which it is possible to show an animal in motion. Hence, in view of this fact, and of the independent identity possessed by the mountains, and of the indifferent use of the two- or three-peaked sign for the mountain-god *H*, it is clearly on the 'mountains' in their primitive sense that Min's bull is treading, and not 'foreign lands', the transferred sense of the later hieroglyph . In fact, in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties Min's sacred bull is addressed in the words 'Thou who art in the form of the Bull coming upon the mountains ()',⁹ and in Ptolemaic times Min himself is likened to the Bull upon the mountains.¹⁰ If it be permissible here to translate  merely by 'mountains', instead of the usual 'foreign lands, desert' (because as contrasted with Egypt they are mountainous) this exactly describes the original picture. Elsewhere in the Twentieth Dynasty the god says, 'I am Min standing upon the mountains ()',¹¹ and from the Middle Kingdom onwards Min's title is 'he who is upon his *htyw*',¹² which Gauthier has shown meant originally 'Min upon the cliffs (of the eastern desert)'.¹³ His statue is regularly set upon a base with steps in front, probably carrying out this idea.¹⁴ It is in keeping with their characters

¹ I owe this reference to Mr. Faulkner, who shows the two forms to be interchangeable, *Griffith Studies*, 72. I take this opportunity to acknowledge Mr. Faulkner's never failing kindness and help with the translations in this article.

² Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1291.

³ Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, § 1013, *d*.

⁴ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, § 1712, *b*, and see his discussion of the name in *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, p. 22, § 30; but see also *Urgeschichte*, p. 39.

⁵ *Journal*, 17, 193; 19, 43.

⁶ Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, xxxiv, col. *a*; Newberry in *Liverpool Annals*, 1, 27; 2, 49, 50; 4, 100; cf. *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, III, 344, 347. The fifth is the swallow. Cf. also the remarks in *Journal*, 17, 192, 193.

⁷ Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. iii, fig. 4. The elephant is well known in prehistoric art from the earliest times. For others than those mentioned in the text see Bénédite in *Journal*, 5, Pl. i = ii; p. 227, fig. 1 top; Pls. xxxiii, xxxiv and cf. p. 237 and n. 2. By s.d. 47 he was definitely sacred, Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, p. 12 and Pl. xxiii, fig. 5, no. 2 = *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. lxvii, fig. 14.

⁸ Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xvi, 4 = p. 6, fig. 6 of Pl. vi.

⁹ Gauthier, *Fêtes*, p. 200, l. 4; or perhaps 'from the mountains', cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 165.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Athribis*, Pl. xxxiv, col. 15 = p. 23, where, however, Dr. Walker read the sign as a cow.

¹¹ Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 190, l. 16.

¹² *Id.*, in *Kémt*, 2, 41-6.

¹³ *Id.*, in *op. cit.*, 69 ff., especially 82.

¹⁴ *Id.*, in *op. cit.*, 56-8.

as sky-god and sky-bull that Min should stand upon the mountains, and that his Bull should come upon the mountains. Many cases of the sky-god as a mountain-god have been collected in the companion article to this, *Journal*, 19, 47, 48, and it would serve no purpose to increase their number. Such deities were Enlil and Ninlil in Babylonia, Adad or Rammān in Assyria and elsewhere, Teshub and Zeus in the Syro-Cappadocian and Greek lands respectively. In Syria there was Elagabalus, and as he will be mentioned again (p. 167), we may recall that while the description of his sacred object answers exactly to that of a meteorite¹ his name *Elāh-gabal* means 'The god "Mountain"'

The next association of Min's Bull is with the pole, and for this study certain information concerning the Scandinavian world-tree serves as a valuable background. This tree will be encountered again (p. 168), but at the moment let it be noted that it was called either 'Yggdrasil' quite shortly or more fully 'The Ash of Yggdrasil'. Yggdrasil means 'Horse of Dread' and was the storm upon which Odin the storm-god rode.² Thus, in one country at least, the universal support has been identified with a sky-animal. There was in Egypt a Bull of the Sky,³ and at times he was identified with pillars. Thus, in *Pyramid Texts*, §§ 280, 283, it is said 'Star of those who are before the Pillar of the Stars (𓆎 ♂), they see the Pillar of Nubia (𓆎 ♂), the Bull of the Sky (𓆎 ♂), and a few lines farther on it continues 'his horn shines, Pillar of Eye-paint (𓆎 ♂), the Bull of the Sky'. Here the Bull of the Sky is first of all identified with one pillar, that of Nubia, and then with another, the 'Pillar of Eye-paint'. A 'Great Bull' is identified with yet another pillar, that of the Aphroditopolite Nome (𓆎 ♂), *Pyr.*, § 792. This is not without importance here, for the legends of this nome may bear on Herodotus' account of religion at Panopolis-Akhmīm, as was seen on p. 156. The sky-pole *wh* was personified by a bull (p. 168). Thus, a pillar and a bull (generally 'the Bull of the Sky') form quite an ordinary combination. They meet again in Min's worship, where the pillar or pole was no less characteristic of the god than was the Bull, and this animal has proved to have been a Bull of the Sky. In the Old Kingdom, Min's pole was of sufficient importance to provide a personal name, ♂ 'The Pillar of Min',⁴ and in this Min is unique, for no other god affords a name of this type.⁵

With the foregoing in mind we may now turn to Min's own pole. In the Sixth Dynasty Pepi II devoted a new town to the service of Min, stating in his decree that 'My Majesty hath commanded the setting up of a pole ♂ *śnt* of foreign wood, and that (?) in the new town'.⁶ Such a dedication to Min involved freedom from the king's jurisdiction. Hence,

¹ ' . . . its colour [is] black. They solemnly assert it to have fallen from the sky (δμητηρ) 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. The usual solarization of the old sky-gods caused some of the late classical writers to change the name to the meaningless *Heliogabalus*, and to think that this meteorite, as well as that at Aegospotami, had fallen from the sun; see my articles *Jacob's Bethel in Pal. Expl. Fund. Quart. Statement*, 1934, 41, and *Baetyls* appearing shortly in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*

² Stallybrass, *Teutonic Mythology* by J. Grimm, p. 1331. The idea of the god riding the storm was ancient and widespread in the Near East. Enlil flourished his whip and drove his chariot in ancient Babylonia about 2800 B.C. (W. Hayes Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, fig. 127, and cf. 128, and p. 52); Sandan flourished his *harpē* and drove his chariot at Malātia about 1200 B.C. (Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 42, 25a and cf. pp. 152, 157 *supra*); and, even though they are late, such expressions as Yahweh 'rideth upon a swift cloud' (Isaiah xix, 1), 'hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm' (Nahum i, 3), etc., will occur to every one.

³ See p. 158 *supra*, n. 1.

⁴ Murray, *Index*, vi, col. c.

⁵ Cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, p. 17.

⁶ Moret in *Comptes rendus à l'acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, 1916, p. 326, fig. 2, l. 7 and pp. 328 ff.; Sethe, *Urk.*, I, p. 292, l. 7.

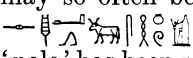



may so often be seen behind the god's statue (Fig. 4).¹ The accompanying inscription is —  *šhc kš šhn*; that is to say, the usual one except that the word *šhnt* 'pole' has been replaced by *šhn* 'shrine' to suit the scene. The other case is merely a mention by Ptolemy Auletes that Min was 'setting up for himself the shrine of the Bull ()'.² The use of the same words *kš šhn* on two different occasions shows that the substitution of the *šhn*-shrine for the *šhnt*-pole was no error or chance. Thus the pole of the climbing ceremony was, or came to be, interchangeable with the shrine of the god. It represented the latter, as well as belonging peculiarly to Min's bull. More accurately it represented, or came to represent, the pole of the shrine.³ Thus, on one occasion the pole of the climbing ceremony is given the papyrus capital and bull's horns of the pole of the shrine.⁴ Elsewhere three objects appear on the top of it, one of which is the hut of the shrine, or rather its gateway, and another is its pole.⁵ As will be seen in the next paragraph, the pole of the shrine was no mere appendage to the hut as Jéquier supposes, but had an identity of its own, and in its turn could represent the whole.



FIG. 4.

Leaving the *šhnt*-pole of the ceremony and turning to the *šhn*-shrine, it is noteworthy in the first place that it was composite, consisting of a pole united by a cord to a little hut behind it.⁶ Originally the hut had stood alone,⁷ but by the Twelfth Dynasty it had been added to the pole, which proves to have been the important part of the complex. It is on the pole that the bull's horns⁸ are set, not the hut, and this makes it comparable to the pole of the ceremony which belonged to, or even represented, Min's Bull. Then again, the whole composite shrine was called *šhn*, a name only differing in gender from that of the pole of the climbing ceremony. Usually it was spelt  or similarly, *šhn*,⁹ where the determinative is the whole shrine, pole and hut. But the word could be spelt —  *šhn-c*; 'The Great Shrine',¹⁰ where the determinative is the pole only. Hence the pole of the shrine could represent the whole complex just as did the pole of the climbing ceremony. Here again the Irminsûl is useful, for not only was it described as an 'idol', as has just been seen, but also as a 'temple', or even a 'sacred grove' (*fanum, lucus*).¹¹ The pole, therefore, not only peculiarly belonged to the Bull, but was the essential element of the compound shrine. The little hut was subordinate to it and an addition.

The pole of the shrine, again, is not simple, but complex, for it supports a coil of rope, which was sacred in itself. In the Third Dynasty it stood alone.¹² In the early Fourth

¹ Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, II, p. 88, Pl. xl, i, from which Fig. 4 is drawn.

² Petrie, *Athribis*, Pl. xviii, fifth register.

³ Jéquier in *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. or. du Caire*, 6, 37, has already approximated the two poles.

⁴ L., *D.*, IV, Pl. xlii, b, Ptolemy X. The top varies greatly in the different pictures.

⁵ Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, Pl. xxiii. I can no more make any suggestion about the third object than could Jéquier, *ibid.* Max Müller's explanations, *op. cit.*, 34, are entirely abstract and unconvincing.

⁶ From Senusret I onwards, Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. ix, 2; x, 3.

⁷ MENTUHOTEP NEBTAWI-RĒC, Couyat and Montet, *Hammâmât*, Pl. xxix, 110; MIDDLE KINGDOM, Moret in *Rec. de trav.*, 32, p. 138, Pl. i, fig. 1; Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittl. Reichs*, Pls. xvi, 20188; xix, 20240; xlvi, 20612. SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD, Boeser, *Aeg. Sammlung*, II (Stelen), Pl. xxxii, 42. These are, however, all very crude in execution.

⁸ Bulls as well as cows had sometimes wide-spreading horns, as for instance Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. li, 14; Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, I, Pl. xxvii. Min's Bull is, however, always shown with the crescent horns commonly given to bulls.

⁹ Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, II, 88 twice.

¹⁰ Daressy in *Ann. Serv.*, 17, p. 77, l. 7. Though it was made for Arsenuphis at Philae, not Min, it was made for him 'as a *Sudāny*', thus keeping up the southern associations.

¹¹ Stallybrass, *op. cit.*, 117.

¹² Junker, *Giza*, I, p. 151, no. 17, and *cf. Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 29 for another Old Kingdom example.

Dynasty it is coiled into the branches of a stick.¹ At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, raised on a simple pole and given a crest, a number of them belonged to Wadjet, and under Pepi I, still as hers, it takes the form that is so well known as belonging to Min.² This early connexion with Wadjet probably accounts for the change which came over the pole at Min's shrine. Originally it was a simple pole like hers, supporting the horns and coil of rope (Fig. 5),³ but later it was given the papyrus capital, and so transformed into the hieroglyph of her name (Fig. 6).⁴ On two occasions even this is transferred to the pole of the climbing



FIG. 5.

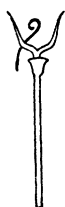


FIG. 6.

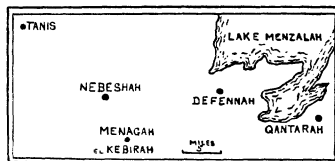


FIG. 7.

ceremony.⁵ Min and Wadjet were definitely related, for they meet again in the extreme north-eastern corner of the Delta. Since the Nineteenth Dynasty at latest, Wadjet had been widely worshipped in this district,⁶ and had been so intimately connected with Imet⁷ that the city took its sacred name, Per-Wadjet, from her.⁸ Imet was the modern Nebeshah,⁹ and Min was also worshipped here, at least in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,¹⁰ as well as at Defennah some fifteen miles away.¹¹ In Ptolemaic times she was brought to Tanis, which also is quite close by (Fig. 7), to join Min in forming the triad there.¹² This was the nome in which his White Bull had already been given an estate by Sahurêc in the Fifth Dynasty, and where Min was worshipped after the suppression of Seth (p. 159).

At Min's shrine the presence of the cord on the pole was made use of to connect the two main members of the whole complex. To join two things by a cord is a natural and world-wide method of effecting a mystical union between them. For instance, the walls of Ephesus were joined to the temple by a rope seven stades long in order to put them under the protection of Artemis.¹³ Similarly, at Athens certain conspirators on coming out to their enemies kept hold of a thread which they had tied to the temple. On its breaking, the goddess was said to have refused them her protection, and they were immediately murdered.¹⁴ Elsewhere, in Tibet, on special occasions the priest holds to his heart the end of a string which is tied to the sacred object lying in the lap of the divine image.¹⁵

¹ Junker, *op. cit.*, fig. 23, b and pp. 150, 151, no. 22.

² *Pyr.*, § 702. The next kings, Meryrê' and Pepi II Neferkarê', write the pole and its horns merely as a crutch.

³ Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. ix, x, 3. Fig. 5 is drawn from Pl. ix.

⁴ Fig. 6 is drawn from Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. cexi. Cf. also Möller in *Z.Ä.S.*, 39, Pl. iv facing p. 72; and often later.

⁵ W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, Pl. xlii, Ramesses II. Ptolemy X adds the horns as well, *L., D.*, iv, Pl. xlii, b.

⁶ Besides Nebeshah and Tanis, to be mentioned later, she was worshipped at Qantarah by Seti I, Griffith in Petrie, *Defenneh* (bound with *Tanis*, II), 104, Gauthier in *Ann. Serv.*, 23, 179; and at Menâgi by Nekht-nebf, Griffith, *op. cit.*, 46.

⁷ Gauthier, *ibid.*; id., *Dict. des noms géogr.*, I, 73, 74.

⁸ Id., *op. cit.*, II, 65.

⁹ Petrie, *Nebeshah* (bound with *Tanis*, II), 6. Cf. Gardiner in *Journal*, 5, 244; 19, 125.

¹⁰ Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. ix, 4 and p. 34.

¹¹ Id., *Defenneh* (bound with *Tanis*, II), Pl. xlii and p. 107.

¹² Petrie, *Tanis*, I, Pl. xv, figs. 2, 3 = vol. II, Pl. x, nos. 164, 165.

¹³ Herodotus, I, 26.

¹⁴ Plutarch's Lives, *Solon*, XII.

¹⁵ Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 446, and another case is quoted in n. 2.

Finally, Scharff has very tentatively suggested that there might be a connexion between the pole of Min's shrine and the $\Downarrow\Downarrow\Downarrow\overset{\circ}{\square}$ *śnct*, for Min was one of many gods who had a sanctuary of this much-discussed name. He bases his suggestion on the spelling, which he thinks perhaps goes back to $\Downarrow\overset{\circ}{\square}$ *śnt* 'a pole'.¹

Thus a pole in one form or another is continually encountered during a study of Min. It is found in the personal name 'The Pillar of Min'; one was set up at the dedication of a town to him; another was set up for a ceremony before him; it represented the pole of his shrine; and that in its turn could represent the whole shrine which was composite. The pole of the ceremony belonged specially to Min's Bull, who shows signs of being a Sky-Bull, and quite apart from Min the Bull of the Sky himself had to do with various pillars. He was identified with one, 'the Pillar of Eye-paint', and with another that belonged to Nubia, Min's special country; and both the Bull himself and this latter pillar were associated with a third, 'The Pillar of the Stars'.

It remains now to inquire why the pillar or pole should have been so closely associated with Min. A very good reason may be found at once in the evidence already adduced that Min was a sky- and air-god, for such association is quite common not only abroad but also in Egypt itself. In Crete the young warrior god descends from the sky alongside a high pole (Fig. 8).² The meteorite-god Elagabalus, who has helped us so often before, affords evidence here. It was planned to set up a great column, on the top of which the sacred meteorite should be raised aloft into its native element.³ He was also called Ammudātes, which name is accepted as incorporating the Arabic *amūd*, 'a tent-pole, pillar, etc'.⁴ Again, the eagle is well known as the storm-bird, and he is often set up on a pillar. On the top of Mount Lycaeus in Greece there was an altar to Zeus, and in front of it, to the east, stood a pair of pillars supporting gilded eagles.⁵ At Kara Kush in the Taurus Mountains, north of Samosata, is a monument consisting of three sets of pillars, each set supporting a tablet flanked by a pair of eagles in the one case,⁶ and a pair of bulls and lions in the others. Like the eagle, the bull and the lion were storm-animals. In Roman times statues of the victorious Jupiter were often uplifted on high pillars.⁷ At Delphi in Greece there was the old sacred meteorite 'The Stone of Cronus'⁸ and the omphalos of Apollo. These were storm- and light-gods respectively, and here at Delphi the omphalos itself seems to have supported a pole.⁹ The pole, therefore, clearly had a significance of its own in relation to sky-gods.



FIG. 8.

Returning to Egypt, and bearing this in mind, we find some very clear evidence as to the nature of the pole. Min was not the only god to possess one. Khnūm was a sky-god¹⁰ and in Ptolemaic days it is said that 'he putteth Nut under the sky like a great pillar of air

¹ *Z.Ä.S.*, 62, 95.

² Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, p. 160, fig. 115, reproduced here as Fig. 8.

³ *Script. Hist. Aug.* (Teubner), *Elagabalus*, xxiv, 7.

⁴ Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. By the late time of one of these inscriptions he had been completely solarized.

⁵ Pausanias, viii, 38, 7.

⁶ Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, pp. 218 ff., Pls. xv, 2, xvii, 2, xviii, 1. For the date, first century B.C., see p. 226.

⁷ Cook, *Zeus*, II, 57 ff.

⁸ Pausanias, x, 24, 6, cf. my article *Baetyls* appearing shortly in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*

⁹ Cook, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 169 ff.

¹⁰ *Journal*, 20, 142. Cf. also pp. 146, 148, 149.

(𓂏𓂏𓂏)'.¹ Fig. 9² shows a graphic representation of such a pillar of air. A pole called the *wh* was quite well known in Egypt, but what has not yet been appreciated is that it was a sky-pole. It was worshipped at Cusae, where the local goddess, Hathor, was called

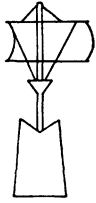


FIG. 9.

by the Greeks Aphrodite Urania,³ the name of the meteorite goddess at Aphaca near Byblos in Syria.⁴ The *wh* is at least as old as the Old Kingdom, when pictures show it to be a papyriform pillar crowned with the stiff feathers of Min and other sky-gods (Fig. 10).⁵ In the Middle Kingdom it also has Min's flagellum attached,⁶ and a triple form shows two of the pillars surmounted by feather-wearing falcons of Min's class of god.⁷ The *wh* thus proclaims itself a sky-pole by some of the signs we have already met in Min. It is probably significant that there was also a pillar at another nome of Hathor-Aphrodite, *Wꜥdyt*, the tenth of Upper Egypt.⁸

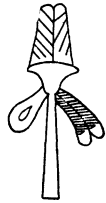


FIG. 10.

Another significant thing is that this brings us back once more to Min, for the tenth nome has associated itself with him in more ways than one, especially with several of his features as a celestial god, see pp. 156, 163. That the *wh* was indeed a great sky-pole is now seen to be clearly stated in the late Nineteenth Dynasty passage 'Thou great *wh* which beginnest in Heaven [and reachest to] the Underworld'.⁹ Moreover, it seems to be identified here with one of the forms of Ptah, and he was one of the gods before whom the ceremony of 'The Uplifting of the Sky' was performed.¹⁰ A similar pillar, *ḫwn*, is mentioned at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when it is said 'Thunder is in the southern sky in (?) the night, storm is in the northern sky. The Pillar is fallen in the water.'¹¹ This clearly means that a thunderstorm shakes it into the abyss. While Egyptologists have long been accustomed to the four supports of heaven, a single one such as these has hitherto escaped notice. Yet analogy ekes out the scraps of information already gained about them, and makes it clear that this is what they are. Prof. A. B. Cook likens the Jupiter-pillars of Europe to the sky-pillar, Irminsul, of our Saxon forefathers.¹² It was a huge, wooden, universal post supporting all things,¹³ and seems to have originated in a great tree. Such a world-tree was the Yggdrasil of northern Europe. This had its roots in the lower regions and supported not only the earth but also the sky above.¹⁴ Evans has recently shown

¹ Daressy in *Rec. de trav.*, 27, 87, l. 51; cf. p. 192, l. 1.

² Drawn from Mariette, *Dendérah*, iv, Pl. 23, fig. b.

³ Blackman, *Meir*, I, 2. Unless a miniature one was so used it was not the sceptre of the goddess as supposed on p. 3. Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 16, has also realized that it was a pillar, but not that it was a sky-pole. The *wh* was personified by a bull (*O.L.Z.*, 1932, cols. 521 ff.).

⁴ Sozomen, *Eccles. Hist.*, II, ch. v (publ. in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 1859, vol. LXVII, col. 948). See also Wainwright in *Z.Ä.S.*, 71, 43.

⁵ Blackman, *op. cit.*, I, 3. For these feathers as representing the air, see *Journal*, 17, 194, 195; 20, 144, 145. Fig. 10 is drawn from Blackman, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. xviii, 2.

⁶ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, I, 4.

⁷ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, I, 3, fig. 1. Is the shrine on the central one comparable to that among the other objects on the Ptolemaic pole of the Min ceremony, Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, Pl. xxiii?

⁸ See p. 163 *supra*. The nome had been hers at least since the Nineteenth Dynasty, Gauthier in *Rec. de trav.*, 35, 23.

⁹ Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, p. 72, ll. 1-4, and his commentary pp. 75, 76 (publ. in *Det kgl. danske Vidensk. Selskab. Hist.-fil. Medd.*, 1927, xiv, 2).

¹⁰ Chabas, *Le calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes*, 75; Brugsch, *Matériaux . . . du calendrier*, Pl. xii, l. 10; *id.*, *Drei Fest-Kalender*, Pl. ii, l. 13; cf. also *Journal*, 20, 142.

¹¹ Wreszinski, *Der Papyrus Ebers*, I, p. 102, no. 360.

¹² Cook, *Zeus*, II, 50 ff.

¹³ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 2: 'Irminsul . . . universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia'.

¹⁴ Stallybrass, *op. cit.*, 796 ff.

that this idea came nearer to Egypt both in time and place, for it recurs in the Peloponnesus in the sixteenth century B.C.¹ To this we may add Homer's description of Mount 'Atlas, who knows the depths of every sea, and himself possesses the tall pillars which keep earth and sky asunder'.² The great *wāh* which began in heaven and reached to the Underworld was clearly another Atlas, Yggdrasil, or still more accurately Irminsūl, a great pole which bound the whole universe together. The pillar, *iwn*, was much the same, though it only seems to have held up the heavens.

If its foundations were loosened it was liable to fall down. It is evident that if such a pillar fell, the sky would fall too, for there would be nothing to hold it up. As a matter of fact such a catastrophe was to be feared in Egypt, for in the early Middle Kingdom a condition is stated in which 'Nut (the sky-goddess) will fall to the ground',³ and later on, in the Twentieth Dynasty, Neith similarly threatens that 'the heaven shall crash to the ground'.⁴ This anxiety was not confined to Egypt, but has been widespread. In 335 B.C. the Celts told Alexander the Great that the only thing they feared was that some day the sky might fall upon them.⁵ In 179 B.C. a tremendous thunderstorm accompanied by hail and rain broke over another Danubian army, which fled, saying 'that the sky was falling upon them'.⁶ The possibility of this calamity still caused concern to the Irish of the early Middle Ages, whose oath began, 'If the sky do not fall with its rain of stars upon the face of the earth where we are camped',⁷ and its memory still lingers among us to-day in the nursery story of Henny Penny who went to tell the king that the sky was falling. The danger also appears in the Arabian Nights: the Unbelieving Ginn describing his overthrow by the Believing Ginn says 'he cast at me a shooting star of fire (*shihāb min nār*) . . . and he cried out at me so terrible a cry that meseemed the skies were fallen flat upon me, and the mountains trembled at his voice'.⁸ The Irish oath goes on to envisage an earthquake and the overwhelming of the land by the sea. The story of the Danubian army, that of the Arabian Nights, and the terms of the Irish oath, provide the details for a general understanding of the fear. It was due to the physical shaking, noise, and downpouring of the skies: to a thunderstorm with hail and rain, a rain of stars, or, mythologically expressed, a battle with shooting stars.

It is established that great showers of meteorites have at times accompanied earthquakes, and that there is an approximate coincidence between earthquakes and the thirty-three year period of meteoric showers.⁹ Moreover, flashes of light in the sky have often been reported at the time of an earthquake.¹⁰ Yet again, a very violent thunderstorm does shake the ground under the observer,¹¹ and earthquakes do sometimes swamp the land with the sea.¹² In Egypt these conditions are indicated several times, excepting the onrush of the sea. In the Pyramid Texts there is the famous passage, 'The sky rains; the stars darken(?); the Bows rush about; the bones of the Earth-gods tremble'.¹³ Another similar one comes in § 1150: 'The sky rejoiceth loudly at him; the earth trembleth at him; the hail is dispersed

¹ Evans in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 45, 51, 73, or less fully in his *Palace of Minos*, III, 145 ff.

² *Odyssey*, I, ll. 52-4.

³ Lacau in Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1906-7, p. 32.

⁴ Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. 1, p. 15, 3, l. 3.

⁵ Arrian, *Anabasis*, I, iv, 8; Strabo, C. 302.

⁶ Livy, XL, 58.

⁷ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe* (1894), II, p. 316, n. 2.

⁸ Burton, *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (Benares, 1885), VI, 100 = Macnaghten, *The Alif Laila* (Calcutta, 1839), III, 97.

⁹ J. Milne, *Earthquakes and Other Earth Movements* (1913), 262, 263.

¹⁰ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 267.

¹¹ A famous case is that reported by Herodotus, VIII, 37, where at Delphi two rocks were opportunely shaken down by a thunderstorm on to the invaders.

¹² See for instance Milne, *op. cit.*, 165-77. The series of waves following the famous earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 were thirty to sixty feet high.

¹³ *Pyrr.*, § 393, and see Faulkner in *Journal*, 10, 97 ff.

for him; he roareth like Seth'.¹ In the early Eighteenth Dynasty it was the thunderstorm which would shake down the *iw*n-pillar (p. 168).

Thus, a pillar or pole is a very common adjunct to a sky-god, whether in Egypt or abroad, and Min's possession of one is yet more evidence of this side of his nature. It is suitable to a god 'who standeth upon his mountains (*htyw*)' and 'who cometh upon the mountains', for the mountains also have been thought to support the sky. In Egypt Mount Bakhau was said to have done this at least as early as the Middle Kingdom,² and in Greece it was said of Mount Atlas, as has just been seen.

In the companion article Min has already been shown to have been a thunderbolt-god, that is to say, a sky-god. In the present one much more has been adduced in the same vein. It is common for the weather and fertility to coalesce in one god, and Min was only an early and good example of this. The secret of the identification of Min with Perseus lies in the fact that they were both thunderbolt- and sky-gods. Bulls regularly belonged to the sky-gods all over the Near East, hence, as Min shows many signs of being one also, it was suitable that he should have the 'White Bull'. While Min himself could be called 'the King upon the rain-clouds', his Bull was said to be 'opening the rain-clouds, the wind on the river'. Min was worshipped by 'Bellowers', and bellowings again are a commonplace with sky-gods, whether in Egypt or abroad. There was a certain violence in the character both of Min and his Bull, and this is usual among sky-gods. The mountains are the special territory of Min and his Bull as of other sky-gods; they often serve to hold up the sky. Like the Bull of the Sky, Min's Bull was intimately related to a pole, and the pole or pillar was of the very essence of Min's worship. It is highly probable that this was a sky-pole, for such are found in Egypt—where they represent the air—as elsewhere. They often occur with sky- and meteorite-gods, such as Zeus, Apollo, Elagabalus, Aphrodite Urania, and Nut, or they may be found with mountains such as Mount Atlas. These things we know to be original in Min's worship, many, in fact, prehistoric. They have to be searched for with the help of archaeology and comparative religion, for they scarcely find expression in the literature. The reason probably is that during the historic period they were eclipsed by the fertility side of Min's nature. No doubt with him, as with other gods of his class, this tended to come more and more into prominence. Solarization was the other fate which befell old sky-gods, but Min escaped that, though it overtook his derivative, Amūn.

¹ The trembling, speaking, quaking, weeping, and burning of the sky are accompanied by the trembling of the earth, but without further indication as to the cause, *Pyr.*, §§ 143, 549, 924, 1110, 1365, 2063, 2109. In § 1120 they speak and tremble when the Pharaoh ascends to the sky. It was this which caused the thunderstorms just mentioned.

² Sethe in *Z.Ä.S.*, 59, Pl. 44*, l. 8a, and p. 74. See also *Journal*, 18, 165.

NOTES ON SOME FUNERARY AMULETS

BY ALAN W. SHORTER

THE following paper is an expansion of some notes collected by myself in 1930 when working through the British Museum collection of Egyptian amulets. Some of the ideas contained in it appeared as bare suggestions in a short paper¹ contributed by me to the *Semaine égyptologique* held at Brussels in 1930, but were then worked out no further. The intention of the present paper is to review briefly the evidence available for ascertaining the real purpose underlying the use of certain amulets, which purpose hitherto has not been fully understood, or about which some confusion appears to exist. I have to thank the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities for permission to publish the texts inscribed on some of the Museum specimens.

POSITION OF AMULETS ON THE MUMMY

The only conspectus published is that of Petrie in his *Amulets* (pp. 51, 52, and Pls. 1 ff.), but this does not go back earlier than the Twenty-first Dynasty. For positions in the Saite period further evidence will be found in Barsanti and Maspero, *Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas* in *Ann. Serv.*, 1, 162, 263 ff., 267 ff., 269 ff., and Barsanti in *Ann. Serv.*, 2 (1901), 102 ff., while for the Eighteenth Dynasty we now have the mummy of Tutankhamūn, with its wealth of splendid amulets found undisturbed, recorded by Carter in his second volume on the tomb. The positions of the amulets upon the body of Tutankhamūn agree in general with those recorded from later periods, and an examination of the evidence from the sources quoted above shows clearly that a definite canon of arrangement (admitting some variations) was observed in the placing of amulets upon the mummy from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Thirtieth, confusion only appearing in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, when they were scattered at random on the body.

THE HEART-SCARAB

This amulet, in the form of a large scarab, usually of a hard green stone,² was in use from the late Middle Kingdom until Roman times, and was apparently enclosed within the bandages of the mummy over the heart.³ The base of the scarab is very often inscribed with the text of Spell 30 B (occasionally 30 A) of the Book of the Dead, the main object of which was to prevent the heart from giving evidence against the deceased in the Judgement before Osiris. The purpose of this text in its relation to the heart is therefore clear; what, however, is by no means so clearly stated in standard Egyptological text-books is the


¹ Printed in the *Chronique d'Égypte*, July 1931. It is a grateful pleasure for the writer to recall that, since he himself was unable to be present at the *Semaine*, his paper was read for him, with characteristic kindness, by the late Dr. H. R. Hall.

² Generally termed 'green basalt'.

³ So the rubric of Spell 64 of the Book of the Dead seems to prescribe; archaeological evidence, however, is meagre. It certainly did not 'replace' the heart (supposed to have been removed) as many of the older books on Egyptian archaeology wrongly state. The heart was regularly left in the body, attached to its large vessels. See Elliot Smith and Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, 146. The heart-scarab was sometimes suspended from the neck by a wire (Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, II, 83, 121); Budge, *The Mummy*, 2nd ed., 293), and also often mounted in a rectangular pectoral.

significance of the heart-scarab itself. Why exactly was the scarab-form chosen as the vehicle of this powerful spell?

Dr. Gardiner, in *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (p. 112), states that the spells of the Book of the Dead assigned to the amulets of the Dad, the Girdle-tie and the Heart-scarab, 'show clearly enough that these [amulets] were originally designed to replace or stimulate the functions of the dead man's back, his blood and his heart respectively'.

That this idea of stimulating the dead organ again to life underlay the use of the heart-scarab appears very likely indeed, if we consider the general significance of the scarab as the symbol of self-created life and resurrection,¹ but there certainly existed another idea side by side with this, which must have possessed equal importance for the Egyptian mind. The key to this idea is to be found in the words of the invocation of the heart in Spell 30 B: , which is rendered by Dr. Gardiner, *O my breast of my upgrowing*,² and, in a later publication, *O my heart of my different ages* (lit. *my forms*)!³




Now Samuel Birch, in an important essay *On Formulas relating to the Heart*, which was published in serial form during the years 1866 to 1870,⁴ took the view that the word *hprw* was to be rendered 'transformations', the reference being to the various forms into which the deceased believed he would be able to change himself, such as a falcon of gold, a lotus, a *bnw*-bird, etc., described in Spells 76–88 of the Book of the Dead.⁵ The *hpr*-sign, i.e. the scarab, therefore, as the verb 'to transform oneself', 'become', was naturally chosen, so Birch contended, for the amulet which was to bear the heart-spell, and I would like to draw the attention of students to this theory of the heart-scarab, and to urge its adoption. In view of the insistence throughout the Book of the Dead upon the deceased's power to accomplish transformations, this translation of the word *hprw* would appear to be the correct one,⁶ and the expression 'heart of my transformations' can then only mean 'heart which wills or desires my transformations', an interpretation which is fully supported by passages in Egyptian literature dealing with the heart and its functions. I need here only refer to the famous Memphite dramatic text which describes the creation of the Sun-god Atūm first as a thought occurring in the heart of Ptah and then as a word finding utterance upon his tongue.⁷ From the heart (=mind) proceeded all the actions of the will which resulted in the accomplishment of a deed. In the deceased's heart would occur first the desire to make a certain transformation, and then the action of the will to accomplish it. Thus the rubric of Spell 20 states that knowledge of the spell will enable the deceased to *make all transformations* (*hprw*) *according to the dictates of his heart* (*r didi ib.f*),⁸ and similarly the rubric of Spell 64 (short version) claims that he will be able to *make transformations* (*hprw*) *into whatever his heart desires* (*m ntt ib.f*).⁹ Thus, in Spell 30 B, after saluting his heart as the organ which he received together with his whole body from his mother at birth, he goes on to address it as the source of the motive power to accomplish the god-like changes of form which he desires in the life after death.¹⁰

¹ See Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum*, I, xviii; Budge, *The Mummy*, 2nd ed., 278.

² Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 113.

³ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 269.

⁴ *Z.Ä.S.*, 4 (1866), 89 to 8 (1870), 73.











⁵ Birch, however, seems to have been misled by variants of  or  for  in the expression *ib-i n hprw-i* to conclude that, even in the original form of the text, the deceased was expressing a wish *not* to 'undergo any transmigrations in the future state, beyond those necessary to his passage through the Hades'.


⁶ This is apparently realized by Piankoff, *Le Cœur dans les textes égyptiens*, 81, 82.

⁷ Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*, 50.

⁸ Budge, *Book of the Dead* (Text, 1910), I, 118.

⁹ Budge, *op. cit.*, 199.


¹⁰ See the important variants given by Birch, *op. cit.*, 8 (1870), 46,           *my heart whereby I accomplish* (or *one accomplishes*) *transformation*, and *hsty t n hprw* 'heart rich in transformations'.

Now the hieroglyph of the word 'to become', 'to come into existence', and also 'to be transformed', is the scarab-beetle , the symbol of the Sun-god as generative power, the creature which appeared to come into existence out of nothing even as the Sun-god himself came into being of himself alone (*hypr ds.f*). It follows, therefore, that in the case of an amulet intended to protect the most important organ of the human body, the organ which was believed to be the source of all the creative action of man, the scarab-beetle would be the obvious and natural form for it to take. It only remains to add that the figures often engraved upon the heart-scarab, of Osiris between Isis and Nephthys, or of the *bnw*-bird of Rē, would seem to indicate the usual practice of identifying each part of the human body with the corresponding part of a god. Thus the deceased's heart would be thought of as the 'still heart' of Osiris, which was quickened again to life, or as the heart of Rē,¹ the author of the Universe, the heart from which the supreme creative impulse came forth.

We may now summarize the ideas underlying the use of the heart-scarab as follows, without insisting that any one is older than the others:

1. The scarab-beetle as symbol of the generative Sun-god, the principle of life out of nothing. Intended to stimulate the dead heart once more to life.
2. The scarab-beetle as the symbol of 'transformation', and the hieroglyph with which that word was written. Intended to assist the dead person's 'heart of his transformations' to accomplish the magical changes described in Spells 76–88.
3. Intended by virtue of Chapter 30 B, inscribed upon it, to prevent the heart from weighing too heavy in the scales of Truth, and thus causing the deceased to be condemned by Osiris.

THE TWO FINGERS

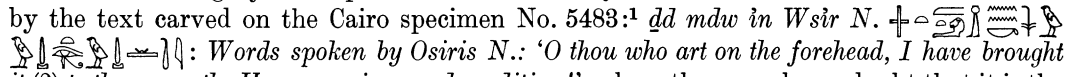

For some time past this amulet has been explained as the two fingers of Horus which the latter extended to his father Osiris, in order to assist him to mount to the top of the heavenly ladder.² There seems to be, however, no evidence for such an interpretation of the amulet, and the theory would appear to rest solely upon such a statement as § 980 in the *Pyramid Texts* where, at the end of the well-known passage about the ladder (*mꜣkt*), it is said of the deceased king:  *N. springs up to the sky, to the two fingers of the god, the lord of the ladder.* But the expression *r dbꜣwy* is used in the *Pyramid Texts* with the meaning simply of 'to the presence of', 'to the side of',³ and this is quite likely its meaning here. Moreover, even if the literal meaning were intended in this passage, which is possible in view of the immediately preceding statement that every spirit 'opens his hand' to the king, the significance would rather be 'hand', two fingers standing for *all* the fingers.⁴ Lastly, apart from all this, the connexion of the funerary amulet with this passage is purely arbitrary, and is supported by no other indications.

¹ Brit. Mus. 7878 actually has the *bnw*-bird and the words *ib n Rꜥ ntry*, 'the heart of Rē the divine' (Budge, *Mummy*, 2nd ed., 295). The *bnw* also appears frequently upon the heart-amulet which, like the heart-scarab, is employed as a vehicle of Spell 30 B. The *bnw* is further connected with Spell 29c, which relates to the carnelian heart-amulet. In this text the deceased exclaims: *I am the bnw, the soul of Rē, who guides the gods to the Underworld (Dꜣt)*, thus suggesting that the *bnw* acts as a kind of *ψυχοσωμπός*, who will enable the deceased's soul, with which his heart is closely bound up, to reach the next world in safety, and will also enable it to 'come forth upon earth', as the text goes on to say. See also Birch in *Z.Ä.S.*, 5 (1867), 16.

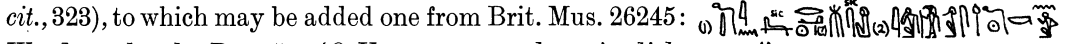
² *E.g.*, Budge, *op. cit.*, 325.

³ *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, v, 563, and see *Pyr. Texts*, §§ 465, 2180.

⁴ *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, v, 563; and *Pyr. Texts*, § 1208. Two fingers would, in any case, be of little assistance to a person climbing a ladder. Moreover, the preposition *ir* could not signify 'by means of', as understood by Budge (*ibid.*).

in reminiscence of the protection afforded by Rēc to Isis and Horus when they were living in the papyrus swamps, when Thōth was sent to bring the infant Horus back to life after he had been stung by a scorpion. The view that *šht* here refers to the *uraeus* is confirmed by the text carved on the Cairo specimen No. 5483:¹ : *Words spoken by Osiris N.*: 'O thou who art on the forehead, I have brought it (?) to thee, even the Horus-eye in sound condition!', where there can be no doubt that it is the *uraeus* which is referred to. A variant of this text, omitting reference to the *uraeus*, appears on another example, Cairo 5846:¹ : *I have brought to thee the sound eye of Horus which is in Abydos, I have brought it to thee!*

Now the facts, that a text invoking the Sun-god's aid through his *uraeus* occurs on the name-bead as well as on the serpent-head amulet, and that the ritual position of both amulets is usually upon the throat,² suggest that the name-bead also was intended, at all events sometimes, as a protection against the serpents of the Underworld. The throat was, no doubt, thought of as a part very liable to be bitten, especially when the body lay extended inert in the tomb.

Other texts from snake-head amulets, of a fragmentary nature, are quoted by Budge (*op. cit.*, 323), to which may be added one from Brit. Mus. 26245: : *Words spoken by Rašmōse*: 'O Horus, mayest thou give light to me!'

THE GOLDEN FALCON-HEAD COLLAR

Spell 158 of the Book of the Dead, devoted to the miniature collar with two falcon-heads, does not appear till the 'Saite Recension'. This little amulet of late times is the descendant of the full-size falcon-collar depicted in the Middle-Kingdom coffin paintings, which, like the vulture and Horus collars, etc., became for funerary purposes a dummy collar in sheet-gold, as on the mummy of Tutankhamūn. This splendid ornament has shrunk to the size of a small amulet, usually made of sheet-gold in Saite times and inscribed with Spell 158³ (as directed in the rubric), and of gilded wood⁴ or wax in the Graeco-Roman period.

The text⁵ of Spell 158 may be rendered as follows:

Spell for a collar of gold to be placed on the neck of the deceased. Recitation by Osiris N.: 'O my father! O my brother! O my mother Isis!⁶ Unswathe me! Behold me! I am one of the unswathed ones who see Gēb!'

The magical function of this amulet from the Saite period onwards is thus shown clearly by this chapter to have been the freeing of the dead person by Osiris, Isis, and Horus from his mummy-wrappings so that he may live once more.

THE FLYING VULTURE

This is the Saite descendant of the Vulture collar of earlier times, depicted in the coffin paintings of the Middle Kingdom, its history resembling that of the falcon-head collar (see above) and the Horus-collar. But whereas the vulture collar and the amulet of the Note, however, that in the former chapter the deceased identifies himself with the *uraeus* (𓇺rt), as also with the lynx (*mfdt*), the sworn enemy of Apophis and other evil snakes. Hall considered that the serpent-head amulet was originally a phallus, the form of a serpent being a later development.

¹ Reisner, *op. cit.*

² Petrie, *Amulets*, 21, 26; Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, II, 117.

³ *E.g.*, Maspero in *Ann. Serv.*, 3 (1902), Pl. ii, 1, 2.

⁴ *E.g.*, Brit. Mus. 2236.

⁵ Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1910), II, 19.

⁶ It is worth while to mention that in the version of this spell preserved in a Ptolemaic Book of the Dead in the British Museum (No. 10558) the 'mother' invoked is not Isis, but the goddess Menhyt.

standing vulture were certainly intended to represent the goddess Nekhebet (corresponding to the collar and amulet of the *uraeus*-goddess Uto), the text of Spell 157 of the Book of the Dead, which does not appear till the late period, shows that the little Saite amulet portrays Isis in vulture-form. The text¹ may be tentatively rendered as follows:

Isis has come, she has traversed the city, she has sought out the secret places of Horus when he came forth from his swamps , he has obtained protection, and there is decreed to him the sovereignty of the nomes after he has waged a great battle ; he plants the fear of him, he creates the dread of him, his mother, the Great Lady, protects him against those who attack Horus.

Thus the vulture appears to be Isis, who will protect the deceased even as she protected her son Horus. Actual specimens² of this amulet are usually made of sheet-gold in Saite times, and inscribed with this spell, as the rubric thereof directs.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE HEART-SCARAB

Reference should also be made to the passage in the opening section of the autobiography of Ḳhmoose son of Ibana, *ir·n·i hprw·i m dm̄ n Nhb*,³ and to the discussion as to its exact meaning by Schäfer.⁴ The meaning of the word *hprw* in this passage, however, still remains most uncertain, and its bearing upon the expression in Spell 30 B is therefore hypothetical. On the other hand, I think that the evidence adduced above will show that the interpretation of the word *hprw* in Spell 30 B as 'transformations' was in the mind of the users of the heart-scarab.

¹ Budge, *op. cit.*, 18.

² Maspero, *op. cit.*, Pl. i, 5, 6.

³ Sethe, *Urk.*, iv, 2.

⁴ *Z.Ä.S.*, 52, 102. See, however, B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, *Journal*, 5, 49.

pr *in-s* to be regarded as an example of the relative form without confirmation from more reliable sources, and this is at present lacking.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the occurrences of 𓂏𓏏 'to say' noted by Sethe in his above-mentioned article by no means exhaust the instances of this verb, and its existence may be regarded as demonstrated beyond any doubt, for it is found in the infinitive, in the old perfective, and in two forms of the suffix-conjugation, without mentioning the much more questionable imperative and relative form, and in texts varying in date from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. Before considering the developments to which this will lead us, it will be of some interest to note that (1) the *sdm-n-f* forms 𓂏𓏏 and 𓂏𓏏 , the *sdm-f* form 𓂏𓏏 and the infinitive 𓂏𓏏 suggest that the verb is to be classed as *ultimae infirmae* and should be read in full as *iw > ii*; (2) the Pyr. examples with one exception (the P.-version of § 914*b*) use the perfective forms *sdm-n-f* or old perfective, although the time is relatively present, because the act of speech is complete and finished for ever at the very moment of utterance,¹ while the P.-version of § 914*b*, with its *sdm-f* form, shows the beginning of the use of *sdm-f* for present time in general which has led in Middle Egyptian to *sdm-n-f* being mainly confined to past narrative; (3) the verb may be used to introduce a speech,² may follow a speech,³ or may be interpolated at the end of each sentence thereof,⁴ the independent use being in every case open to question;⁵ (4) 'to say to' some one is *i r* (lit. perhaps 'to O! toward').⁶ This point is of significance in connexion with the question of the origin of the construction 𓂏𓏏 'so say the gods', which is likewise followed by *r* 'to' some one instead of the more usual *n*, see below, p. 180, n. 4. It should be noted, however, that *i X r-f* may mean not only 'says X to him', but also 'says X concerning him';⁷ it is usually clear from the context which is meant.

The recognition of this verb *i* 'to say' raises questions as to the origin of certain well-known constructions used after a quoted speech to indicate the speaker, namely those of the type 𓂏𓏏 and 𓂏𓏏 'so say the gods', frequent in both Old and Middle Egyptian, and of the Late Egyptian 𓂏𓏏 and 𓂏𓏏 'so said he'. The Berlin Dictionary (*Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, I, 89) in 1926 apparently considered these idioms to be usages of a verb *in*; Gardiner (*Eg. Gramm.*, § 436) in 1927 thought that 𓂏𓏏 and the like were but shortenings of *dd-in ntrw*, etc., analogous to the well-known ellipse of the infinitive *dd* after the preposition *hr*; Sethe, in the article quoted at the beginning of this paper, published in 1929, stated that the constructions in question were *sdm-n-f* forms of the verb 𓂏𓏏 but did not go further into the matter, contenting himself with the assertion, and his view has not been universally accepted, for Erman (*Neuäg. Gramm.*, 2nd ed., § 714) in 1933 still believed 𓂏𓏏 and 𓂏𓏏 to be descended from *dd-in-f*.

Turning first of all to the older construction 𓂏𓏏 and its variations, there emerges at the outset a reason for doubting the derivation from *dd-in-f*. An examination of the Pyramid

¹ Compare the use of *sdm-n-f* in 𓂏𓏏 *di-n<i>n-k* 'I give to thee' and similar sentences in ritual texts and scenes where likewise the act is completed simultaneously with the speech, cf. Gunn, *Syntax*, 69 ff.; Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 414, 5.

² *Lamentations* 2, 1 and *passim*; *Z.Ä.S.*, 59, 47*; *Pyr.*, § 911*b* (P.), following the vocative but introducing the main speech, compare §§ 911*b-c* (N.); 1109*b*, where *i* both introduces and closes the speech.

³ *Pyr.*, § 914*b*; *Z.Ä.S.*, 58, 19*; 64, 2. 3; *Lacau*, IX, 5; cf. *Pyr.*, §§ 911*b-c* (N.); 1109*b*.

⁴ *Pyr.*, §§ 912*a-913b*.

⁵ *Z.Ä.S.*, 57, 98; *Pap. Mayer A*, 4, 4; *d'Orbiney*, 16, 5.

⁶ *Pyr.*, §§ 284*a*; 913*b* (N.); probably also *Lacau*, LXXXIII, 12; an example with *n* instead of *r* in *Coffin L2*, 102 (de Buck).

⁷ *Lacau*, LXXXI, 17. 46; Budge, *Book of the Dead* (1898 ed.), Text, 169, 2, hereinafter cited as *Budge*.

Texts, which despite their comparatively late absolute date, are generally regarded as enshrining the oldest phase of the Egyptian language now preserved, shows that while the construction in question is fairly common therein, the *šdm·in·f* is exceedingly rare, the sole examples being $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$, *Pyr.*, § 1197*d* and $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$, § 1197*e*;¹ the earliest instances of *šdm·in·f* that I have found outside the *Pyr.* are *Urk.*, I, 38, 11; 39, 2. 5 (reign of Sahurêc).² In view of the marked numerical preponderance in the *Pyr.* of the constructions with $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'says' over the *šdm·in·f* form, there seems little doubt that the former has priority of date over the latter, and indeed the question is raised whether the *šdm·in·f* form may not really be derived from the other. I propose to return to this matter later. A further argument against the derivation of $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'says' from the *šdm·in·f* form is that the former, with but two late exceptions, always follows the speech, whereas the latter invariably precedes it.

To substantiate the statement that $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'says' is common in the Pyramid Texts, I have collected the various usages found therein, adding some typical references to Middle Egyptian examples of the same:

(a) $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ + **nominal subject**. "Behold he is come, behold he is come" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says Zehpu; "Behold the son of Rêc is come, behold the son of Rêc is come" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says Zehpu; "I caused him to come, I caused him to come" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says Horus', *Pyr.*, § 1492*a-c*; $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'says Zehpu' in same context, §§ 1493*a, b*; 1494*a, b*; 1495*a, b*, where the last speech has the variants $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'says Seth', § 1493*c*; $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'says Gêb', § 1494*c*; $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'say the Souls of Heliopolis and the Souls of Pe', § 1495*c*.³ For the curious construction $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ 'say men' in the continuation in § 1496*a*, see below under *e*.

"Stand up, O W.!" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says Horus; "Sit down, O W.!" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says Seth', § 473*b*.

"He who should arrive comes" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ say the gods', § 1169*b*; similarly, § 1170*b*.

"Let him come, for he is pure" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ (P) $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says the priest of Rêc concerning P. to (?)⁴ the doorkeeper of the sky', § 1141*a-b*.

"How happy are they who see, how pleased are they who behold!" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says Isis', § 1472*a*; compare §§ 476*a*; 939*a, b*, quoted below under *d*.

"Hail, Lord of greenfields" $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ says Hi',⁵ § 700*a* (N.). The T.-version has $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$; for this writing of *in* see $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$, var. $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$, § 422*c* and $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$, var. $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$, § 426*a* in obscure contexts. In the last instance *in* is perhaps the agential preposition.

$\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ "Welcome!"⁶ says Isis: "In peace!" says Nephthys', § 1292*a*; similarly § 2009*c*. Other examples are § 1525 (first sentence), quoted below under *d*; § 2144*a* (damaged context) and perhaps also § 2212*b* (damaged context). Instances from Middle Egyptian are *Urk.*, v, 203, 10; 204, 3; *Lacau*, LXXIII, 11-12.

¹ It is highly improbable that the $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ of *Pyr.*, § 228*b* is *šdm·in·f*. The context is difficult, but from its position between two *šdm·n·f* sentences it seems likely that it is *šdm·n·f* with the weak final radical indicated.

² The *dd·in·hm·f* of *Urk.*, I, 19, 13 is a restoration and is probably incorrect; elsewhere this inscription uses *šdm·f* where *šdm·in·f* might have been expected.


³ It is curious that the writing $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$, with determinative, is confined to the speeches of Zehpu; nevertheless, it is impossible to discern any distinction in meaning or use between this and the $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ of the other speeches.



⁴ Emend $\overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ *ir iry·c?* Note that in the *Pyr.* 'says to' in this idiom is almost always *in r*, see §§ 627*a*; 930*d*; 931*a*; 1525, all quoted below; an exception is § 2212*b*, which has *n*, but here damage to the context introduces an element of uncertainty. In § 472*a-b*, where *in* is found with *hft*, it is by no means certain that this is the verb 'says' at all. In Middle Egyptian the usage is also *in r*, see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 436, second and third examples.


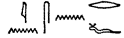

⁵ A personified exclamation?


⁶ See *Wb. d. aeg. Spr.*, II, 306, 2.


In later texts this construction very occasionally *precedes* the speech to which it refers:


The draughtsman Nebseni addresses Osiris: 'I give thee praise, O Lord of the Gods, Unique One who lives on truth!  Thus says thy son Horus, "I have come that I may greet thee"', *Budge*, 452, 7-9. The context makes it clear that *in s-k Hr* refers to what follows only and has nothing to do with the preceding words of the deceased; Nebseni employs this expression to indicate that he is no longer using his own words but is about to quote the words of Horus.¹

 (name and titles)  'There speaks the Greatest of the Seers of the Aten he says'. Davies, *Amarna*, I, 8. There can be no question here of the future construction *in* + noun + *sdm.f*; *in* certainly means 'says', 'speaks', and is resumed at the end of the intervening name and titles by *dd.f*. A somewhat similar usage is found in *Wenamun*, 2, 25-6, see below, p. 185.


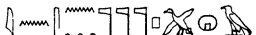
(b)  + suffix (no noun in apposition). The Great Ennead speak "'Carry one who is greater than thou"  say they to him', *Pyr.*, § 627*a*, with var. ; similarly § 627*b*.

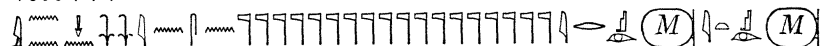




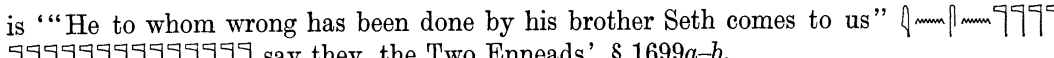
The gods speak: "'Our hearts were not glad until thou camest down"  say they', § 1198*a*.


The Ennead describe the deceased King: "'A falcon when he captures"  say they', § 162*c*.

A unique variant is found in "'Lift thee up"  say they', § 147*b*.²

In these instances the identity of the speakers is sufficiently indicated in the preceding context, so that a suffix is adequate after *in*; it is worthy of remark that all examples of *in* + suffix in both Old and Middle Egyptian are confined to the 3rd plural or dual. Middle Egyptian examples of *in* + suffix without noun in apposition are *Lacau*, xxiii, 15, 17.

(c)  + suffix + noun in apposition thereto. "'We have seen something new"  say they, the primeval gods', *Pyr.*, § 304*b*.

 "Our brother comes to us"³ say they, the Two Enneads, concerning Osiris M., the King (?) Osiris M.', § 1696*c-d*; similarly §§ 1697*b*; 1698 *b, d*, the latter examples having the variant 'concerning thee, O King (?) Osiris M.'. Here  is not at all likely to be the verb 'to say', since in §§ 1683*a*, 1685*b*, 1686*b*, 1696*b*, 1699*c*  is almost certainly the word for 'king'.⁴ If, indeed,  be the verb 'to say' in the passages under discussion, it will be the old perfective 3rd fem. dual, the translation being then 'so say they, O Osiris M.' in a kind of parenthetic aside, but this seems highly improbable. Another similar passage, but with  omitted, is "'He to whom wrong has been done by his brother Seth comes to us"  say they, the Two Enneads', § 1699*a-b*.



 "'Wherewith shall we break his egg?"⁵ say they, the gods', § 1967.

¹ By so doing he doubtless identifies himself with the god, so that in an indirect way they are his own words, though given as a quotation.

² The same writing is used for the agential preposition *in* 'by' in § 151 *a-c*.

³ Read *iy n-n sn-n*.

⁴ In the first two instances 'my father' is also a possible rendering.

⁵ Emending *sd-n*  or  with de Buck. An alternative is to read *ir(y) swht.f* 'that which appertains to his egg' and to translate as 'egg-shell'.

variant $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$; this is decisive against Kees's rendering "'O King", says thy mother Isis'. Other instances from Middle Egyptian are *Lacau*, xvii, 34;¹ lxxii, 30;² *Coffin*, l2, 102.³ The 3rd fem. and masc. sing. are found in exact parallelism in "'Tell my name" $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ says she, namely the mooring-post', *Coffin* B10c, 334, beside $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'says he, namely the mast', *ibid.*,⁴ var. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *Coffin*, B5c, 231. Similarly from Chapter 39 of the Book of the Dead we have masc. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, Naville, *Katseshni*, xxx, 18 and fem. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *ibid.*, 19; $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *ibid.*, 20; more correctly $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *ibid.*, 21.⁵ It is now possible, in the light of the foregoing, to identify the 3rd masc. sing. and plur. of the old perfective in other texts:

3rd masc. sing. "'He celebrates his monthly festival in his hour together with those who are in linen, and he has beheld with his (own) eyes" $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ says he, namely he who is on the great throne, concerning me. End.' *Lacau*, lxxxI, 44-6 (emended according to de Buck's copy).

From the Book of the Dead we have $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'says he, namely he who is high on his *db*, concerning me', *Budge*, 169, 1-2, in parallelism with $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'says he, Ruty, concerning me', *ibid.*, 169, 3, the actual speech preceding in both cases.

3rd masc. plur. "'Here comes the god whom the Red Crown bare" $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ say they, namely those who are in (my?) train, concerning me', *Lacau*, lxxxI, 16-17.

In these last three passages the infinitive + agential *in* and the *šdm·in·f* form are both excluded, since $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ follows the speeches,⁶ whereas these verb-forms would precede them; there remains only the old perfective + *in* 'namely', of which indubitable examples have already been quoted. Other instances, where, however, the difficulty of the contexts introduces an element of doubt, are *Lacau*, xvii, 19; lxxxiii, 7, 12.

(e) **An isolated and obscure construction with 𓂏 'says'** is "'Hail, O Rēc!" $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ say men', *Pyr.*, § 1496a; with 𓂏 instead of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ §§ 1497a; 1498a. This may possibly be analysed into *in* 'says' + participle-subject + noun in apposition, lit. 'say they who speak, (namely) men'.⁷ I am inclined to suspect in this apparently tautologous introduction of the verb *dd* the first stage in the development of the Late-Egyptian idiom $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, lit. 'so said he, speaking', see below, p. 185.

Middle Egyptian does not differ from Old Egyptian in its use of *in* 'says', and references for the various usages have already been given, so that this stage of the language does not

¹ Collated with de Buck's copy.

² Reading $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ with de Buck.

³ I owe this reference to de Buck.

⁴ Middle Kingdom version of Chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead. With other masculine parts of the ship $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ has been replaced in this coffin by simple 𓂏 'says'.

⁵ I owe these references to de Buck, who points out that this source yields a better text of Chapter 39 than that published in *Budge*.

⁶ The first example is absolutely unequivocal on this point, since the passage ends with the punctuation mark 𓂏 .

⁷ De Buck, however, in a letter to me, differs entirely from my interpretation of this passage. He thinks that we have here the interrog. particle + *šdm·f* 'do men say, i.e. think (wrongly) that . . .?' The objection to this is the prothetic 𓂏 in *idd*, which in the *šdm·f* would be unlikely to occur except with a suffix. Since the imperative is out of the question, the probabilities are that *idd* is a participle, in which case the preceding *in* can only be the verb of which it is subject.

call for special treatment, but in Late Egyptian the idiom assumes a fresh aspect. From the link between Middle and Late Egyptian, the Amarna texts, evidence is entirely lacking, apart from the passage from Davies, *Amarna*, I, 8, quoted above, p. 181, for in the hymns based on the formula $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \dots \text{𓂏} \text{X}$, e.g., Davies, *op. cit.*, I, 38; II, 4, 5, 21, *in* is certainly to be understood as the agential 'by', compare the common formula 'Adoration of such-and-such a god *in* by so-and-so', e.g., *Budge*, I, 4; 3, 14; 6, 14.

Late Egyptian uses *in* 'says' in a manner somewhat different from the older stages of the language, inasmuch as a pronominal dative of the person addressed is usually, though not invariably, appended, and *hr dd* 'speaking' is often added as well. Further, while in the older language *in* generally has the nominal subject expressed in one way or another (see *a, c, d, e*, above), and the pronominal subject without further addition (*b* above) is comparatively rare, the reverse holds good of Late Egyptian, the indication of the nominal subject (always with *m* or *n* 'namely', see below) being in the minority. It should also be observed that in Late-Egyptian texts *in* is invariably written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, with determinative. Yet another point of difference between Old and Middle Egyptian on the one hand, and Late Egyptian on the other, is that in the former only the suffixes 3rd plural or dual are found with 𓂏 , whereas in Late Egyptian $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is found with suffixes of all persons, singular and plural, with the exception of the 2nd fem. sing. The various usages of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ which have been noted are as follows:¹

(1) Without following dative.

1st sing. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said I', *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 6, 10 = Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*,² Pl. 29; *ibid.*, 12, 9 = Peet, Pl. 32.

2nd masc. sing. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so sayest thou', Spiegelberg, *Correspondances*, 17 (l. 4); 39 (l. 7), 65 (l. 12).

3rd masc. sing. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said he', Abbott, *rt.*, 5, 18 = Peet, Pl. 3; *ibid.*, 6, 20 = Peet, Pl. 4; *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 6, 20 = Peet, Pl. 29; *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10403*, 1, 9 = Peet, Pl. 36. Note the adverbial adjunct in $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said he in his heart', *d'Orbiney*, 13, 6.

2nd plur. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (*sic*) 'so say ye', Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, 47 (l. 3).³

(2) With following dative.

1st sing. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said I to her', *Horus and Seth*, 7, 9-10. 11; similarly *Wenamün*, 2, 5. 37; *Pap. Mayer B*, 1; *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 13, 6 = Peet, Pl. 33; *Berlin 20377* (*apud* Erman, *op. cit.*, § 714, end).

3rd masc. sing. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said he to me', *Horus and Seth*, 15, 8; similarly *Wenamün*, 1, *x*+22; *Pap. Mayer B*, 5. 9; Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, 33 (l. 7); *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 4, 10 = Peet, Pl. 27.

3rd fem. sing. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said she to me', *Horus and Seth*, 7, 8; similarly *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 1, 10 = Peet, Pl. 25; *ibid.*, 10, 9 = Peet, Pl. 31.

1st plur. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said we to him', *Pap. Mayer B*, 6.

3rd plur. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'so said they to him', *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 10, 7 = Peet, Pl. 31; similarly *ibid.*, 13, 4 = Peet, Pl. 33; *Pap. Bologna II*, 24 (*apud* Erman, *op. cit.*, § 714, end).

¹ The speech precedes in all cases, with the exception of *Wenamün* 2, 25-6.

² Hereinafter cited as *Peet*.

³ Not quite certain, owing to defective context. Reading confirmed by Peet, but *in-in* is doubtless intended.

(3) With following *hr dd* but without dative.

2nd masc. sing. 'so retortest thou' (lit. 'so sayest thou again, speaking'), *Anastasi I*, 18, 4.

(4) With following *hr dd* + dative.

1st (fem.) sing. 'so said I to him', *d'Orbiney*, 5, 3.

3rd masc. sing. 'so said he to her', *ibid.*, 3, 5; similarly 5, 2.

3rd fem. sing. 'so said she to him', *ibid.*, 16, 5; similarly *Blinding of Truth*, 6, 1.

The preposition *hr* is sometimes omitted: 'so said he to him', *d'Orbiney*, 2, 4; similarly *Abbott*, *rt.*, 5, 16 = *Peet*, Pl. 3.

(5) Indication of the speaker by *m* or *n* 'namely'.

(a) With *m* but without *hr dd*:

'so said he to her, namely the Vizier', *Mes*, N 15.

'so said he to them, namely this prince of No', *Abbott*, *rt.*, 6, 14 = *Peet*, Pl. 3.

(b) With *m+(hr) dd*:

'so said he, namely the son of Pnüfer this workman, to the herdsman Ihumeh', *Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052*, 8, 10-11 = *Peet*, Pl. 30.

(c) With *n*:

It will not be out of place here to make a suggestion as to the origin of this *m* or *n* 'namely'. The older view was that this word was but a late phonetic writing of the preposition ,² but Gardiner, when discussing the matter verbally some while ago, was disposed to regard it as a usage of the *m* of equivalence, an opinion which has the greater apparent probability. In view, however, of the early constructions of the type 'say they, namely the gods' discussed previously in this paper, it seems likely that Erman's view is, after all, the correct one, and that the Late Egyptian *m* or *n* 'namely' is but a disguised form of the agential *in*. Nevertheless, it is possible that there has been some coalescence with the *m* of equivalence, for it is noticeable that the writing for 'namely' is apparently unknown to Late Egyptian in this formula.

A curious aspect of the Late-Egyptian usages of *in* 'says', 'said' is the tendency to append a tautologous (*hr*) *dd*, the full expression reading literally 'so said he, speaking'.

¹ 'Me' refers to Wenamün himself, who in quoting the words of Amen-Rêc has confused his pronouns; what the god would really have said would have been 'Send him'.

² Most recently, Erman, *op. cit.*, § 702.

It has been seen that as far back as the Pyr. we find *in* and *ḏḏ* in association in the passages *Pyr.*, §§ 1496–8, where the participle (*i*)*ḏḏ* seems quite unnecessary to the sense, although in Davies, *op. cit.*, I, 8 *ḏḏ* has a definite function to fulfil; compare also the association of 𓂏 and *ḏḏ* in *Z.Ä.S.*, 59, 47*; *Lamentations*, 2, 1 and *passim*, see above, p. 177. It is possible that a feeling may have arisen that it was desirable to reinforce *in* ‘said’ by the better-known and less ambiguous *ḏḏ*, so that (*hr*) *ḏḏ* came to be appended to *in·f*, etc., even when the context did not require it.

Having now examined the constructions of the type *in ntrw* ‘so say the gods’ and their later descendant *in·f (hr ḏḏ)* ‘so said he’ in some detail, we turn to the question of the origin of these idioms. Of the three views which have been held in regard to this matter (see above, pp. 179–80), we have already seen reasons for rejecting that which would see in them but shortenings of *ḏḏ·in·f*. Of the remaining alternatives, that which would consider these idioms as usages of a verb *in* and that which would derive them from 𓂏 , the probabilities are altogether in favour of the last, for the following reasons:

(1) No verb of speaking *in* is otherwise known, and it seems unnecessary to postulate such a verb when a derivation lies ready to hand in 𓂏 .

(2) Both 𓂏 and 𓂏 in the older language are constructed with *r* and the person addressed.¹

(3) 𓂏 and the old perfective of 𓂏 are exactly parallel in use in $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ‘say they, namely the gods’, beside $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{X}$ ‘says she, namely X’, with the var. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, and its masculine counterpart $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, var. $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$.

(4) The *ḏḏ·n·f* forms $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ² and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ³ as well as the *ḏḏ·f* forms $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ⁴, 𓂏 ⁵ and 𓂏 ⁶, follow the speech exactly as does 𓂏 and perform the same function.

(5) The Late-Egyptian writing $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ with the *n* following the determinative suggests the *ḏḏ·n·f* form of 𓂏 .

In view of these considerations it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that *in* ‘says’, ‘said’ in the construction $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and the associated idioms and in $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (𓂏) is indeed derived from 𓂏 ‘to say’ and that in fact it is simply the *ḏḏ·n·f* form of that verb specialized for use after a quoted speech, the choice of this particular verb-form being due to the considerations put forward on p. 179 under (2). The only thing which might be urged against this view is the writing 𓂏 of *Pyr.*, §§ 1492–5, but an isolated variant of this nature cannot weigh against the evidence in its favour adduced above, and indeed the position of the determinative after the *n* may be due to purely graphic considerations, though it is not clear why in this case alone, of all the innumerable examples of *in* prior to Late Egyptian, it was found desirable to add a determinative at all.

It is now necessary to discuss the relationship of the *ḏḏ·in·f* form to *i·n* ‘says’. The most generally current view of the origin of the *ḏḏ·in·f* form is that it is derived from a passive participle+agential *in*+suffix or noun-subject, literally ‘heard by him’, but there are certain objections to this theory. In the first place, while *in* ‘by’ is used to indicate the agent when the latter is a noun, the independent pronouns are substituted when it is a pronoun, *in·f* ‘by him’, etc., never occurring; secondly, as Gardiner has pointed out,⁷ while the *ḏḏ·in·f* and *ḏḏ·hr·f* forms might conceivably be developed in this way from the agential prepositions *in* and *hr*, this explanation cannot apply to the closely

¹ For the very rare cases of *n* after 𓂏 , see p. 180, n. 4. In Late Egyptian, however, *n* is regular after *in*, doubtless under the influence of the usage with *ḏḏ*. After 𓂏 *n* is found once only, cf. p. 179, n. 6.

² *Pyr.*, § 914b.

³ *Z.Ä.S.*, 58, 19*; *Lacau*, IX, 5.

⁴ *Pyr.*, § 914b.

⁵ *Z.Ä.S.*, 64, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷ *Eg. Gramm.*, § 427.

related *šdm-kꜣf* form, there being no preposition *kꜣ*. It is possible, therefore, that the *šdm-in-f* and *šdm-hꜣr-f* forms may not have been directly derived from the corresponding prepositions and that it may be necessary to seek their origin in a different direction. Now in 1924 Lexa published an article in *Philologica*, 2, 25 ff., in which he criticized the accepted view with regard to these verb-forms and suggested that, e.g., the *šdm-in-f* consisted of a verb of speaking *in* appended to the original verb-stem, the form thus meaning in origin ‘“hearing”-cries-he’ or the like.¹ On the face of it, this hypothesis appears highly improbable, and it is not supported by the fact that many of the examples of this supposed verb *in* quoted by him are susceptible of very different explanations.² Nevertheless, Gardiner points out in the *Additions and Corrections* to his *Egyptian Grammar*,³ *sub voce* p. 344, § 427; p. 347, § 436, that Lexa’s general contention has recently received unexpected support from the evidence published in an article by A. Waley and C. H. Armbruster, entitled *The verb ‘to say’ as an auxiliary in Africa and China*, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, 7, 573 ff., though he considers the existence of a verb *in* ‘to cry’, to be problematical. From this article it appears that in early Chinese, for example, a passage reading literally ‘the duke says he bestows a goblet’ means simply ‘the duke bestows a goblet’. Similarly, in Nubian, ‘sleep well!’ is literally ‘“good”-saying-sleep’. The reader is referred to the article in question for details, but it is to be remarked that the auxiliary verbs of saying in Nubian, namely *é* and *án*, inevitably call to mind the 𓂏 and 𓂐 discussed in the present paper. Whether there is any real relationship between the Nubian and the Egyptian words is perhaps doubtful, but the coincidence is at least worthy of note.

Yet another objection to the derivation of *šdm-in-f* from the agential preposition is that while in the Pyr. *šdm-hꜣr-f* does not appear at all and *šdm-in-f* is, as we have seen, very rare, *šdm-kꜣf* is not uncommon, and is therefore presumably the oldest of the three forms, probably being the model on which the other two were constructed. But this is just the one form of the three which quite definitely does *not* contain a preposition, which again suggests that neither do the other two. In view of the remarkable facts demonstrated by Waley and Armbruster, there seems to be no radical objection to deriving the *šdm-kꜣf* form from the verb *kꜣ* ‘to devise’, ‘plan’, so that in origin it would mean ‘“hearing”-plans-he’; this hypothesis accords admirably with its known uses of expressing a future consequence or determination or an injunction, ‘he shall hear’.⁴ Turning to the *šdm-in-f* form, we see that Lexa was in all probability right when he derived this verb-form from an auxiliary verb of speaking appended to the verb-stem, giving the primitive sense of ‘“hearing”-says-he’, it having developed along the same lines as those suggested above for the *šdm-kꜣf* form. In my view, however, the auxiliary ‘says’ is not a separate verb *in* otherwise unknown, but the specialized *i-n* discussed above, which in its turn is simply the *šdm-n-f* form of 𓂏 . This theory is supported as against the view of the origin of *šdm-in-f* generally current by the fact that *i-n* ‘says’ does occur with suffixes, whereas *in* ‘by’ does not. A similar explanation may now be applied to the *šdm-hꜣr-f* form. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. xxviii, quotes some passages supplied by de Buck from the Coffin Texts, in which a word 𓂏 , var. 𓂐 ,

¹ Lexa explained the *šdm-hꜣr-f* and *šdm-kꜣf* forms on similar lines, and in fact attained much the same results as set out below, though on scanty evidence.

² Of these examples, that of *Pyr.*, § 583a is but the agential preposition in 𓂏 ‘words spoken by Horus’, similarly § 1c; *Urk.*, iv, 220, 16, while in *Pyr.*, § 1709a; *Urk.*, iv, 245, 13 we have the future construction *in* + noun + *šdm-f*.

³ A. H. Gardiner and M. Gauthier-Laurent, *Supplement to Gardiner’s Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 13–14.

⁴ Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 434.

'says'¹ appears in constructions exactly parallel to those with 𓄏 'says'. It seems clear that we have here the verb which has entered into the development of the $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{hr}\cdot\text{f}$ form, this in its turn having also the basic meaning "'hearing"-says-he'. There is at least nothing in the known uses of $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{in}\cdot\text{f}$ and $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{hr}\cdot\text{f}$ which is inconsistent with the proposed etymologies. It is highly probable, therefore, that the forms $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{kr}\cdot\text{f}$, $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{in}\cdot\text{f}$, and $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{hr}\cdot\text{f}$ came into use in that historical order, and that they have had parallel histories, each arising from the addition of an auxiliary verb to the parent stem, which may have taken the form of either an infinitive or a perfective active participle, more probably perhaps the latter.² It must be admitted that the existence of $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{hr}\cdot\text{f}$ 'thou shalt say',³ also following speech, is a difficulty, since kr in itself does not mean 'to say'. It is possible that we have here a genuine ellipse of dd , but it seems more likely that this construction means literally '(such-and-such words) thou plannest', the nuance of speech being imposed by the context. The fact that this construction is invariably future supports the latter contention, since an action which is in the future relatively to a given moment of time can at that given moment only be intended or planned, since it has not yet been performed. If this explanation be true, then kr in the sense of 'shall say' falls neatly into line with in and hr 'says'.

Nothing that has been said above, however, can apply to the $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{n}\cdot\text{f}$ form. There seems to be no doubt that this has indeed been formed by the addition of a dative preposition to the perfective passive participle. The regular use of the $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{n}\cdot\text{f}$ and its extended form $\text{iw}\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{n}\cdot\text{f}$ as the equivalents of a perfect tense is sufficient evidence of this, when it is recalled that in Egyptian the preposition n can express possession, so that we get the equations "'heard"-is-to-him' = "'heard"-is-his' = 'he-has-"heard"'

Finally, it may perhaps be permitted to speculate upon the origin of the preposition and particle in . In his article *Two employments of the independent pronouns in Journal*, 20, 13 ff., Gardiner has demonstrated afresh that the in of the 'participial statement' and the future construction $\text{in} + \text{noun} + \text{𓄏}\cdot\text{f}$ on the one hand and the agential in 'by' on the other, are really identical, since both are replaced by the independent pronouns when the semantic subject is pronominal. He further points out that a similar phenomenon is found in Old Egyptian in the non-verbal sentence with nominal predicate, in sometimes preceding the noun-subject,⁴ whereas the independent pronouns are regular when the subject is pronominal, this almost defunct usage of in being the base of the constructions with $\text{in} + \text{participle}$ or $\text{𓄏}\cdot\text{f}$. In the case of the sentence with nominal predicate Gardiner agrees with Sethe in supposing that in is a mere particle of asseveration, a comment which must therefore ultimately hold good of the more developed uses of this word. But asseveration that some one has said something is just the function of in 'says'. Is there not a possibility that in the particle and preposition may be a derivative of in 'says' and that they have therefore

¹ Clearly connected with hrw 'voice', but probably not identical therewith as Gardiner suggests. This 𓄏 'says' is much more likely to be verbal, for the reason that not only does its context demand a verb rather than a noun—compare the undoubtedly verbal 𓄏 studied here—but it also lacks the nominal ending w in the instances quoted by Gardiner, though the noun nearly always shows it. I see no reason why hr(w)fy may not also be verbal; the derivation from 'he says' is just as likely, in view of the above, as from 'his voice', and the w is absent here also. In neither case does any explanation of the ending y in fy offer itself. It seems quite clear that this 𓄏 and the 𓄏 of Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 436 are as identical in origin as they are in use.

² The objection to the infinitive is that with weak verbs with fem. infinitives one would expect to find forms like $\text{*𓄏}\cdot\text{hr}\cdot\text{f}$ and with geminating verbs forms like $\text{*𓄏}\cdot\text{hr}\cdot\text{f}$, which in fact do not occur.

³ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 436.

⁴ Gardiner quotes *Pyr.*, § 1370a as a case in point.

a common ancestor in ʾ𓂏 'to say'?¹ It is true that the two are quite separate and distinct words in the earliest surviving texts, so that the differentiation must have taken place at a very early date, but that in itself is not a valid objection.² If this suggestion contain a grain of truth, it follows that the independent pronouns of the *ntf* paradigm must also be remotely related to ʾ𓂏, since both their known uses and the early writings ʾ𓂏𓂏𓂏,³ ʾ𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏,⁴ prove that they contain the particle-preposition *in*. Further than that it is not possible to go, since the *t*-element in these words has so far eluded satisfactory explanation, while ʾ𓂏 and its agential variant ʾ𓂏𓂏 have special difficulties of their own.⁵ It is a temptation to bring the interrogative *in* into the same category and to derive it also from *i·n* 'says' and thus ultimately from ʾ𓂏, but I must confess that I fail to see how this could come about, asseveration and inquiry being mutually incompatible.⁶ Some confirmation of the view that the particle and preposition ʾ is derived from ʾ𓂏 'says' (and is therefore distantly related to the *šdm·in·f*, though not its actual formative element) is to be found in the fact that the *šdm·kz·f* form has likewise its counterpart in the particle *kz*, which is certainly derived from the verb *kz* 'to plan'. At first sight one is tempted to suggest a similar derivation of the preposition and particle *hr* from the verb *hr* 'to say' which enters into the *šdm·hr·f* form, but in this case the early writings of the particle with the determinative 𓂏 suggest a very different origin. It seems likely, indeed, that the preposition and the particle are to be dissociated in this case. The preposition, which can have agential force, even as *in*, is not improbably descended from the verb *hr* 'says' just as *in* 'by' appears to descend from *i·n* 'says', but the particle, judging from the early writing ʾ𓂏𓂏𓂏, seems to be connected with the verb 'to fall'. This distinction between the two words *hr*, the preposition and the particle, apparently gradually disappeared in Middle Egyptian, the particle losing its determinative and becoming outwardly indistinguishable from the other. In the construction *hr·f šdm·f* we have unquestionably the verb *hr* 'says' which enters into *šdm·hr·f*, as the corresponding construction *kz·f šdm·f* shows. In fact, in these two later idioms, *hr·f šdm·f* and *kz·f šdm·f*, we have the verbs of 'saying' and 'planning' functioning once again as auxiliaries and thus affording valuable confirmation of the theory as to the origin of the *šdm·hr·f* and *šdm·kz·f* adhered to in this paper.⁷

In conclusion, it will be desirable to sum up the results of this lengthy discussion as follows:

(1) The verb ʾ𓂏 'to say' proves unexpectedly common.

¹ That *i·n* 'says' is not itself a particle is abundantly demonstrated above, see especially *d*, pp. 182-3, where it interchanges with the old perfective of ʾ𓂏 and therefore must be verbal.

² It should be noted that the writing ʾ𓂏𓂏 of the particle and preposition *in* (e.g., *Urk.*, I, 176, 6; 190, 10; *Urk.*, IV, 245, 13), which also occurs in writings of the *šdm·in·f* form (e.g., *Urk.*, IV, 255, 11), cannot be claimed as confirmation of this hypothesis, since ʾ𓂏 in this group is not a determinative of speaking but simply a phonogram for *in*, see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, Sign-List, A 27. His view is confirmed by the writing ʾ𓂏𓂏 for *in* (e.g., *Urk.*, I, 33, 7; *Urk.*, IV, 754, 1), which shows that the *n* is inherent in ʾ𓂏, and by the fact that in the Northampton Stela ʾ𓂏 is enigmatic for *ini* 'bring'. ³ *Pyr.*, § 711b. ⁴ *Pyr.*, § 1650b.

⁵ See the article by Gardiner referred to above. The ending *k* in this pronoun is also a puzzle; it can hardly be connected with the ending *kwi* of the old perfective 1st sing. The closely related Semitic pronouns likewise show these *k* and *nt* elements.

⁶ The *in* found in, e.g., ʾ𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 'for the sake of' *Peas.* B1, 79; ʾ𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 'through lack of' *Pap. Kahun*, 31, 8, is in no way connected with the words under discussion. This is but a full form of the preposition *n*, comparable with ʾ𓂏 beside *r*.

⁷ The objection to the view that the suffix in these constructions is the subject in anticipatory emphasis dependent upon a non-enclitic particle (Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 239) is that non-enclitic particles are elsewhere followed by the dependent pronouns, not by suffixes.

(2) The word *in* 'says', 'said', found in $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ 'so say the gods' and its variations and in Late Egyptian $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ 'so said he' is the *sdm·n·f* form of $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ specialized for use after quoted speech.

(3) It is this *i·n* 'says', used as an auxiliary verb, which lies at the root of the *sdm·i·n·f* form, the *sdm·hr·f* and *sdm·k·f* forms having likewise developed out of the use of auxiliary verbs.

(4) It is not improbable that the particle and preposition *in*, and therefore also the pronouns of the *ntf* paradigm, have arisen out of the specialized use of *i·n* 'says', and that they are therefore ultimately descended from the verb $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ 'to say'.

Addendum

The parallelism of 𓄏 'says' to 𓄏 'says' discussed on p. 188, is fully demonstrated in the case of $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ 'so says he' *Urk.* I, 199, 7, at the end of a biographical inscription, $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} + \text{noun}$ 'so says X' occurring in an exactly similar context *ibid.*, 201, 8;¹ it thus seems impossible to doubt that *hr* is indeed an independent verb of speech. That 𓄏 here and in the examples quoted by Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 436 is not an ellipse of *dd·hr* is certain; the use of *hr* 'says' corresponds in no way to that of *dd·hr·f*, the latter always preceding the speech, whereas the former follows, and the parallelism with *i·n* further contradicts the older view, for it has been shown above that *i·n* 'says' is not derived from *dd·i·n·f*.

At the very last moment the publication of the first volume of Dr. de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts has brought to light an even more striking example of the association of the two verbs of speaking *i* and *hr*, namely $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ 'so says he, namely Osiris', *Coffin Texts*, I, 107b (var. $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ B1P), where the parallel T1Lb has $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ and S1C has $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$. It would be superfluous to labour my point further.

Another interesting passage from the new publication is $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ *op. cit.*, 94c (T1La, var. $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ without det. T1Lb) beside $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ in the other versions, which compels the translation 'so shall they say, (namely) the gods'. We thus have the *sdm·f* form of *i* used for future time, and incidentally a new spelling of the verb to put beside the variants $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ and 𓄏 already noted.

¹ I am much indebted to Prof. Gunn for calling my attention to these examples, which I had overlooked.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA, 1934-1935

By L. P. KIRWAN

With Plates xx-xxiii

ON December 1, 1934, our party, consisting of Mr. C. J. Reynolds (Worcester College), Mrs. Kirwan, and the writer, left Wādī Ḥalfa by lorry and travelled some two hundred and fifty miles along the east bank of the Nile to Kawa (the ancient Gematen), opposite New Dongola, where the excavations of the Oxford Expedition had taken place in 1930-1 under the direction of the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith. The primary object of this journey was to collect equipment for our camp at Firḡa. At the same time we were able, though only in a cursory manner, to examine a large number of ancient sites in a region which is still to a great extent unknown territory from the archaeological point of view. After a stay of two nights as guests of Mr. Cullen, the District Commissioner at New Dongola, we made a not uneventful journey in our heavily laden lorry northwards to Firḡa.

The village of Firḡa (فرقه) lies on the east bank of the Nile, about a hundred miles to the south of Wādī Ḥalfa and at the foot of the desolate Baṭn el-Ḥagar region with its seemingly endless expanse of sun-blackened crags and narrow, rocky defiles. To the east of the modern village are the remains of the mud-brick houses which once held three thousand of the Khalifa's troops, who were, on the night of June 7, 1896, surrounded by an Anglo-Egyptian force and suffered a defeat which marked the first step in the reconquest of the Sudan.

The earthen burial mounds which were the chief objects of our visit had been noted by Burckhardt in 1814. 'In the plain', he says, 'are five barrows, or tumuli, evidently artificial like those I saw near Kosko.'¹ A few years later, in 1820, they were visited by Waddington and Hanbury,² who likewise describe them as 'barrows'. In more recent times the late Oric Bates, on the analogy of a group of similar mound tombs excavated by him at Gammai, about fifteen miles to the south of Wādī Ḥalfa, assigned³ the mounds at Firḡa together with others of a similar type at Qostol, Sāi, Wawa, Tangassi, Nūri, Zūma, and Meroe to the late Nubian culture termed by Dr. Reisner 'X-group'.

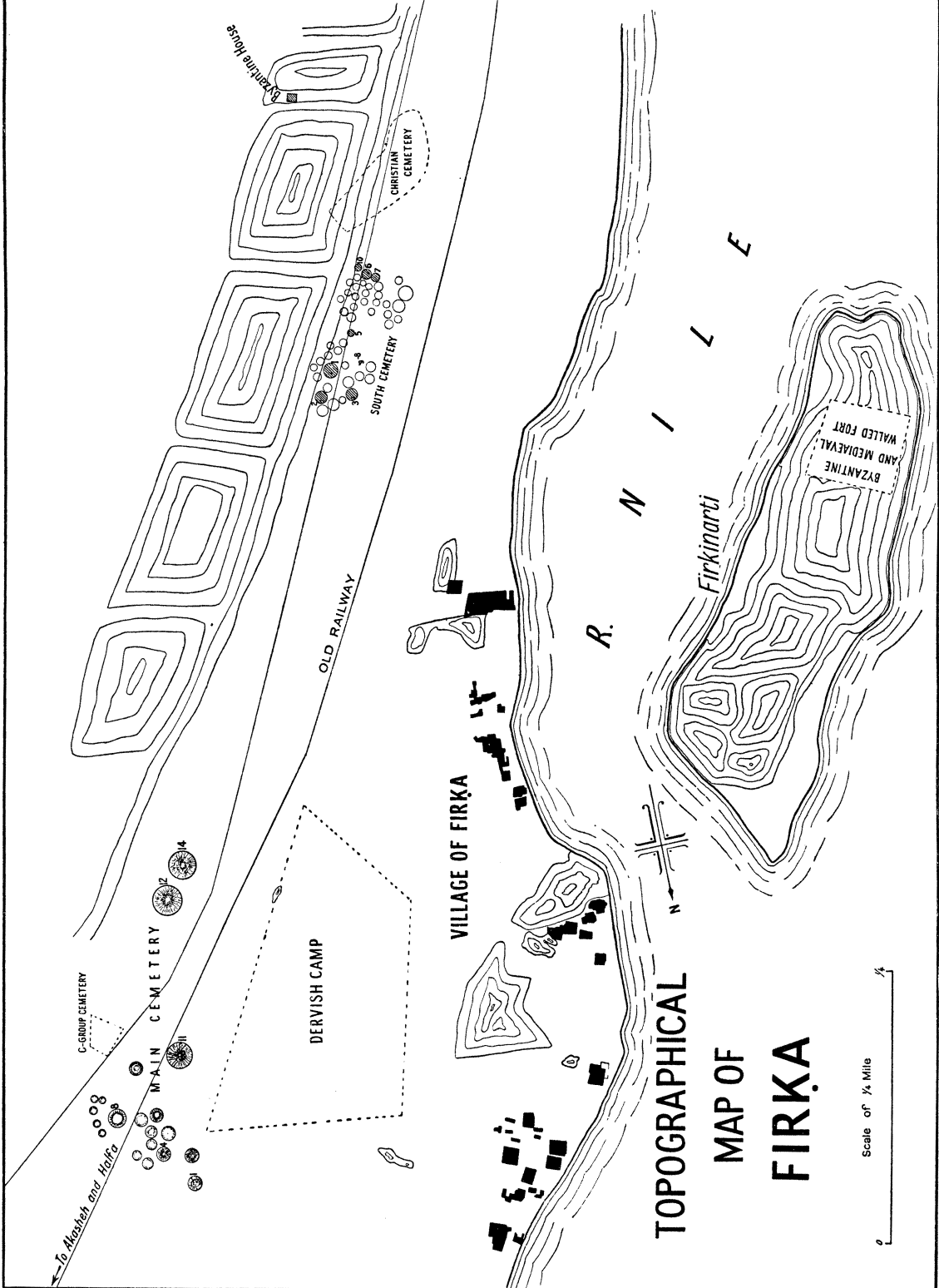
The cemetery of mound tombs at Firḡa may be divided into two parts: the North or main Cemetery, which included the large mounds (three of them between 8 and 10 metres high) mentioned by Burckhardt; and the South Cemetery of small mound tombs, which appeared to be later in date. Some of them, in fact, may belong to the period immediately after the official conversion of Northern Nubia to Christianity in the middle of the sixth century.

The wide, shallow trench which encircled the base of each mound showed the source

¹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 52. London, 1819. The mounds at 'Kosko' (Qostol) are those excavated by W. B. Emery and the writer in 1930. See Emery, *Preliminary Report of the work of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia in Ann. Serv.*, 32, 38-46.

² Waddington and Hanbury, *Journal of a visit to some parts of Ethiopia*, 1. London, 1822.

³ Bates, *Excavations at Gammai*, 117. Harvard African Studies, VIII (1927).



→ To Akasheh over Hafra

C-GROUP CEMETERY

MAIN CEMETERY

DERVISH CAMP

OLD RAILWAY

SOUTH CEMETERY

CHRISTIAN CEMETERY

Byzantine House

VILLAGE OF FIRKA

R. Firkinarci

TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF FIRKA

Scale of 1/4 Mile

WALLED FORT
AND MEDAEVAL
BYZANTINE



1. View of Firka from the east, showing mounds.



2. The Mound at Kosheh.



3. Firka. Mound 14 in course of excavation.



4. Church at Mograka.



5. Firka. Sacrificed camel on the ramp of Mound 11.



6. Firka. Tomb 12, showing stairway entrance on the east side.

from which was obtained the loose gravel of which the mounds themselves were composed. Below the mounds (see Pl. xx, 1, 3) the tombs had been cut to a considerable depth in the hard alluvial mud deposited by the Nile. The larger tombs for the most part conformed to the same general plan (*cf.* Fig. 1). On the east side, an inclined or stepped approach

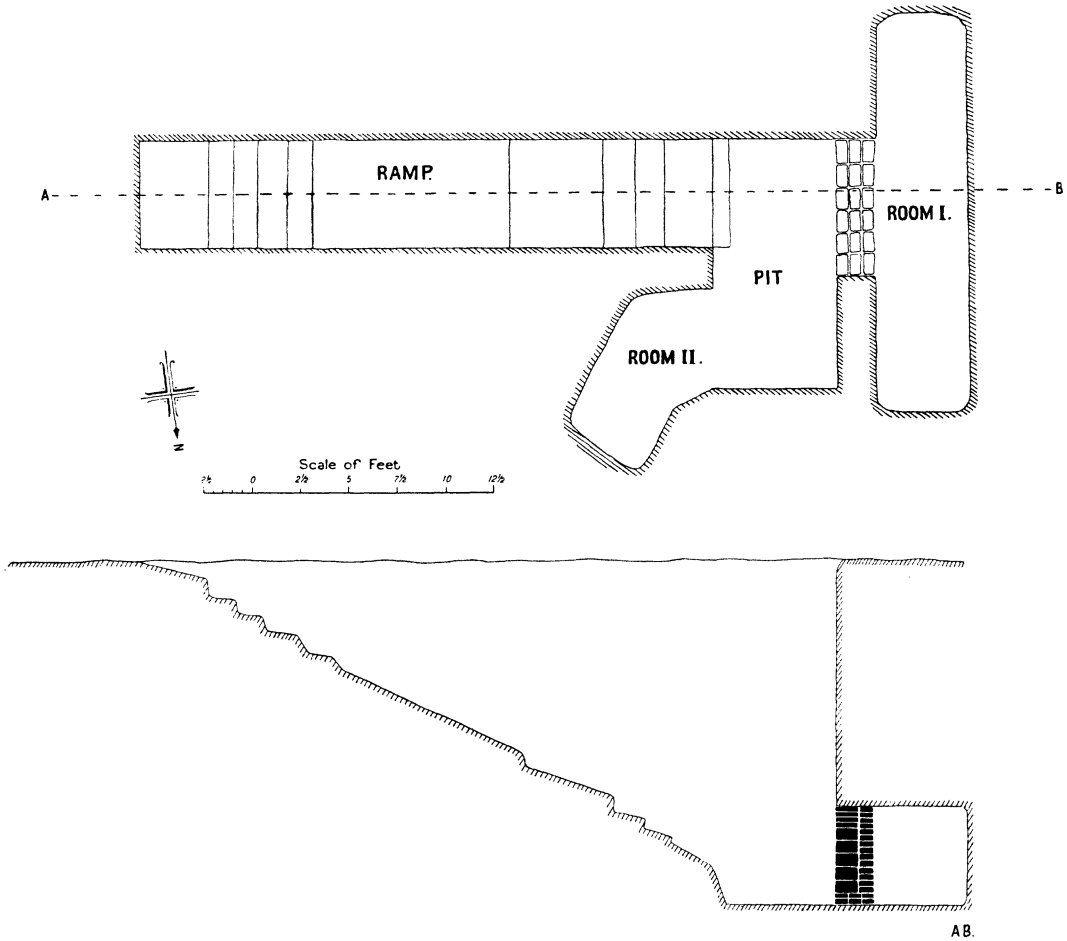


FIG. 1. Plan, and Section through A-B looking South, of Tomb 12.

led (*cf.* Pl. xx, 6) down into a rectangular pit, in two sides of which burial chambers had been hollowed out on a level with the floor. The treacherous nature of the soil, which had caused the mud strata to split under the weight of the mound above (resulting in the collapse of the roofs of the chambers), together with the moisture due to the depth of the tomb, made the work of excavation and the extraction of antiquities somewhat difficult.

The entrance ramp or stairway as a rule contained the skeletons of animals—horses, donkeys, and camels—which had apparently been sacrificed that they might accompany the owner of the tomb on his journey to the next world. The skull of one camel, for instance, from Tomb 11 (Pl. xx, 5) showed clearly the marks of the axe or other weapon with which it had been slaughtered. One object of special interest from the ramp of the same tomb was a grooved iron bit, circular in shape, with a curb-chain attached, which was found in a horse's mouth. Round the necks of some of these animals were hung bronze bells and, occasionally,

necklaces of faience beads and cowrie shells, while in one case a horse had a saddle-cloth, with a coloured woven border of which only fragments remained.

The pit at the bottom of the ramp seems normally to have been reserved for the burial of a cow or sheep; large pottery jars had been placed upright against the walls.

Of the two chambers, the one on the north or north-east side of the pit—probably that of the owner of the tomb—had invariably been plundered in ancient times. The second chamber, on the western side and opposite the foot of the ramp or stairway, was, however, in three of the tombs—Nos. 11, 12, and 14—untouched, and the mud-brick blocking of the door was found intact. This second chamber held several burials, thought to have been, like the similar ones in the tumuli at Balāña and Qostol, those of the owner's servants. For the most part these burials were orientated north and south, and lay in either a flexed or a fully extended position. The attitudes of some of these skeletons, however, left little doubt that the persons to whom they had belonged had, like those of the Kerma cemetery,¹ been buried alive in the tomb. In the west chamber of Tomb 11, one of the occupants appeared to have been lying on a wooden couch, bound with iron bands and having a circular iron bracket at each corner to hold wooden poles supporting a canopy. This canopy seems to have been made of beads of different colours. With the collapse of the roof of the tomb the canopy had fallen, and hundreds of these beads were found scattered over the bodies below.

Only a few of the smaller tombs of the North Cemetery were completely excavated, largely with a view to ascertaining tomb types, and in order to obtain a representative collection of pottery and anthropological material.² All these small tombs had been thoroughly ransacked in ancient times, either by removing part of the mound or by tunnelling below it.

Among these smaller tombs two types predominated: one, a deep, rectangular pit, orientated north and south, with a short stairway on the south side and a chamber at the north end with brick vaulting; the other, a similar pit with a lateral burial-niche cut in the east face on a level with the floor.

The more interesting objects from the North Cemetery came from the large tombs Nos. 11, 12, and 14. The silver signet-ring, inset with a carnelian gem engraved in intaglio with the bust of the Emperor Commodus (Pl. xxii, 1, 2), gives a *terminus post quem* for Tomb 12. Moreover, cut in the original ground surface below the mound of this tomb, and plundered by its builders, was a number of Meroitic graves of the 'pit with end-chamber' and 'lateral niche' types which, to judge by the few sherds of pottery found, may be of the second or third century A.D. That the tomb itself is probably a good deal later in date seems indicated by the presence of a cream ware amphora (Fig. 2, top left), of a type well known from Coptic sites, having a graffito in red paint on the shoulder in a hand attributable to the fifth or sixth century. On the whole, the majority of the tombs of the North Cemetery may be tentatively assigned to this period, and the character of both the objects and the pottery agrees well with such an estimate. Lamps in the form of birds, such as the bronze dove-lamp, which was found in a perfect state of preservation in the mound of Tomb 12 (Pl. xxi), are very characteristic products of East Christian Art of the fifth and sixth centuries. The large tombs at Firka were remarkable for the number of weapons they contained, such as iron spears of several types, iron swords, and iron arrow-heads. Unfortunately, owing to the moisture, iron objects were in a poor state of preservation. In Tomb 11 was found a number of scarabs and amulets plundered from earlier graves, and in this connexion it was of interest

¹ See Reisner, *Kerma*, 70 ff. Harvard African Studies, v (1923).

² Notes as to the sex of the skeletons were taken on the site, and a number of skulls has been presented to the Royal College of Surgeons.



Bronze dove lamp. Found in the mound above Tomb 12. Scale 2 : 3.

to find in some of the tombs scaraboids, crudely cut from carnelian, felspar, and steatite, and pierced for threading, which were very clearly of contemporary manufacture. The beads, which showed a high standard of workmanship, were mostly of Meroitic types; among them was a very large number of coral beads. The coral would presumably have come from the reefs of the Red Sea coast. The silver goblet and bowl from Tomb 14 (Pls. xxii, 4, xxiii, 4)

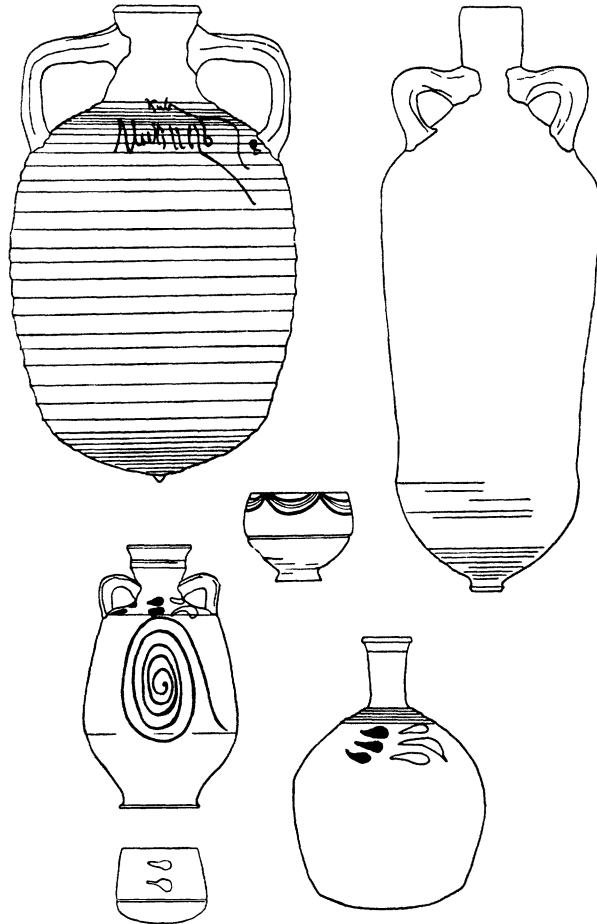


FIG. 2. Types of pottery from the North Cemetery. Scale 1:8.

are notable for the curious design engraved upon them, which is composed of the insignia of Isis—horns, disk, and throne—with a pendent cross below.

To the south of the North Cemetery was another group of mounds, smaller in size, which though thoroughly plundered in ancient times were of considerable archaeological interest. A representative number of graves was excavated, and it soon appeared that the cemetery could be divided chronologically into two parts: the earlier tombs at the north end, all of them plundered, in which the axis of the tomb was north and south and which contained a large amount of pottery (*cf.* Fig. 3), and those at the south end, orientated east and west, which contained no funerary offerings or pottery and which were uniformly intact. Both groups of graves were covered by mounds of a similar size. The graves of the north group had a short entrance stairway on the south side, leading to a long, rectangular pit with a

mud-brick vaulted chamber at the north end. The graves of the south group were of two types: the first, similar to that of the north group but orientated east and west; the second, a deep, rectangular pit, orientated east and west, with a lateral burial-niche cut in the north wall in which the skeleton lay extended on the back, the axis of the body being east and west. Immediately adjacent to this southern group of mound tombs was a small Christian cemetery of 'shaft with end-chamber' tombs in which the bodies were orientated east and west. It is possible that the graves of the southern group represent a transitional type introduced with the conversion of Northern Nubia to Christianity towards the middle of the sixth century.

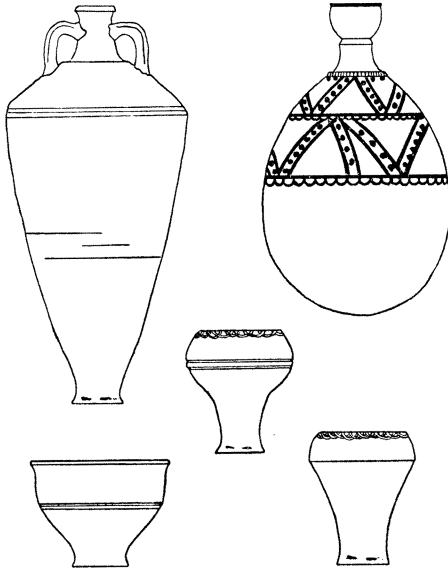


FIG. 3. Types of Pottery from the South Cemetery. Scale 1:8.

Though the mound burial was retained, the orientation of the tomb was changed and the pagan custom of placing funerary offerings in the tomb was abandoned.

The cemeteries at Firka seem then to have been in use during the fifth and sixth centuries. As to the people who were buried there, it was unfortunate that so much of the anthropological material had been destroyed either by moisture or through the depredations of plunderers. Those intact skulls, however, which could safely be considered to be those of the owners of the tombs (as distinct from the subsidiary burials) exhibited a heavily negroid strain characteristic of the 'X-group' skulls as a whole, which are notably more negroid than those from the earlier Meroitic graves. Culturally, especially with regard to the pottery and beads from Firka, the affinities with the Meroitic civilization of Northern Nubia are pronounced. At the same time, the presence of pottery vessels of Coptic types and of amphorae

and certain bronze objects probably imported from Egypt indicates close relations with that country.

In addition to the total absence of the Meroitic script, of the *Ba*-statues, and of the sculptured or engraved tombstones which are normal accompaniments of the Meroitic graves, the form of burial below an earthen mound is a feature which does not occur in the earlier Meroitic cemeteries of Northern Nubia. This type of tomb, with a sloping or stairway entrance, is clearly related to that of the Ethiopian earthen tumulus tombs such as those at El-Kuru of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C.

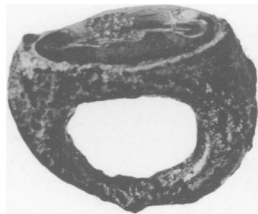
In the Leyden papyrus recording an appeal from Appion, Bishop of Syene, to the military governor of the province for troops to protect his churches on the island of Philae,¹ there is the first contemporary reference to a people called the *Νουβάδες*, who appear to be identical with the *Νουβάδες* of Priscus² and of the great inscription set up by their king Silko in the Temple of Kalābsha.³ According to that inscription the territory of the Noubades lay immediately to the south of Ibrim, though subsequently they became rulers of all Northern Nubia from the First to the Third Cataract.⁴

¹ Date c. A.D. 425-50. See Wilcken in *Archiv. f. Pap.*, 1, 396-407.

² Priscus, *Fragments*, ed. Niebuhr, 153-4.

³ Gauthier, *Temple de Kalabcha*, 204-5.

⁴ For the later history of the kingdom of the Noubades see Kirwan in *Journal*, 21, 57 ff.



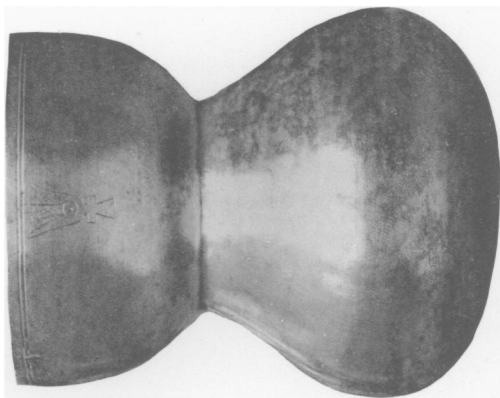
1. Silver signet-ring with engraved carnelian gem, from Tomb 12. Full size.



2. Impression of above gem showing bust of the Emperor Commodus. Double size.



3. Bronze strainer from tomb at Kosheh. Scale 1 : 3.



4. Silver goblet from Tomb 14. Scale 2 : 3.



5. Impression of carnelian seal from tomb at Kosheh. Double size.

The presence of this new element in the population of Northern Nubia may perhaps be explained by identifying the Noubades with the Nōba people, who seem to have invaded the Island of Meroe early in the fourth century A.D. and who were in turn driven northwards towards the middle of that century by the invading armies of Aeizanas, King of Axum.¹ In view of this possible identification of the Nōba-Noubades with the 'X-group' people, the strong Meroitic influence perceptible in the 'X-group' remains has been accounted for by the fact that the Nōba themselves may have been influenced by the civilization of their neighbours at Meroe.² There is, however, as yet no evidence to show that the Meroitic kingdom of Northern Nubia collapsed with the fall of the capital city before the Abyssinian invaders. Indeed, it may be argued that the Meroitic contribution to the 'X-group' culture is of too fundamental a kind to have been the result of a superficial contact between the Nōba people and the Meroites during what was probably but a short period of time. If the overlords of Northern Nubia during the sixth century were the Noubades, the indigenous inhabitants were physically and culturally descendants of the earlier Meroitic population. The 'X-group' period may perhaps be regarded as the final phase in the history of the Northern Meroitic kingdom, during which Nubia was strongly influenced by the contemporary civilization of Byzantine Egypt. The negroid Noubades made little contribution to Nubian culture, and where signs of a cultural decline are perceptible, as in the disappearance of the native Meroitic script and the absence of the delicate and elaborately painted pottery, the finest product of the Meroitic artist, this decline may have been due to the primitive and illiterate ruling class and to the severance of relations with the more civilized southern capital consequent on the fall of Meroe.

The neighbourhood of Firḩa is rich in ancient sites. Opposite the village is the island called Firḩinarti, at the south end of which is a large rectangular fortified enclosure with dry-built stone walls having a semicircular bastion at each corner and also square-built towers projecting at intervals. These walls enclosed a number of stone and mud-brick houses mostly medieval in date, though the presence of potsherds similar to those from the mound tombs may indicate that parts of the site were in occupation as early as the fifth or sixth century. The tradition among the native population is that such fortified towns, of which there is a number on islands in the Cataract region, were built by their ancestors the Nūba, who at the time of the invasions of the Arabs fled from the villages along the river banks and sought refuge within their walls.

On the west bank of the Nile opposite Firḩa are two churches, and near these is a granite quarry, apparently of the same period, with some partly hewn pillars lying on the ground. On the east bank, about five miles to the south of Firḩa, is a well preserved church, built of mud-brick, and set high up on a hill overlooking the village of Mograka (Pl. xx, 4). A mile farther to the south, at Kōsheh, we examined a cemetery of tumulus tombs, several of which had been excavated. The largest mound (Pl. xx, 2) yielded a number of interesting bronzes, including the strainer (Pl. xxii, 3), a variety of remarkably fine beads, and the carnelian gem engraved in intaglio with the figure of a goddess of Meroitic type (Pl. xxii, 5).

Both at Kōsheh and at Firḩa, to the east of the mound cemeteries, were small cemeteries of the so-called 'C-group' or Middle Kingdom type, with circular stone superstructures.³ The pottery from these graves resembled that from the Kerma tombs more closely than that from the Lower Nubian 'C-group' cemeteries. On the east bank of the Nile near 'Amāra,

¹ Cf. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum Expedition, Inschriften*, IV.

² Cf. Junker in *Mitt. Kairo*, 3, 155 ff.

³ The writer has picked up sherds of both 'C-group' and Early Dynastic rippled pottery of Nubian type on ancient sites not far from Khartoum.

about twenty-five miles to the south of Firḩa, we located with some difficulty the site of the Meroitic temple described by Budge.¹ When visited by the latter in 1906 both the gateway and six columns with sculptured reliefs were standing; to-day only one broken granite column-base and traces of mud-brick foundation walls are visible. A few miles to the south of 'Amāra is the island of Sāi, a place, as Burekhardt discovered, extremely difficult of access. At the north end of the island is a fortified enclosure similar to that on Firḩinarti. Among the ruins of the town was a number of inscribed blocks and column-drums from a temple founded, according to one inscription, in the twenty-fifth year of Tuthmosis III. The island contains a number of cemeteries: some of the Christian period, one of New Kingdom date, and a large cemetery of mound tombs similar to those at Firḩa. Not far from the town are the remains of the Metropolitan church. Finally at Wawa, on the east bank of the Nile about one hundred and fifty miles to the south of the Second Cataract, we visited an important cemetery of large mound tombs which, to judge by the sherds on the surface, were of the same period as those at Firḩa. Part of one of the largest mounds had been removed by plunderers in recent years, and the entrance on the east side had been cleared, revealing an elaborate façade of red brick.

In conclusion we should like to express our thanks to the officials of the Sudan Government—especially to Mr. Grabham, the Acting Conservator of Antiquities; Mr. Purves, the Governor of the Northern Province, and his District Commissioners; and to Dr. Waldo Wallace of ḩalfa—for their ever-ready help and unfailing courtesy. The excavations at Firḩa were of necessity on a small scale. This winter the Expedition is continuing the excavation of Kawa (the ancient Gematen), where the large town-site and the adjacent cemeteries are as yet unexplored.

¹ Budge, *A History of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, I, 467.



1. Engraved bronze bowl from Tomb 12. Scale 1:3.



2. Silver anklet with lion-head finials. Scale 1:2.



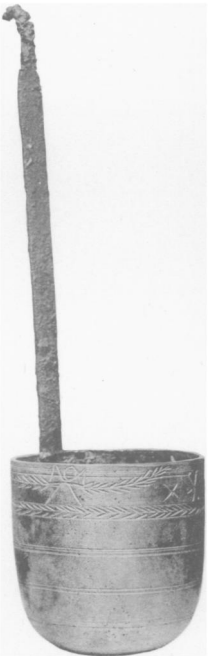
3. Alabaster chalice from Tomb 14. Scale 1:3.



4. Silver bowl with engraved emblem. Scale 1:3.



5. Alabaster chalice from Tomb 14. Scale 1:3.



6. Bronze ladle with iron handle. Scale 1:3.



7. Bronze ewer from tomb at Kosheh. Scale 1:3.



8. Bronze swinging lamp on stand, from Tomb 14. Attached to the chain is a stopper for the filling hole and a pair of iron tweezers for trimming wick. Scale 1:4.

THE ANTINOË FRAGMENT OF JUVENAL¹

BY C. H. ROBERTS

With Plates xxiv, xxv

EVEN in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Latin language was more widely employed in Egypt than ever before or after, Latin literature never took a firm hold among the Hellenized upper classes of the provinces: so much is clear from the scanty finds.² Cicero and Virgil were the most popular, to use the word in a very restricted sense; their position was no doubt guaranteed by the school and the rhetorician's lecture-room. When people read Latin at all for other than utilitarian reasons—on this ground the fragments of the legal classics may be accounted for—they seem to have been attracted by history, whether compressed into epitome or chronicle or in a more literary shape; the inhabitants of Egypt had every reason to be more interested in Rome as a historical force than in Rome as a nurse of poets. Leaving Virgil on one side, we find that Latin poetry has been represented by one solitary scrap of Lucan;³ hence Dr. John Johnson's discovery among the papyri brought to light during the Society's excavations at Antinoë in the spring of 1914⁴ of a leaf from a codex of Juvenal containing ll. 149–98 of the Seventh Satire, the text of which is given for the first time below, is a welcome addition to the small collection of Latin manuscripts from Egypt. There is an appropriate irony in the fact that while Catullus, Horace, and Ovid have found no witness to their fame in this field, Juvenal should have this tribute paid to his memory by Egypt, a land to which, with all its inhabitants, his antipathy was so violent and so impressed itself on his readers that later tradition felt it necessary to invent some personal link between him and it; hence came the story that Juvenal was banished to Coptos for an indiscretion (as *praefectus cohortis* at the age of 80!) and there *intra brevissimum tempus angore et taedio perivit*.⁵ But though this parchment has its interest for the *Kulturgeschichte* of Egypt, its real importance lies in what it can tell us of the text and textual history of the Satires; and to this, after a description of the manuscript, we must turn.

¹ A brief account of this text was given by me in a paper read to the Fourth International Congress of Papyrology in May of last year, and has been published in *Aegyptus*, 15, 297–302. Since then the parchment has been cleaned and this account needs correction in one or two details: for ἀεργής on p. 301 read ἀφνήs, and the statement that the mark of short quantity does not appear is no longer true, cf. below, p. 202.

Besides my great obligations to Dr. Ulrich Knoche, the scope of which will be clear from the description of the text, I have to thank Dr. E. A. Lowe for his advice and assistance in matters of palaeography, Prof. Eduard Fraenkel for discussing several difficult points with me, Mr. E. Lobel for arranging for the parchment to be cleaned, and, not least, Dr. John Johnson, for waiving in my favour the discoverer's right of publication.

² A list of Latin literary papyri discovered up to 1917 may be found in Schubart's *Einführung*, 481; see further, for a description and discussion of the finds, P. Jouguet, *Revue des Études latines*, 3 (1925), 47–50; J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 34–7. In both of these will be found references to texts discovered since Schubart's list was drawn up: but to the best of my knowledge no complete inventory exists.

³ P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 42, containing *De Bello Civili*, II, 247, 248; 265, 266. Perhaps P. Oxy. 781 should also be mentioned, a small unidentified fragment, probably in hexameters.

⁴ Cf. Johnson's account of these excavations and the papyri discovered in them in *Journal*, 1 (1914), 168–81.

⁵ For the *Vitae* of Juvenal, cf. P. Wessner, *Scholia in Juvenalem Vetustiora*, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi; text on p. 1.

The leaf is 22·7 cm. in height by 17 cm. in breadth, the upper and lower margins measuring 3 cm. each, the side margins 2·6 cm. The inner side of the leaf has suffered severely; the whole bottom corner has been torn away, while higher up there is another gap which leaves lines 153–6 and 178–82 mutilated. The intervening section of this side has survived as a separate fragment; but though there is no break in the text between this and the main portion, they cannot actually be attached, as the latter has warped and consequently is overlapped by the small fragment. But this is not the only damage the leaf has suffered. Besides some creases and contractions of the parchment, parts of the surface are so stained and discoloured that they have hitherto resisted any restorative treatment. The effects of this may be seen in the photograph; by comparison with the *verso*, the *recto* has suffered considerably, and while even here except for a few bad patches the text can be made out, the interlinear glosses and scholia have sometimes vanished beyond recall—partly because the light-brown ink in which they are written in places can hardly be distinguished from the stain. (Here a warning may be given: accents and stops are only inserted in the transcript where their presence is beyond doubt, and the absence, *e.g.*, of an accent on a word which can itself be read in spite of the stain on the parchment, is no evidence that the word was not originally accented.) The rulings were made on the hair side, in this case the *verso*, on which the furrows made by the stylus can still be seen; the corresponding ridges are in part visible on the *recto*. If there was ever any numeration, no trace of it survives, so that it is impossible to tell whether the codex included any other work before the Satires.¹

The text is written in a careful and regular uncial hand of considerable beauty, small and with a slight tendency to a backward slope, of a type which Dr. Lowe would designate the Byzantine Uncial. Of this hand the classic example is the great Florentine codex of Justinian's Pandects,² whose origin in Ravenna would sufficiently explain its affinity to Eastern rather than to Western hands and which is perhaps to be dated to the late sixth century. One important characteristic of this type of hand, a *g* with a long stroke to the left below the line and finished off with a small hook to the right, is present both in the Florentine codex and in P. Ant. Juv. (to give this parchment a convenient if temporary name) and is not to be found in contemporary Western hands. A similar *g* may be observed in the new fragments of Gaius, P.S.I. 1182, some leaves of a parchment whose provenance is thought to be Antinoë. This manuscript, which represents the same script in an earlier stage of its development, is assigned by Prof. Rostagno to the fourth or early fifth century;³ its bolder and squarer hand is undoubtedly earlier than that of P. Ant. Juv., but the resemblances between the two are considerable; *cf.*, besides the *g*, the *d*, *m*, *l*, and *s*. Among other uncial manuscripts not of this specific type, with which P. Ant. Juv. may be compared, are the Vercelli Gospels (Ehrle-Liebaert, *Specimina Codicum Latinorum*, 5c), the Codex Veronensis of Gaius (Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, 18), and the Codex Bobbiensis of St. Cyprian's Letters (Ehrle-Liebaert, *op. cit.*, 5d), in which a form of *t* very like that in P. Ant. Juv. occurs. In P. Ant. Juv., *a* and *r* are of the early type (*cf.* P.S.I. 1182), while the *m* with the left stroke curved sharply inwards and the *t* with its almost semicircular *hasta* are evidence of a fairly advanced stage of uncial writing. Dr. Lowe considers that P. Ant. Juv. was

¹ But it should be noted that in the Bobbio manuscript (Vat. 5750) the Satires of Juvenal preceded those of Persius; *v. Wessner, op. cit.*, p. vi.

² *Justiniani Augusti Digestorum seu Pandectorum Codex Florentinus olim Pisanus phototypice expressus*, Rome, 1910. Certain parts of this manuscript are written in a script of mixed uncials and minuscules, *cf.* the reproduction in Maunde Thompson's article on palaeography in Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, 775; it is only with the purely uncial part of this manuscript that P. Ant. Juv. can be compared, as it shows no trace of minuscule influence.

³ P.S.I., xi, 2–3.

probably written *c. A.D. 500*, a date which agrees well enough with the external evidence; it thus ranks as the second oldest of Juvenal's manuscripts, being preceded only by the fourth-century Bobbio palimpsest, Vat. 5750. The ink in which it is written is of the metallic type, reddish-brown in colour, which is usual at this period.

Scholia and glosses both in Greek and Latin are thickly crowded along the margins and between the lines of the text; how many hands are to be distinguished here is not quite certain. The bulk of the scholia are written in a light reddish-brown ink, more diluted and less durable than that of the text: I now incline to think that we must distinguish two hands here,¹ which we may call B and C, reserving A for that of the text proper. Both employ a mixture of uncial and cursive forms, with the uncials predominating: ligatures are rare, and the forms of the letters are in general the same in both. But B, to whom may be assigned all the scholia on the left margin of both recto and verso, writes in rather a clumsy and heavy upright hand: C writes an easier and more flowing hand, and appears to be more at home with Greek than is B (there is little to distinguish B's Greek letters from his Latin, *cf. δοῦναι* in 196² and contrast the clumsy *ἐν τῷ μεσαυλίῳ* of 181² with the *τὸ διήγημα* of 161). Dr. Lowe regards these hands as practically contemporary with that of the text (A): nor would I suggest that in separating the hands we need to look for two sources of these scholia, since all are sufficiently inept to have the same parentage. Of the Latin letters in these hands *e* is frequently of a cursive type and reaches above the line: *h* is angular, very different from the rounded uncial of A: *l* has a long *hasta* with a down-stroke well below the line: *a* is of the open type resembling *u*, and is never found in an uncial form. The *g* used by C in *magister* (166) is of interest, as it bears a distinct resemblance to the half-uncial form. *d* is cursive, always of the uncial type. These two hands would appear to be very close to that of the first scholiast in the Bembine Terence, to judge from the description given by G. F. Mountford³ (unfortunately no reproduction of this hand of the scholia has appeared); this is also assigned to the first half of the sixth century. The rapid and attractive semi-cursive in the Greek scholia of C has a close parallel in one of the glosses to P.S.I. 1182 (*ἀπαιτοῦντος* in 73) and is not unlike the hand of one of the commentators of P. Oxy. 2064.⁴ B and C between them account for the great majority of the scholia and glosses; some Greek annotations written in a cursive hand in dark, black ink were added at some later date by D, who occasionally inked over an earlier scholion or even a few letters of the text and once translated a Latin scholion of C. To E and F (probably readers into whose hands at some later period in the sixth century the manuscript passed) may be attributed a word apiece, both in Latin, the one an annotation to a scholion, the other probably a gloss.

Of these scribes B was probably responsible for a few corrections of the manuscript (some have been added by A) and also for the punctuation, accents, and some of the critical signs. For punctuation high, medial, and low stops are employed, the first correctly to indicate a longer pause (*cf. P. Oxy. 226, introd.*), the other two quite indiscriminately. Deleted letters are indicated once (187) by drawing a line through the letter in question and placing a dot above it (the usual method), once (161) by placing a dot below the letter: in this case the letter deleted occurs in the middle of a word and the correction is written above.⁵ In the text itself the only abbreviations found are *-q̄-* for *-que* and once (162) *urbe~* for *urbe(m)*; in the scholia, both Greek and Latin, they are much more frequent. Marks of quantity are used

¹ These scholia (B and C) were referred to in my article in *Aegyptus* as the work of a single hand.

² Such references are to the lines of P. Ant. Juv.

³ *The Scholia Bembina* (London, 1934), 4.

⁴ Hunt and Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri*, Pl. I, fr. 31.

⁵ For deletion in Latin manuscripts *v. W. M. Lindsay in Palaeographia Latina*, III, 65–6; in Greek papyri, *v. Kenyon, Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, 31.

haphazardly and by no means correctly throughout the text, — frequently, ∪ only in 187 and 193. (The former is found in other Latin manuscripts from Egypt, *e.g.*, P.S.I. 21, P. Oxy. 1089, and an unpublished fragment of Virgil in the Rylands collection.) An interesting feature of the text is the use of accents; the acute is used on any syllable except the last (only twice on a monosyllable, *quī* in 165 and most probably on the same word in 164), the grave only on monosyllables, though by no means on all.¹ It may be noted that the accent is frequently placed over the consonant following the vowel accented. The diaeresis is regularly used over *i* preceded or followed by another vowel and once (*implet*, 161) when *i* stands alone.

One of the peculiarities of this manuscript is the presence of critical signs. Underneath 191 and 192 *diplai* have been drawn, the former in all probability a *diplē obelismenē* (what can be seen is >— and there is no trace of ink in the intervening space); and the two are apparently connected by a line drawn through the first letter of 192, which consequently looks as though it had been enclosed.² The usual purpose of the *diplē* both in manuscripts and papyri (for the latter *cf.*, *e.g.*, P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 27 = Kenyon, *Classical Texts in the British Museum*, 100, and P. Oxy. 445; both are texts of the Iliad, and the critical signs in the latter approximate very closely to those in Venetus A) was to draw attention to notes on either grammar or subject-matter, not at this period inserted in the text itself, or to mark a quotation; here the *diplē* may have been employed to guide the reader's eye to the irrelevant and edifying scholion in the margin, but more probably (see below, p. 203) has a different purpose. ζ̄ for ζ(*ήρησον*) or ζ(*ήρευ*), resembling an uncial *d* with a line across the top, has been scored against three lines (157, 160, 185) and is probably used in its correct context to indicate an uncertainty of reading or interpretation.³ The third, which is frequently inserted by hands B (or C) and D is ·I— a sign which, unless it be regarded as a degenerate form of the asterisk, is not, as far as I know, found in papyri. It is placed between the lines and presumably draws attention to a gloss or scholion.

¹ Accentuation appears to be unknown in Western manuscripts of this period, and handbooks of palaeography (*e.g.*, Maunde Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 64) usually first mention them in connexion with early English and Irish manuscripts. In Latin manuscripts from Egypt they are not unknown, but are by no means common; the only examples I know of are P.S.I. 21 (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4, fifth century), P. Oxy. 1099 (a Virgilian word-list of the fifth century), and P. Oxy. 30. In this last fragment the editors refer to the marks as *apices*—the *apex* being the mark of a naturally long syllable which is frequently found in inscriptions and which disappears from use near the end of the third century—and partly relying on this assign the text, part of an unknown historical work, to the third century. *Apices* are also found in the papyrus fragment of the *Poem on the Battle of Actium* from Herculaneum (Scott, *Fragmenta Herculaneusia*, 50) and in P. Ryl. 79 (second century A.D.), and are almost certainly to be recognized in the Claudius papyrus (B.G.U. 611, A.D. 43–54), though described by Steffens (*Lat. Pal.*, 3) as accents. In view of the later evidence the marks in P. Oxy. 30 should probably be regarded as accents. The use of accents in Latin manuscripts has its origin—as far as my knowledge goes—in Egypt, where we may safely attribute it to Greek influence. For the later use of the *apex*, *v.* W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, II, 17. It may be worth noting that the practice of P. Ant. Juv. does not tally with the principles of accentuation laid down by Isidore, *Etym.*, I, xviii, 2.

² I am glad to find that Dr. Knoche agrees with me not only that below 191 a *diplē obelismenē* is in all probability to be recognized, but also that both the *diplai* refer to the single line 192 (a glance at the photograph will show the reasons for thinking this to be so).

³ The use of this sign has recently been studied by Dr. A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 371–3; he quotes examples of its use both in literary papyri, to indicate errors, and in documents (*e.g.*, to call attention to some matter needing verification), and later in Latin manuscripts, where it is used to mark corrupt passages. According to Clark the earliest Latin manuscript in which it is found is Vindob. 2160, of the sixth century. It seems probable that in P. Ant. Juv. it is used to mark a word or passage the scholiast failed to understand, *i.e.*, in 160 *arcadico*, in 157 *mercedem solvere*, in 185 *pulmentaria* (afterwards glossed by D) unless he was worried by the indicative *conponit*. In two nearly contemporary papyri it is found used as a coronis—in P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 98 from Aphrodito and in the Antinoë Theocritus (Hunt and Johnson, *op. cit.*, 21).



P. ANT. JUV.
RECTO

This brings us to what is of real importance in this discovery—its contribution to the study of the text of the Satires. For what follows, both the analysis of particular passages and the conclusions on the character and value of the text, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Ulrich Knoche, who has placed at my disposal his exceptional knowledge of the manuscripts of Juvenal; without the assistance of his notes it would have been impossible either to give so full a collation or on the strength of this collation to estimate the significance of the Antinoë fragment.¹

P. Ant. Juv. gives us, on the whole, a sound and trustworthy text; it does not, however, present us with a single new reading that can be accepted as authentic, and even its mistakes are known to us from one source or another except for the following which are of little significance: 161 *diei* for *die*, *hannubal* for *hannibal*, 177 *arte* for *artem*, 188 *constavit* for *constabit*, 194 *perfrisit* for *perfrixit*. The text from which this fragment derives was substantially the same as that represented by the medieval codices, and it is for the study not of the text of Juvenal but of its transmission that P. Ant. Juv. is of peculiar importance. It is of some interest to know that Juvenal had his readers among the Hellenized provincials of Egypt in the sixth century: of much greater interest for the study of Latin authors in general and of Juvenal in particular that certain passages in this text were marked with critical signs. This gives substantial confirmation to Dr. Knoche's theory that the archetype of Juvenal to which all our manuscripts go back was a *gelehrte Ausgabe*, *i.e.*, an edition equipped with critical signs. This theory, suggested (i) by the scholia to vi, 238 (*cf.* Wessner, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.*), 365, and others, (ii) by the omission or change in sequence of certain verses in certain MSS., (iii) perhaps by certain signs in some medieval manuscripts,² finds its conclusive proof here³ in the *diplai*⁴ placed against 192; this line was condemned by Jahn in his second edition as an inter-

¹ I have contented myself with summarizing Dr. Knoche's views, as he will shortly publish in a German periodical a rather fuller account in which in particular he will discuss in more detail the importance of the text for *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*. ² V. Knoche, *Gnomon*, 11 (1934), 596, 599, and particularly 601 f.

³ It should, of course, be remembered that this parchment comes from a literary circle where Greek literature was far better known than Latin and where readers would be accustomed to critical editions of Greek texts: hence the presence of critical signs *might* be explained as a local peculiarity. But I do not think this consideration need really invalidate Dr. Knoche's conclusion, as (i) critical signs are not generally found in Latin literary papyri—the only example known to me is P.S.I. 1182, where the *παράγραφος*, the *ὥρατος*, and another mark of uncertain significance are found—and so it is not likely that they would be inserted here without special reason; (ii) it is doubtful if the scholia in P. Ant. Juv. account satisfactorily for the presence in the text of the *diplē* and the ζ-, *i.e.*, it looks as though these were taken over from a preceding text and as though the scholiast of P. Ant. Juv. did not understand their exact significance (though in the absence of other evidence not much weight can be attached to this); (iii) if (*v.* the next note) the *diplai* against 192 indicate that this line is interpolated as spurious, this would be conclusive, as certainly not at Antinoë nor—given the state of learning evinced by the scholia—at Alexandria would the line be condemned without authority. Nor does the use of ζ- suggest a local origin, as in the nearly contemporary Antinoë Theocritus and P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 98 it is used not as a critical sign but as a coronis.

⁴ Dr. Knoche has pointed out to me that in the scholia to the *Iliad* the *diplē* by itself may be used not merely to indicate the presence of some point needing comment, but also to mark that the line in question was athetized or omitted by one of the earlier Alexandrian critics but retained, perhaps doubtfully, in the text. In *Iliad* 9, 140, it indicates that some critics interpolated a line after 140, as also in *Iliad* 13, 808 (*cf.* text in T. W. Allen's *Homer's Iliad* and scholia *ad loc.*). In *B.K.T.*, v, 1, 18 (P. Berol. 9774), containing ll. 596–608 of *Iliad* 18, four lines have been interpolated from the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*, and the interpolation is here indicated by placing a *diplē* against each of the lines in question (for this reference I am indebted to Prof. Jachmann). Hence there is a strong probability—all the stronger if the mark above 192 is a *diplē obelismenē*—that the scribe intended to mark 192 if not as spurious, yet at least as doubtful. This is of some importance: not only does it strikingly confirm Jahn's rejection of this line, but it also argues very strongly for the view that the critical signs in P. Ant. Juv. do imply the existence of an anterior critical edition of Juvenal and are not the work of a local scribe.

polation, and now that his judgement finds this support, the burden of proof will rest on those who maintain that 192 is in its correct position here. This has a somewhat wider interest in view of the fact that the critical signs of Latin grammarians not only in the text of Juvenal, but in that of all Latin authors, have, with very few exceptions, disappeared.

A discussion of the affinities of the text of P. Ant. Juv. should be prefaced with the statement that it, together with all our other manuscripts of Juvenal, may be referred to a common archetype written *c.* A.D. 400. This may be regarded as certain for the following reasons:

(i) The sequence of verses is identical with that found in the vast majority of manuscripts. There are no omissions or additions, and the spurious verse *Perfer[r]et inductis turbata et sobria ceris*, added by a *corrector* of the Oxoniensis after 153, and in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 11997 placed with slight variations after 160, is absent from P. Ant. Juv., as it certainly was from the text of the archetype.

(ii) Three corruptions characteristic of the archetype are also to be found in P. Ant. Juv. These are: (a) 149 *inponere* (where some word like *poscere*, suggested by Bücheler, is needed); (b) 153 *isdem* for *idem* (a conjecture of Jahn's, since found to be supported by some medieval manuscripts, *v.* Knoche, *Gnomon*, 10—1933—247); (c) 177 *scindens* for *scindes* (a correction again due to Jahn and the reading of the first hand of Voss. F 64 and two later MSS.).

We may postulate that not long after the archetype was written, the manuscripts of Juvenal were to be found divided into two groups which may be called *Π* and *Ω*. In the verses with which we are concerned the text of *Π* is reproduced with comparatively little change by the P(ithoeanus) (Montpellier 125), the Scidae Arouienses (Ar.), and the lemmata of the scholia (S), while *Ω*, the vulgate text, is reflected in more than three hundred manuscripts. But between those two groups comes a large number of eclectic texts, and it is with these that P. Ant. Juv. must be ranked. At the time when P. Ant. Juv. was written, however, this process of conflating the two recensions had not gone very far, and consequently the text is to a large extent free from secondary corruptions. As the following list shows, P. Ant. Juv. has escaped a large number of corrupt readings which later made their way into the text of *Π* as represented by P, or by P, Ar., and S in agreement:

149 *Africa si placuit/Africas placuit* P^a Ar.¹; +*inponere*+ /*ponere* P¹ Ar.¹ and a few other codices; 153 *cantabit/cantavit* P Ar. and one other manuscript; 157 *volunt/velunt* P Ar.¹; 161 *Quaque/Quamque* P¹ Ar.¹; *hannibal (Hannu- P. Ant. Juv.)/annibal* P¹ Ar.¹ and other manuscripts; 162 *deliberat/liberat* P¹ Ar.¹ and two other manuscripts; 165 *accipe/accipere* P¹ Ar.¹; 174 *Summula/Summavia* P^a S; 175 *tempta/temptat* P^a S and other manuscripts; 176 *pollio/polio* (hardly likely to be correct, *cf.* H. A. J. Munro *ad* Lucr. I, 313) P; 180 *iumenta/tumentia* P^a; 194 *perfrixit (-sit P. Ant. Juv.)/perfrinxit* P^a (later corrected); 197 *fies/fiet* P^a and a few other codices.

Similarly, certain corruptions peculiar to some of the subdivisions of *Ω*, *e.g.*, 176 *Grisogonus*, 178 *sexcentis*, are also absent from P. Ant. Juv.; but these hardly need specifying here.¹ In the following instances it agrees with *Π* against *Ω*, where the former has preserved the correct reading: 150 *vetti* (not *vecti*), 165 *quid* (not *quod*; *n.b.* the scholion of P. Ant. Juv.), 166 *haec* (not *ast*).

For some of the readings of P. Ant. Juv. another interpretation must be sought. Knoche has argued² that at some time the *Π* recension was influenced by *Ω* and that the effects of this are to be traced where P, Ar., and S, or any two of them, agree in rejecting the correct reading,

¹ For the *a* group, from which these two examples are taken, *v.* Knoche, *Gnomon*, 4 (1928), 93; *id.*, *Hermes*, 63 (1928), 361–3; for the *γ* group *v.* Leo's edition of Juvenal (Berlin, 1910), *introd.*, xx ff.

² *Die Ueberlieferung Juvenals* (Berlin, 1926), 34.

originally present in *II* and now to be found only in some of the eclectic texts. On this assumption it is easy to account for the two instances in which P. Ant. Juv. dissents from both P and the vulgate, and together with a few manuscripts of the same type as itself has preserved the correct reading. These are: (i) 154 [*cr*]ambe, a conjecture of Politian's and the reading given by G (=Parisinus 7900, tenth century) and the second hand of Vat. Urb. 342 (tenth–eleventh centuries), and supported by the later scholia; three other eclectic texts give it in the slightly corrupted form *grambe* (Parisinus 8071, Parisinus 9345, and the first hand of Vat. Urb. 342), while P¹ and Ar. (and perhaps originally Leid. Voss. Q. 18) read *crambre* and most of the vulgate texts *cambr(a)e*. (ii) In 185, assuming (*v. Housman, ad loc.*) that *componit* is the true reading, we find that while *condit* is supported by the majority of manuscripts, *componit* only survives in a number of eclectic texts, among them G, Vat. Reg. 2029, Laur. 34, 42, and Voss. Q. 18. Hence P. Ant. Juv. provides additional proof that some correct readings not to be found in the majority of our codices, and only surviving in a few medieval manuscripts of eclectic type, are not the results of conjecture, but may well be derived from texts of the late classical period.

After this it is less surprising to find that on three occasions P. Ant. Juv. preserves a reading peculiar to itself and a few, mostly late, manuscripts against the mass of the tradition:

(i) In 187 *sufficiunt* is mistakenly given for *sufficient*, which was the reading of both *II* and Ω ; otherwise *sufficiunt* appears only in Laur. 34, 25, Laur. 34, 39 (both of the twelfth century), Laur. 34, 33, and Dresd. 154 (both of the fifteenth century).

(ii) 156 *diversa fronte*. This reading is found only in Vat. 3286 (eleventh century)¹ and in three fifteenth-century manuscripts, Ottobon. 2884, Vat. Barber. 18, Roman. Casanat. 27. This reading has met with some support,² but in all probability we should follow Housman in preferring the *diversa parte* of the vulgate to both *fronte* and the *diversae forte* (accepted by Leo) of P¹ and Ar.¹

(iii) In 184 *domum* supplants the correct *domus*—an error P. Ant. Juv. shares only with seven early manuscripts: G, Par. 7906, Par. 8071 (=F), Par. 9345, Vat. Urb. 342, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15600, Pal. 1701, and a few of later date. It is possible that P itself originally read *domum*, as the -s is due to a *corrector*. From these readings we may infer that a reading which appears in a few manuscripts against the testimony of P and the great majority of Ω manuscripts may be of quite ancient origin.

Only once does P. Ant. Juv. agree with *II* in one of the latter's characteristic corruptions, namely the reading *peremit* for *perimit* in 151, also found in F and U¹. Most probably this is not to be regarded as more than a coincidence. It may, however, be inferred from the *inponere* of 149 and the *fies* of 198 that P. Ant. Juv. does presuppose the existence of some manuscripts of the Ω recension. (Owing to a gap in the parchment, it cannot be determined whether we should read in 159 *laeva* with Ω or *laevae* with P¹ Ar.¹)

It is clear from this collation that P. Ant. Juv. cannot be closely associated with any manuscript or any group of manuscripts. Its surprising agreement with Vat. 3286 and a few other manuscripts in 156 cannot be taken as evidence of their relatedness, as elsewhere the divergences between the two are considerable. It may be described as a manuscript of eclectic character, the basis of which is the text of *II* free from the secondary errors with which the latter has come down to us in P. Ar., and S, but which has been influenced by the Ω recension. From it may be learnt two facts of some importance: the first, that there existed in the late classical period a critical edition of Juvenal's text; the second, that variant readings which have very little manuscript support may well be of ancient origin.

¹ For this codex *v. Knoche, Hermes*, 63 (1928), 342 ff.

² C. E. Stuart, *C.Q.*, 3 (1909), 7.

The orthography is on the whole good, *e.g.*, in 173 and 197 the text gives *rheto-* instead of *retho-* common in the medieval manuscripts, in 190 *pulcher* instead of the *pulcer* of P and some other manuscripts, and in 164 *cohortes*, not *cohortis* (though the latter is perhaps to be preferred), in 161 *Hannibal* (*l. Hannibal*), where P, Ar., and most of the manuscripts omit the *h* (but in the same line our text agrees with most manuscripts in giving *implet* for *inplet*).

The salient fact about the scholia and glosses preserved in the margins and between the lines of P. Ant. Juv. is that they are independent of the scholia known to us from the medieval codices; beyond that they have little to tell us except about the depth of ineptitude of which fifth-century commentators were capable. As has been said above, the bulk of them, though in different hands, are probably to be referred to a common source: both B and C show about the same level of intelligence; both attempt to paraphrase and amplify rather than elucidate or comment on peculiarities of style or text. With the exception of the note on *Quintiliano* in 186 (evidence enough of the ignorance of the scholiast) no attempt is made to comment on a proper name, although these scholiasts are by no means singular in their ignorance of the *personae Juvenalianae*;¹ throughout there is only one lemma, that in 186. With D, who usually confines himself to translation, a lower level is reached; these annotations are probably due to a reader with some Greek, but little or no Latin. E and F (the addition of *patri* by the former to an existent scholion almost passes belief) are presumably due to later readers. But ignorant as are the scholia inserted in the text by B and C, it would, I think, be a mistake to regard them as readers' comments rather than as the work of a professional commentator. For one thing, the way in which they are written does not suggest that they are the jottings of an amateur; more important, the range of the vocabulary is certainly beyond that of an ordinary educated Graeco-Egyptian of the period. ἀρροστηρήρι(ο)ν and φαγ(ε)ῖα are, it is true, ecclesiastical rather than literary words, and the former is found in contemporary documents; but δειγήμα, ψυχροποιός (known only from the scholia on *Iliad* 5, 75 and Theocr. 15, 58), δίσκους (gloss on *fercula*, 184), and κλαυθμυρισμούς (gloss on *vagitus*, 196) smell of the lamp, and are fairly clearly the work of a grammarian with lexica at his elbow. With the single exception of *dividens* (gloss on *scindens* in 177)—and this is probably no more than a coincidence—none of these scholia are to be found in Wessner's *Scholia in Juvenalem Vetustiora*: a fact which gains in interest if we accept the highly probable theory² that all our known scholia, *i.e.* those found in manuscripts of the Π and Ω recensions, as well as those attributed to Probus by Valla (*cf.* the stemma in Wessner, *op. cit.*, p. xliii), derive from a single *vetustum commentum* composed between 353 and 399, and that before this date no commentary at all on Juvenal was in existence. Thus we must assume that within a hundred years (for there is certainly no reason to think that the scholia of P. Ant. Juv. are earlier than *c.* 400, and they may well be later) two independent commentaries came into existence. (Some parallel to this may be found in the scholia to the Theocritus papyri from Oxyrhynchus and Antinoë:³ these, though not quite independent, differ considerably both by omission and addition from the existing scholia.) We should naturally think of Alexandria as the place where the scholia, part of which are preserved in P. Ant. Juv., were written, and indeed this might explain both their grammatical character and their poor

¹ *Cf.* Wessner, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

² Wessner, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi ff.; Knoche, *Die Ueberlieferung Juvenals*, 64 ff. Knoche is of the opinion that the *vetustum commentum*, so far from being the first commentary on Juvenal, was a collection, in an abbreviated and revised form, of the work of earlier commentators (he argues, *e.g.*, that a scholion such as that on 14, 102 could not have been written in the fourth century) and regards the scholia in P. Ant. Juv. as representing one of several versions of these notes not incorporated in the *vetustum commentum*.

³ Hunt and Johnson, *op. cit.*, 5, 29.

quality; for though philological studies certainly survived the destruction of the library of the Serapeum in A.D. 389,¹ it is probable that they never fully recovered from that disaster. As has already been noted, there is no very close relation between the text and the scholia, and the latter frequently betray a misunderstanding of the former which is surprising in view of the high standard of accuracy of the text itself; probably we should not be wrong in postulating a separate origin for the text and the scholia, the former being the descendant of a *gelehrte Ausgabe*, the latter representing an inadequate attempt, with no tradition behind it, to explain an author too difficult for the age.

In the following transcription the text stands exactly as it does in the original, except that words have been divided and abbreviations extended: punctuation, accents, etc., are those of the original. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna; double square brackets [[]] a deletion; round brackets () the expansion of an abbreviation; ` ` indicate that a letter has been written above the line. The lacunae have been filled up from Housman's text (Cambridge, 1931). Scholia and glosses by B are printed in Roman and upright Greek type; those by C in italic and slanting Greek type; and those by D in thick Greek type.

Notes on the Text

150. Perhaps read . . *rammantia*: the initial word might be *coram*, but *magistro* cannot be extorted out of the subsequent letters.

166. τὸ *qu(i)d do ut totiens*. This is the only lemma found among these scholia.

169. The theme alluded to in these lines is explained thus by Housman: *marito caeco uxor venenum dedit, ille recepit oculos: uxorem dimisit: ingrati reus est*. Some other interpretation seems to have been attempted by this scholiast—perhaps that the wife assisted the husband to kill her lover.

175. *provata* (*l. prob-*). After the *a* is a stroke which might represent an *s* or more probably a mark of abbreviation. *Probato* cannot be read.

176. *Arte* represents a further corruption after *scindes* had been transformed into *scindens*, *pueros* perhaps being construed as object to *doceat* and *scindens* and the latter, glossed by *dividens*, being used in the sense of 'apportion', 'share'.

181. *μεσαύλιος, ον* is quoted in Liddell and Scott (9th ed.) only from Photius and Suidas as a *varia lectio* for *μέσαυλος*.

184. *emit* may be more fairly regarded as an attempt to make sense of the corrupt *quantumcumque domum* than as due to a confusion between *venio* and *veneo*. (D is responsible for the gloss in 194, where *πονέτται* is probably the result of confusion between *algeo* and *ἄλγος*.)

¹ Cf. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, I, 381.

RECTO

afriça sî p'ÿaçuiť mercedem ñponere linguae

. et[.]e
si vis ex doctrina tui
lucrum habere

declamare doces. o ferrea pectora yetti

. . ra mirantia

cum peremit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos

τοce [r]ecitant
de mortuis tyran-
n[is] tui
discipuli

nam quaecumq(ue) sedens modo legerat haec eadem stans

[perferet a]tq(ue) eadem ca[nt]abit versibus isdem

[occidit miseros cr]ambe repetita magistrōs

]χορη() . . ατατος
]αρ[

[quis color et quod] sit causae genus atq(ue) ubi summa

που εστιν η
ιποστασις του
λογου

[quae]stio quae [ve]nant diversa fronte sagittae

nosse volunt omnes mercedem solve nemo . 3

[?object-]
ur ad mag-
istrum
ex disci-
pulo

mercedem appellas quid enim scio culpa docentis

εκεινου
αφουος
οντος
ως ραθυ-
μος κρι-
νεται καν
σπουδαιος
η

scilicet arguitur quod laevae parte mamillae

nil salit arcadicō juveni cuius mihi sexta

ως απο του
ποιητου

quaq(ue) di[[c]]e miserum dirus caput hannibal implet

το διηγ-
μα το κα-
τα αννιβαλ

quidquid id est de quo deliberat an petat urbe(m)

a cannis . an post nimbos et fulmina cautus

post pietatem
vocabit

circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes .

[quan]tum vis [stipula]re et[?] protinus accipe quid do

quidvis
[? h]oc

[ut tot]iens illum pater a'udiat haec alii [sex]

το quid do
ut totiens

multis cu-
ris taedi sunt

[vel plure]s uno co[n]clam[ant] ore sophistae .

[et veras agi]tan[t] [i]tes raptore relicto

de latrone non
consultant
de venefici[is]
de maritis
non consul-
tant

[fusa venen]a silen[t] m[a]lus ingratusq(ue) maritus

[et quae jam vet]eres sanant mortaria caecōs

[ergo sibi dabit] ipse rudem si nostra movēbunt

ει τις αφυη(s)
εργατητω[.]s
παιδευτη υιον
και αφελη . . s

[consilia et vi]tae diversum iter ingrediētur .

[ad pugnam qui] rhetorica descendit ab umbra

]ενδο . ob .
antiqui fit r'h'etor ut emigret ex officio

VERSO

*οτι απελαβε χοραγιον σιτου . [] περ . α . [. .] . συνταξις ο ανεκβληθη προς τω μη . α . ο . [. . .] πον
 [] επ οικτρω ως υποθεσιν οικιοθεν απο [. . .] . νον . .
 χοραγιον σιτου εντ() ε [.] . τρ:ις*

	<p>[d]e tess- [era]</p>	<p>summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.</p>		<p>provata()</p>
175		<p>frumenti quippe haec merces lautissima tempta</p>		
	<p>[.] vis rā . i maius</p>	<p>chrysogonus quanti doceat vel polliō quanti</p>		
	<p>divitum</p>	<p>lautorum pueros arte scindens theodori</p>		<p>. . . [</p>
	<p>. . πορα</p>	<p>balnea sescentis et pluris porticus in qua</p>		
		<p>gestetur dominus quotiens pluit anne serenum</p>		
180	<p>κατα ελλειψιν παρ(σ) των δου(λων) ille divēs</p>	<p>expēctet spargatque luto jum[enta recenti]</p>		
	<p>εν τω με- σαυλιω εν τη στοα γυμναζει</p>	<p>hic potius namque hic mund'a e n[ite]t ung[ula m]ulae</p>		
		<p>parte alia. longis numidarum fulta colu[mnis]</p>		
	<p>in alia par- te porticus cenatiō ful- ta erat colu- mnis numi- darum ant[er]ius honestis</p>	<p>surgat et argentem rapiat cenatiō solem</p>		<p>οτε του χειμ[ωνος] ψυξις γιν- εται</p>
185		<p>quanticumque domum veniet quia fercula docte</p>		
		<p>conponit . veniet quia pulmentaria condit</p>		
		<p>hōs inter sumptus sestertia quintilianō</p>		<p>magister filii divitis</p>
	<p>πως</p>	<p>ut multum [s] duo sufficiunt res nulla minoris</p>		
	<p>ex pa- renti- b[us] ha- bet</p>	<p>constavit patri quam filius . unde igitur tot</p>		<p>ως απο αντι- θεσεως</p>
190		<p>quintilianus habet saltus exempla novorum</p>		
		<p>fatorum transi felix et pulcher et acer</p>		
	<p>eruditus est solus qui pau- per est [ne]c molestias t[er]met qui enim est dives [e]x eo atem η . τιση et 'ε'η · φ . τеспit</p>	<p>felix orator quodque maximus et jaculator</p>		
195		<p>adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae</p>		
		<p>felix orator quodque maximus et jaculator</p>		
		<p>et si perfrisit cantat bene distat enim quae</p>		
		<p>sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem</p>		
		<p>edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem</p>		
		<p>si fortuna volet fies de re et consul</p>		
		<p>si volet haec eadem fies de consule rhetor</p>		

175. *provata* add. E. 176. Perhaps *Polliō*. 181. *mund'a e a* add. B. 189. *'habet'* add. A. 190. *'et'* add. A. *patri* add. F.

REPORT ON COINS FOUND AT TEBTUNIS IN 1900

BY J. G. MILNE

With Plate xxvi

THE coins found at Tebtunis (Umm el-Burġāt) by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in 1900, when they were excavating for the University of California, have never been described. The intention was that a catalogue should be published as part of a full account of the site and its excavation: and for this purpose the coins were retained when the rest of the antiquities were sent to California. The account, however, was never written: and the coins were still in Dr. Hunt's rooms at the Queen's College when he died. As I had promised Dr. Grenfell, in 1900, to report on them, the time has now come to fulfil my promise. The coins are now housed in the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley, and the report is published here with the approval of the authorities of the University.

1. A hoard of 140 Ptolemaic base-silver tetradrachms (inventory no. 442) was found in a house in the temple enclosure. They were all of the issue without any symbol in the field of the reverse, dated by regnal years, and of late style. Their preservation was excellent: they were quite unaffected by corrosion of any kind, and very few showed appreciable wear from circulation: even those that were most rubbed could not have lost more than a fractional percentage of their original weight. As a large hoard in such good condition is not of common occurrence, they were all weighed, and the weights are given below, in grammes, classified under the regnal years.

Year 1: 14·01. *Year 4:* 14·62, 14·05, 13·89. *Year 5:* 14·17, 13·93, 13·76. *Year 7:* 14·33, 13·95. *Year 8:* 13·87. *Year 9:* 14·47. *Year 10:* 13·73. *Year 16 = 13:* 13·84, 13·83. *Year 14:* 14·25, 14·14, 14·10, 14·07, 13·60, 13·54. *Year 15:* 14·42, 14·39, 14·22, 14·18, 14·00. *Year 16:* 14·39, 14·28, 14·20, 14·18, 13·38. *Year 17:* 14·73, 14·47, 14·37, 14·30, 14·17, 14·07, 13·76, 13·73, 13·55, 12·68. *Year 18:* 14·69, 14·47, 14·32, 14·31, 14·23, 14·22, 14·18, 14·17, 14·13, 14·12, 14·11, 13·93, 13·62, 13·53, 13·47, 13·35. *Year 19:* 15·57, 15·37, 15·14, 15·08, 14·86, 14·80, 14·72, 14·62, 14·46, 14·41, 14·28, 14·03, 14·00, 13·95, 13·78, 13·75, 13·72, 13·64, 13·55, 13·49, 13·48, 13·47, 13·42, 13·42, 13·26. *Year 20:* 15·31, 15·13, 14·88, 14·66, 14·56, 14·50, 14·43, 14·41, 14·40, 14·34, 14·32, 14·26, 14·00, 13·87, 13·69, 13·64, 13·36, 13·20, 13·18, 13·10, 12·84. *Year 21:* 14·99, 14·90, 14·55, 14·52, 14·44, 14·27, 14·14, 13·96, 13·29, 12·98, 12·77. *Year 22:* 15·13, 14·55, 14·19, 13·70, 13·70, 13·69, 13·63, 13·62, 13·23. *Year 23:* 15·09, 14·85, 14·48, 14·45, 14·39, 14·12, 14·05, 13·99, 13·98, 13·90, 13·88, 13·58, 13·42, 13·41, 13·32, 13·21, 11·56. *Year 24:* 13·80.

The composition of this hoard furnishes strong evidence in favour of the classification of the later Ptolemaic silver issues proposed by Regling (see Svoronos, *τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, iv, 326–30), according to which the coins without symbols dated by years 1 to 10 are of the first reign of Ptolemy X Soter II; those by years 8 = 11 to 13 = 16 of the joint reign of Ptolemy XI Alexander I and Cleopatra; those by years 14 to 26 of the sole reign of Ptolemy XI Alexander I: the regnal years thus correspond to the periods when these contending claimants for the Ptolemaic power respectively controlled the Egyptian part of the empire. The comparative numbers of the coins from each year in the hoard are roughly

what might be expected to remain in circulation out of the issues of twenty-four successive years at the end of that period: and the coins with the earlier year-dates are the most worn, while those with the latest are quite fresh. But other hoards do not fit in so well with this classification: for instance, a small hoard of the dated tetradrachms without symbols, found at Kom Truga and published in the *Annuario del Museo Greco Romano*, 1 (Alexandria, 1934), p. 44, contained 5 of year 1, 2 of year 20, 27 of year 21, 22 of year 22, and 3 of year 29. The presence of the coins of year 1 seems anomalous, unless they belong to year 1 of Ptolemy XIII Neos Dionysos, who succeeded Soter II in 80 B.C.: and they rather favour the alternative theory that Neos Dionysos went on striking the series without symbols during the first part of his reign. More evidence from hoards is necessary before the grouping of the late Ptolemaic silver can be determined with any certainty.

The weights of the coins, which, as noted above, may be taken as approximately those at which they were struck, show that there was no serious attempt to standardize them at this period. The Ptolemaic kings seem to have abandoned the attempt to control the price of silver in Egypt, of which there are traces under Soter I and Philadelphus (see *Journal*, 15, 150), after the middle of the third century B.C., and the internal business of the country was normally done on a copper basis: consequently nothing would be gained by giving a fixed amount of silver in what was purely a token currency, and tetradrachms of different metal content would circulate together with the same purchasing power, just as shillings struck before and after 1920 do to-day in England: the good silver tetradrachms of the first half of the third century and the debased ones of the latter part of the second are found mixed up in hoards. Foreign trade did not need to be considered: Ptolemaic silver coins are hardly ever found outside Egypt after the third century, and it would have been absurd from a business standpoint to export them to places where they would have been valued as bullion, since the market price of silver in Egypt was at all times far higher than elsewhere in the Mediterranean area. The irregularity of weight needs no further explanation.

The hoard is rather exceptional in containing only coins of one series, apparently, and all in good condition: most Egyptian hoards of the Greek and Roman periods are much more varied in their composition as regards dates of issue and degree of wear. It may possibly be suggested that this was an official consignment, or an issue from a bank: on the analogy of later banking practice, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the state-controlled banks of Ptolemaic Egypt might make a selection from the coins that came in to them, and reissue to their customers only such as were in a fair degree of preservation.

2. A second parcel of Ptolemaic coins consists entirely of bronze: the note on the lid of the box is almost effaced, but seems to read '444. 108 together from temple'. There are actually only 107 coins now in the box, all but three of which are of the type of Svoronos 1426-7 = B.M.C. Ptolemies, p. 106, 32-5: in the former this is ascribed to the reign of Philometor, in the latter to that of Soter II. Two are of the type of Svoronos 1237, ascribed to Epiphanes, and one of Svoronos 1158, ascribed to Philopator or later: the last-mentioned type is considered by Robinson to be Cyrenaic, of the second century (B.M.C. Cyrenaica, p. 90, 106-8). The average state of preservation is very poor: there are not more than a dozen good specimens in the hoard.

So far as the date is concerned, it seems impossible to ascribe the type of which this hoard mainly consists to any one reign. These little coins are found in quantities on every Ptolemaic site in Egypt, and are practically the only currency of their size that is represented there by anything later than issues that must be of the third century. They vary considerably in style: tested by this, and in comparison with the silver coins, some might well be of the reign

of Philometor, as suggested by Svoronos, others of the reign of Soter II, as suggested by Poole, others still later. There are, it is true, small bronze coins which bear the names of Euergetes (II) and Soter (II) in more or less abbreviated forms; but these occur only rarely and, so far as the records of finds show, do not together number as much as one per cent. of the type under discussion. It was not till the reign of Cleopatra VII that any copper or bronze coins with the personal title of a Ptolemy were issued in quantity in Egypt: her pieces of 80 and 40 copper drachmas are fairly common. The evidence strongly suggests that, just as the types of the gold and silver were repeated in reign after reign, so the types of the bronze became fixed: these small coins may have been struck in the first instance under Philometor, and continued to be struck without variation for over a century.

They were the smallest bronze pieces in regular use during this period: and the discovery of a hoard of them in the temple of Tebtunis recalls the fact that Heron of Alexandria, in his *Pneumatica*, describes an automatic machine which was placed at the entrances of Egyptian temples to supply water to the worshippers, and was operated by dropping into it a *πεντάδραχμον νόμισμα*—*i.e.*, a little bronze coin like these. The Tebtunis hoard may be the takings of such a machine.

3. The largest group of Roman coins found in the excavations at Umm el-Baragāt consisted of 119 tetradrachms (inventory no. 445). As the chief value of such a hoard for historical purposes lies in the comparative numbers of specimens from each year, to facilitate their tabulation on the lines of the Ashmolean Catalogue of Alexandrian coins a list of the coins is given under the headings of the emperors, with the regnal year in Roman figures; the number of the type in that Catalogue, with a note, in angular brackets, or a brief description of any variants; and, in round brackets, the number of specimens of each type.

NERO iii; 142 (1), 144 (1): iv; *obv.* Bb, *rev.* Homonoia (1): v; 177 (1): x; 217 (5), 222 (3): xi; 223 (2), 226 (1), 228 (8), 236 (1): xii; 238 (21): xiii; 248 (2), 251 (6), 256 (1), 262 (1), 273 (3): xiv; 277 (1), 281 (1), 287 (1), 288 (2), 304 (1). GALBA i; 309 (1), 312 (1), 314 (1), 322 (3): ii; 329 (1). VITELLIUS i; 372 (1). VESPASIAN i; 384 (ties a) (1): ii; 388 (2), 389 (1), 393 (1), 394 (1). TITUS ii; 454 (1). TRAJAN xv; 649 (1): xviii; 713 (1): xix; 738 (1): xx; 789 (1). HADRIAN iv; 940 (1): v; 986 (1), 991 (1): vi; 1014 (1), 1018 (1), 1027 (2): viii; 1051 (1): ix; 1078 (E) (1): x; 1120 (1), 1158 (1): xii; 1255 (1): xiii; 1274 (2): xiv; 1280 (2): xv; 1294 (2), 1301 (1), *Sabina* 1305 (1): xvi; 1325 (1): xviii; 1399 (1): xix; 1454 (3): xx; 1501 (1), 1508 (1): xxi; 1520 (1): xxii; 1560 (1). ANTONINUS PIUS ii; 1597 (1): vii; 1755 (1): ix; 1854 (—NENO CC—) (1): xii; *Aurelius Caesar obv.* A₂a, *rev.* as 1944 (1): xiii; *obv.* as 2038, *rev.* as 2042 (1): xiv; 2073 (D₃) (1): xix; 2304 (1).

The composition of this hoard is what is normal in Egyptian hoards of the middle of the second century A.D., as may be seen by comparison with the Table in the Ashmolean Catalogue. The issues of Nero, particularly the Alexandria type of year 12 (no. 238), formed the preponderant part of the currency till the time of Commodus.

4. A little lot of 13 tetradrachms and 1 bronze drachma (inventory no. 446), marked as found together, is catalogued on the same principle.

NERO xi; 226 (1), 228 (1): xii; 238 (4): xiii; 251 (2), 261 (1): xiv; 300 (1). GALBA i; 311 (1). TITUS iii; 459 (1). HADRIAN xix; 1451 (1). ANTONINUS PIUS, date illegible; Æ (1).

The presence of a stray bronze coin in a hoard of billon tetradrachms is not unparalleled, and need not be supposed to be a later intrusion: in the great Bacchias hoard of over 4,400 tetradrachms, which I saw excavated and poured out of the amphorae which contained them, there was a solitary bronze drachma.

5. Among the miscellaneous finds of coins in a box numbered 443 there was one group which may be regarded as the equivalent of a hoard, as the coins were all stuck together, and therefore have a material guarantee of their original relationship. They are:

CLAUDIUS v; 103 (1). NERO iv; 165 (1): x; 217 (2): xi; 228 (6): xii; 238 (4): xiii; 251 (1): xiv; 281 (2), 287 (1). GALBA i; 312 (1). DOMITIAN vi; *obv.* Db, *rev.* Nike (1). TRAJAN xviii; 725 (1). HADRIAN iii; 910 (1): viii; 1051 (1): x; 1123 <ϸΛΔΕ ΚΑ Ψ ΤΟΥ> (1), 1153 (1): xi; 1177 (1): xv; 1294 (1). ANTONINUS PIUS ii; 1596 <A_{4a}> (1).

Two of the specimens of type 228 of Nero appear to be of exceptionally base metal: so far as the technique of the coins shows, they do not differ otherwise from the regular products of the mint of Alexandria, and may therefore be taken to be official issues. The coin of Domitian is of the types of Dattari 439, but differs slightly in details from that illustrated on his Plate xviii, and is accordingly figured here (Pl. xxvi).

6. A little parcel in the box of miscellaneous coins proved to be of special interest: it was wrapped in a paper marked, in Dr. Grenfell's hand, 'Dec. 14. Together'; and the contents were two bronze and six leaden pieces. The former were an extremely worn first-century Alexandrian diobol, on which the head of Vespasian was just discernible, and an Antiochene coin of Elagabalus, of the type of B.M.C. Galatia, etc., p. 206, 457 (the end of the obverse legend is not quite certain). The leaden pieces were all of the type described by A. de Longperier in his article entitled *Monnaies du Serapéum de Memphis* (*Rev. Numism.*, 1861, p. 407), from a specimen found by Mariette in his excavations at Saqqārah: their association with the coin of Elagabalus gives the first evidence of the kind as to the date when such leaden tokens were circulating in Egypt.

These six pieces (Pl. xxvi) were all from different dies, and show some slight variations in treatment: a combined description follows. It may be noted that the face which is here called the obverse, on grounds of technique, bears a type which would more fitly be placed on the reverse of a coin if the normal Greek practice were observed.

Obv.: Nilus seated l. on rocks, crowned with lotus, wearing himation over legs, holding reed in r., cornucopiae in l.: facing him, Euthenia standing r., crowned with corn (in 1 possibly modius), wearing long chiton and peplos floating out behind, holding up in r. ear of corn: above, $\text{OBO}\Lambda\text{OI}$: single border of dots in 1-3, double border in 4-6.

Rev.: Apis bull standing r., with disk between horns, on garlanded basis, with an altar at the r. end: before him, Isis standing to front (in 1 with head r., in 5 and 6 with head l., in 2-4 apparently with head to front), crowned with disk and horns, wearing long chiton, r. hand outstretched, serpent in l.: behind him, Ptaḥ standing r., disk on head, mummiform, holding *was*-sceptre with both hands: over back of Apis, crescent opening r. (rudimentary in 4-6): above, in 1 palm, horizontally, in 2 degraded palm (?), in 3 and 5 possibly nothing, in 4 two flying figures facing, holding wreath between them, in 6 a twisted object, perhaps a serpent or degraded wreath: border of dots. Sizes and die-positions: (1) 30 mm., ↑: (2) 30 mm., ↑: (3) 31 mm., →: (4) 28 mm., ←: (5) 30 mm., ↖: (6) 30 mm., ↑.

The flans of all but 4 are very thin, that of 3 being too thin to take a proper impression of the dies. The reverse die of 4 also shows the best work, though the obverse is crude: and, as this piece is the most worn, it is probably the earliest. The others do not look as if they had been handled much in circulation: their imperfections as specimens are due to faulty striking, not to rubbing, and they are not patinated.

The style and technique are so close to those of the leaden tokens with the name of Memphis, and the reverse type is so distinctively Memphite, that there can be little doubt

of the correctness of Longperier's attribution of this type to Memphis. The workmanship of 4 is inferior to that of the best Memphite tokens—*e.g.*, *Num. Chron.*, 1930, Pl. xxii, 19: 1 is somewhat worse than 4, the rest very much worse.

As regards the date of the hoard, the Antiochene coin of Elagabalus is a good deal worn: and (though it is perhaps dangerous to rest too much on the evidence of a single piece) it looks as if it must have been several years in circulation, and might have been deposited about A.D. 250. The leaden pieces, except 4, would then have been struck shortly before that date: this agrees with the general conclusions reached on other evidence as to the period when the Egyptian leaden tokens were produced, namely from the last quarter of the second century to the end of the third: these pieces are about midway in style between the best and the worst. In any case, it may be taken as certain that they were struck later than the first quarter of the third century.

The facts that they were found with official coins and bear marks of value furnish clear evidence in support of the contention that such leaden tokens were actually used as small change in Egypt when the government had ceased to issue any coins smaller than a tetradrachm: local enterprise filled the gap, just as it did in England with 'plombs' under Elizabeth, town and traders' tokens under the Commonwealth, and traders' tokens again under George III. Hitherto, though large numbers of the leaden tokens have been published, the only specimens of which the find-spots are recorded have come from rubbish-mounds or house-sites, where indeed official coins are similarly found, but also miscellaneous collections of small objects of every kind, and their presence there throws no light on their use: the occurrence of such tokens in a hoard is therefore important. As the six specimens are all from different dies, it is evident that the issue must have been a fairly large one; dies would not wear out quickly in striking these thin leaden flans.

7. The remainder of the 'miscellaneous' coins had no records of any kind attached, and presumably were casual finds from the mounds. The only evidence that they furnish, as a whole, concerns the period of occupation of the site, and a summary list of them will suffice for this, the more so as the majority are in worn condition and only partly legible; but a few specimens deserve rather fuller treatment.

Ptolemaic (all Æ; references to Svoronos). <250–200 B.C.> 994; 1125; 1149 (with countermark on reverse): <150–50 B.C.> 1237; 1426 (7); 1427: <Cleopatra vii> 1871: 2 illegible.

Alexandrian (tetradrachms Bi., rest Æ: dates by regnal years: references to Ashmolean catalogue, except where noted). AUGUSTUS undated; 12 (diob.), 20 (obol): xli; as 29, but 18 mm. (obol). TIBERIUS iv; 35 (*Livia*, diob.): v; 36 (obol), 37 (obol, date uncertain): ?; rev. illegible (obol). CLAUDIUS iii; 84 (tetr.): iv; 100 (diob.): x; 114 (diob.): xii; as 128, but L IB (diob.): xiii; 128 (2, diob.). NERO x; 222 (tetr.). VESPASIAN ii; 404 <ties a> (diob.): iv; 422 (obol): v; 425 (diob.): vi; 432 (diob.): ?; rev. bust of Sarapis, date illegible (diob.). DOMITIAN iii; 472 (diob.), 473 (diob.): xi; 502 ? (diob.), as 512, but *obv.* E₁d (obol), *obv.* E₁b, rev. eagle r., looking back, L I A in field (diob.): ?; rev. illegible (dr.). TRAJAN xiv; 618 ? (dr.): xv; 664 ? (dr.): xx; 806 (dr.): ?; rev. Herakles of Herakleopolis standing l., date illegible (dr.). HADRIAN ii or iii; rev. quadriga, date illegible (dr.): iv; 952 (dr.): xii; 1270 ? ($\frac{1}{2}$ dr.): xiv; as 1286, but rev. Athene <d¹> (dr.): xv; 1316 (dr.): xvi; 1329 (dr.), 1346 ? (diob.): xvii; as 1364, but Triptolemos <a²> (dr.): xviii; 1415 (dr.): xxi; 1556 ? (*Aelius*, diob.): ?; rev. Nilus reclining l., date illegible (dr.). ANTONINUS PIUS i; see below (dr.): v; see below (dr.), see below (diob.): viii; 1804 ? (*Aurelius Caes.*, dr.), Dattari 6361 (*Aurelius Caes.*, dr.): x; 1925 ? (dr.): xii ?; rev. Eirene standing l., date uncertain ($\frac{1}{2}$ dr.): xiii; see below (diob.): xv; 2150 <LIE above> (*Faustina*, dr.), 2153 ? (dr.), 2156 <F₆b₂> (dr.): xvi; 2168 <D₁k₂> (tetr.): xviii;



I



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



II



see below (*Aurelius*, obol): xix; 2319 <L I Θ> (dr.): ?; bust of Zeus r. (dr.), bust of Nilus r. (dr.), two Canopi (dr.). M. AURELIUS ?; rev. Dikaiosyne standing l., date illegible (dr.). L. VERUS vi ?; 2558 ? (dr.). CLAUDIUS II ii; 4240 (tetr.). AURELIAN and VABALLATHUS ii = v; 4330 (tetr.). AURELIAN v; 4427 (tetr.). DIOCLETIAN ii; 4770 (tetr.).

Roman (Æ; references to Cohen). DIOCLETIAN 146 $\left(\frac{\Delta}{XXI}\right)$. GALERIUS 9 $\left(\frac{A}{ALE}\right)$. LICINIUS JR. 21 (SMHΓ). CONSTANTINE I 530 $\left(\frac{T|F}{BTR}\right)$. CONSTANTINOPOLIS 21 (SMALB). CONSTANTINE II 122 (SMANΘ), (CONS ?). CONSTANS I 197 (?). CONSTANTIUS II 97 (?), 167 (SMK Δ), 188 (?), (?), 335 (SMALΓ), (SMANA ?). VALENTINIAN I 37 (ALEA), (?). VALENS 47 (?). THEODOSIUS I 30 (SMKB). HONORIUS 56 (SMK Δ). Three illegible fourth century. One barbarous copy of Constantius II.

Byzantine (Æ; references to British Museum Cat.). JUSTIN II 241. Barbarous copy PHOCAS 132.

The coins to be fully described or illustrated are:

Antoninus Pius, 1, *obv.*: ϚAVTKTAIΛAΔP ϚANTΩNINOCEVCEB Bust r., bare-headed, back view.

Rev. ϚΕΤΟ ϚVC•A• Bust of Sarapis r., laur., crowned with modius and draped.

Æ. 35 mm., 25.81 g. (Pl. xxvi.)

This appears to be unpublished. Coins of the first year of Antoninus Pius are very rare.

2. *Obv.*: ϚAVTKTAIΛAΔP ϚANTΩNINOC ϚΕΒΕVC Head r., laur.

Rev.: Isis Pharia stepping r., crowned with disk, horns, and plumes, wearing long chiton and peplos, which floats behind, holding with both hands and l. foot corners of sail, sistrum in r. hand: before her, Pharos, as square tower with door at base, and lantern on top surmounted by statue and flanked by Tritons: to r., $\begin{matrix} \epsilon \\ \text{L} \end{matrix}$

Æ. 32 mm., 24.96 g.

This type also is unpublished for this year: the form of the Pharos is the earlier one, before the reconstruction under Antoninus Pius.

3. *Obv.*: ϚAVTKTAIΛAΔP ϚANTΩNINOCEV ϚCEB Head r., laur.

Rev.: Bust of Nilus r., crowned with lotus, reed by r. shoulder, cornucopiae in front: i.f. L $\begin{matrix} \epsilon \\ \text{L} \end{matrix}$

Æ. 24 mm., 9.98 g. (Pl. xxvi.)

This is a variant of Dattari 2720.

4. *Obv.*: ϚAVTKTAIΛAΔP ϚANTΩNINOC Head r., laur.

Rev.: Bust of Harpokrates r., crowned with *skhent* and uraeus, r. hand to lips, behind shoulder club, on which hawk r. crowned with *skhent*: i.f. L IΓ

Æ. 24 mm. 9.66 g. (Pl. xxvi.)

This is Dattari 2574.

Aurelius Caesar. 5. *Obv.*: ϚMAVPHAIC ϚKAICAP Head r., bare.

Rev.: Dolphin downwards: i.f. L IΗ

Æ. 19 mm., 4.64 g. (Pl. xxvi.)

This type is unpublished for year 18 of Antoninus Pius, though recorded for year 19.

There were also 4 bits of bronze, probably fifth-century debased copies of Roman currency, and 7 leaden tokens of no special interest.

From these finds it may be concluded that the intensive occupation of the area excavated was in the first and second centuries A.D., with some revival in the fourth after a decline in the third.

8. Two small parcels marked '737. from Ptolemaic cemetery' contained miscellaneous coins, presumably surface finds, in poor condition. One, which was said to have 10, but actually had 11, pieces in it, included 7 Ptolemaic Æ (1149, 1426 (3), 1871, and 2 illegible), 2 Alexandrian Æ (430 and illegible), 1 Byzantine follis of Alexandria, and 1 completely illegible: the other had 2 Ptolemaic, 1 Alexandrian, and 1 fourth-century Roman Æ . The preponderance here is naturally Ptolemaic.

9. From an exploratory excavation in the town at Gharak there were 18 coins (inventory no. 447) in very poor condition: 3 were Ptolemaic Æ , 2 third-century Alexandrian tetradrachms, 9 fourth-century Roman Æ , and 4 completely illegible.

AN EASTER-TIDE FRAGMENT ON PAPYRUS

By H. J. M. MILNE

(With Plate xxvii)

STUDENTS of Christian Egypt owe a debt to Hugh G. Evelyn White, and it seems appropriate that a papyrus which once belonged to that lamented scholar and has now been presented to the British Museum by his father, the Rev. C. H. Evelyn White, should see the light in the pages of the present *Journal*. This papyrus, measuring 8.3 cm. × 18.3 cm., and bearing the Inventory Number 2906, hails, according to the dealer's statement, from Eshmunēn in Middle Egypt, the ancient Hermopolis Magna. It is uncertain whether it forms part of a liturgical roll written parallel to its height in the Byzantine and medieval fashion, or whether it is simply an odd scrap with an isolated text, perhaps used as an amulet. A few spots above the first legible line may preserve the traces of previous words, but the loss of the left-hand part of that line prevents us from judging whether these would be necessary to the sense. Certainly the end of the papyrus as it stands gives a full and satisfactory meaning.

Script and content are of a familiar type. The writing, a rather irregular sloping hand of the sixth to seventh centuries, runs athwart the fibres of the papyrus and covers only one side. Circumflexes occur over *iota* in *στρατιωτη* (l. 3) and the initial letter of *ισχιρωθαι* (l. 4), perhaps meant for diaereses; those over *omega* in *στρατιωται* (l. 5) and *upsilon* in *ακουοντος* (l. 7) presumably stand for accents, in the latter case wrongly. A triangle of dots appears to mark punctuation after *θησαυρος* (l. 5); so too other dots or strokes after *ακουοντος* (l. 7) and *λεγοντες* (l. 8). But erratic dots are also plentiful in this papyrus. A rough breathing is placed over *οι* (l. 5). Words do not overflow into the next line, but, if necessary, are completed above the line as in ll. 5 and 7. The sacred names have the usual contractions. The text is illiterate, even for its period and kind. Orthography and syntax are far from satisfactory. One wonders if the faithful who recited the words on Easter Day could really parse the first five lines, or were content with a mere 'blessed mutter'. At all events one modern reader picks his way with diffidence. From *ακουοντος* (l. *ακουοντες*) onwards we have the aid of a verifiable quotation. Up to that point only fitful gleams of possible meanings shine through, but the passage seems to be based upon the incident in Matt. xxviii, 11-13.

] . . . [
] . η οι Ιουδαιοι και
φ[υλα]ξ[α]ντες τοννυμα στρατιωτη αναγγειλλατε
υμιν οπως ζυ ψευσασθαι κατα του κ̄ν̄ ισχιρωθαι
5 ω θησαυρος :· δῑ τοι στρατιω̄ταῑ διο [. . .] τευε 'ται'
παρνομοι . ε̄ τον θ̄ν̄ πιστευοῑ τελος τον
νεκρων αποδοταῑ ακουοντος τοῡ προφητο̄ ῡ'
λεγοντες̄ αυτη̄ ημερᾱ εν̄ εποισεν̄ ο̄ κ̄ς̄
αγαλλιαζομεθα [καῑ εν̄] φρανθωμεν̄ εν̄ αυτη̄
10 οτῑ εκηγε̄ρταῑ Χ̄[σ̄]ω̄ τηριᾱ το̄ [κοσμ̄]ω̄

'Jews and soldiers, guardians of the tomb, proclaim ye to us that he lives. Ye spake an untruth concerning the Lord. The sepulchre was made fast [i.e. the body has not been stolen]. Soldiers . . .

lawless men, believe ye in God, that the dues of the dead have been paid, giving ear to the words of the Prophet: "This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it", because Christ is risen, the salvation of the world.'

3. Of φυλάξαντες (or whatever word it be) only the foot of the first and fifth letters is left. Cf. οἱ τηροῦντες in Matt. xxviii, 4. Read τὸ μνήμα, and στρατιῶται. The reference appears to be to the episode recounted in Matt. xxviii, 11–13: πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδοὺ τινες τῆς κουστωδίας ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἅπαντα τὰ γενόμενα. καὶ συναχθέντες μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συμβούλιόν τε λαβόντες ἀργύρια ἱκανὰ ἔδωκαν τοῖς στρατιώταις λέγοντες Εἶπατε ὅτι οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ἐλθόντες ἔκλεψαν αὐτὸν ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων.

4. Read ἡμῖν ὅπως ζῆ = ὅτι ζῆ? The two staccato verbs which follow are most simply restored as <ἐ>ψεύσασθε . . . ἰσχυρώθη. The references are to εἶπατε . . . κοιμωμένων above, and to ἀσφαλίσθῃαι τὸν τάφον in Matt. xxvii, 64.

6–7. Read πιστεύετε, <ὅτι> τέλος τῶν νεκρῶν ἀποδέδοται, with a glance at 1 Cor. xv, 20: "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept"? Read ἀκούοντες.

8–9. Read λέγοντος. Actually the quotation is from Ps. cxviii, 24: αὕτη ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν Κύριος· ἀγαλλιασάμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ, a versicle still recited at various points in the Orthodox services at Easter.

10. Read ἐγήγερται. For the restorations we may compare Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται, εὐφροσύνη αἰώνιος and σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ ὅτι ἀνάστη Χριστός, from troparia at Easter matins.

PIANKHI'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS ARMY

By ALAN H. GARDINER

FOR those whose life is devoted to the study of Egyptian texts it is somewhat humiliating to find that some of the most interesting hieroglyphic inscriptions are not really Egyptian at all, but emanate from the Nubian kings of alien descent who ruled Egypt, either wholly or in part, during the latter half of the eighth and the first half of the seventh centuries before the Christian era. Perhaps it was the foreign blood of an energetic and warlike race that caused them, despite a deep devotion to Pharaonic tradition, to commemorate upon their triumphal stelas a wealth of picturesque details and manifestations of personal temperament entirely absent from the vainglorious annals of earlier times. The third Tuthmosis and the second Ramesses have afforded us accounts of their exploits far less jejune than those of most of their compatriots. But who among us will prefer their narrations to that of the Ethiopian conqueror Piankhi?

If there remained any doubt upon the point, it would, I think, be effectually dispelled by the passage which forms the subject of the present article. The rendering I have to offer differs widely from that given by previous translators, who indeed have failed to discern the sense owing to their ignorance of the meaning of a crucial word. The meaning of that word once recognized, the sense of the whole paragraph follows almost automatically. The conclusions here to be set forth were reached a few years ago, but I deferred publishing them in the hope of finding time to give a completely new version of the entire stela. During the last few days, however, there has come before me an article by a young German scholar¹ who, while he has one excellent and novel suggestion to make, is still baffled by the passage as a whole. For this reason I have thought fit to claim a few pages of the *Journal* for a discussion of this philological problem. I begin with a rather free translation of the passage as I interpret it, in the hope of attracting some readers who would be unwilling first to plough their way through an expanse of grammatical and lexicographical notes.

Piankhi has heard (ll. 3 ff.) that Tefnakht, who was the local ruler of Sais, had seized the entire western Delta as far as Lisht, and had then sailed upstream gaining victories wherever he went. One important kinglet, Nimilt of H̄etwēre, had thrown off his allegiance to Piankhi, and had even razed the walls of his city in the hope of conciliating the invader. In face of this news Piankhi writes to his generals already in Egypt ordering them to beleaguer Hermopolis Magna, while at the same time he fits out another army to send from his Ethiopian capital at Napata (ll. 9 ff.):

'Then sent His Majesty an army into Egypt charging them very strictly: Attack not the enemy by night after the way of gamesters, but fight when you can be seen; challenge him to battle from afar. If he bid you await the infantry and cavalry of another city, rest quiet until his troops come. Fight only when he bids. Furthermore, if allies of his be in another city, let them be awaited. Such princes as he may take to help him, or any trusted Libyan troops, let them be challenged to battle in advance, saying: Thou—for we know not whom to address in mustering the army—harness the best steed of thy stable, draw up in line of battle. For know thou that Amūn is the god that hath sent us.'

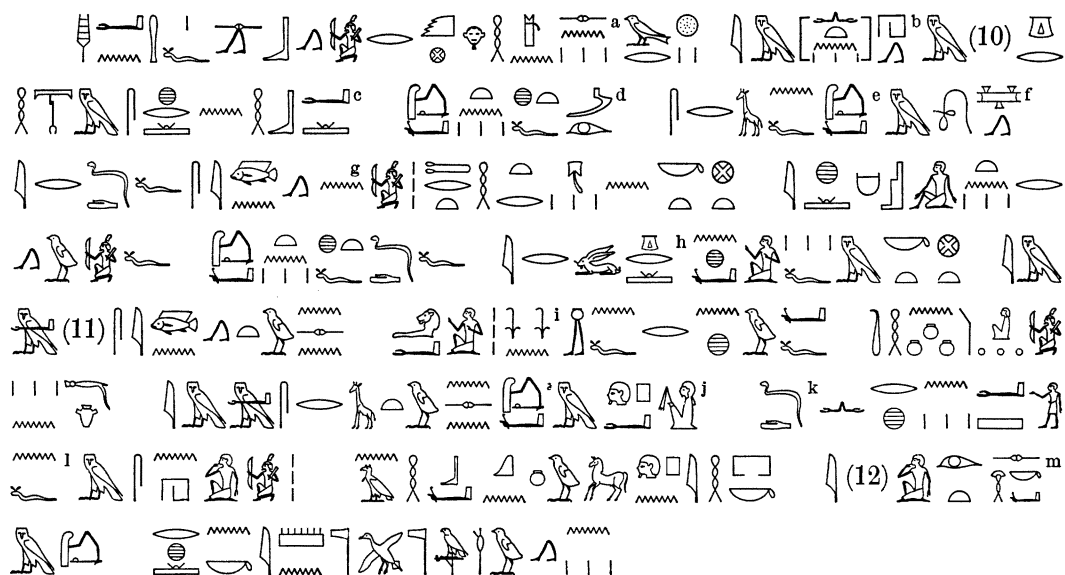
In other words Piankhi commands his generals to give the enemy choice of time and

¹ J. Spiegel; see below, p. 221, n. 5.

place for the fight. Respite should be allowed to enable Tefnakht's auxiliaries to arrive, and due warning should be given before any attack is launched. The last line divulges the grounds prompting this strange strategical counsel: '*For know thou that Amūn is the god that hath sent us*'.

Were such a command intended in literal earnest, it would indeed be an unprecedented utterance for an experienced warrior. It is the first principle of strategy not to underestimate the enemy, and deliberately to let him fix his own battle-conditions would be a remarkable innovation in generalship. But we must make allowance for the fact that this order is inscribed upon a triumphal stela erected at a date posterior to Tefnakht's unconditional surrender. However merely rhetorical Piankhi's words may be regarded as being, at least they bear witness to his high courage and unswerving piety. In this respect the passage harmonizes well with the rest of the stela, since we read that when the news of the rebellion reached Piankhi, he received it '*with a high heart, laughing and in gladness*' (l. 6), and the immediate continuation of the speech already translated reflects his deep faith in his god: '*When you have reached Thebes over against Epet-esut,¹ enter into the water, purify yourselves in the river, array yourselves in clean linen (?),² rest the bow and loosen the arrow.³ Boast⁴ not of being lords of might, for without him no brave hath strength; he maketh strong the weak, so that many flee before the few, and one man overcometh a thousand. Besprinkle yourselves with water from his altars. Kiss the earth before his face. Say ye unto him: "Give us fair passage, that we may fight beneath the shadow of thy strong arm. The youths whom thou hast sent, theirs is the victory; and many shall be dismayed before them."*'

The text of the passage here particularly interesting us reads as follows:





¹ *I.e.*, the temple of Karnak.


² [Ⓜ] ¹. The word seems unknown, unless it is somehow identical with the late [Ⓜ] ¹ which *Wörterb. d. aeg. Spr.*, v, 291 gives as 'Beiwort von Unreinlichkeiten, die abgewaschen werden'.

³ These last words are almost a quotation from the story of Sinuhe (B 274). It is known that the scribes responsible for the text of these Nubian stelas were deeply versed in the classical books of the Middle Kingdom, and habitually quoted from them. See my article on the 'Instruction of Amenemmes' in the *Mélanges Maspero*, pp. 494-5.

⁴ Strange as it may seem, [Ⓜ] appears here to be the determinative of [Ⓜ] ¹; cf. the writing [Ⓜ] ¹ on another stela of Piankhi from Gebel Barkal, *Z.Ä.S.*, 66, 90, l. 27.








It does not seem necessary to comment on all the renderings of previous translators, though in one place even the translation of de Rougé, made sixty years ago, has something to teach his successors.¹ I shall confine myself to the versions of Griffith,² Budge,³ Breasted,⁴ and Spiegel,⁵ and shall quote from them only as much as appears desirable in order to acquaint the reader with the nature of the interpretations here rejected. For the sake of brevity the names will be referred to in the shortened forms G., B., Br., and Sp.


In one point at least all earlier translators have an advantage over the very latest, in that they refer the pronoun 'he', 'him' throughout the passage to Tefnakht, not to Amūn, which is the suggestion of Sp. Sp. defends his view on the ground that in l. 13—in the words 'for without him  no brave hath strength'—the pronoun 'him' unquestionably belongs to Amūn, without (so says Sp.) the connexion with him having been anywhere indicated in the intermediate text. Sp. has overlooked the specific mention of Amūn in the last clause of the hieroglyphic excerpt given above. This, together with Sp.'s obvious ignorance of my article on the meaning of the verb  (see below, note g), puts his interpretation out of court.⁶

The renderings of G., B., and Br. all assume that Piankhi is here giving serious strategical advice, instead of merely displaying his contempt for the enemy. Alone of the three Br. has attempted, in footnotes, to make intelligible sense out of the various points mentioned. He interprets the first words as a command to attack at the earliest opportunity. The following sentences are stated to mean that if Tefnakht send his allies to fight them, they are to await the attack; but if the allies remain in some city, Piankhi's forces are to seek them. Doubtless this is as good an interpretation as can be elicited from the passage without taking the words  as 'to wait for'. The trouble is that in various minor points Br.'s version is open to philological objection, and that—most important of all—it does not harmonize with the defiant tone of the last words of the paragraph.

I now proceed with my notes on specific philological details.

(a) To be read *hn n.sn*, as is clear from the two instances of *hn* in l. 87.

(b) The restoration  seems certain, being demanded by both the sense and the space available. For  as a spelling of  see l. 33; this word is preserved on a new fragment of the stela unearthed by Reisner, and published by Loukianoff in *Ancient Egypt*, 1926, Plate opposite p. 86, where it is assigned to its right place in l. 9. A trace near  may quite well belong to ; for the four signs above one another see *hms-* of l. 10 as shown in Mariette's facsimile. Loukianoff renders 'N'entrez pas pendant la nuit', but it seems clear that  must have the not very common sense of 'attack' known from *Sinuhe* B 53. 61.

(c)  lit. 'in the manner of draughts-playing'. In rendering 'after the way of gamesters' I have tried to bring out the sense more clearly; in the game of draughts each player seeks to outwit the other.

(d) G. and B. are doubtless wrong in taking *sr nf ḥz m w* as the object of *mz* (B. 'as soon as ye see that he hath set his troops in marching order'); Br. construes *sr* as imperative, which

¹ *Chrestomathie égyptienne*, 4me fascicule, 1876. De Rougé rightly divined the sense of the first words of the speech: 'N'(attaquez pas) la nuit d'après le plan (comme) d'un jeu'.

² In *Specimen pages of a Library of the World's best Literature* (New York, 1897), 5277-8.

³ *The Egyptian Súdán*, II, 13.

⁴ *Ancient Records*, IV, 421-2.

⁵ *Ein neuer Ausdruck für 'der und der' im Ägyptischen*, in *Z.Ä.S.*, 71, 156-7.

⁶ Another defect of Sp.'s article is that he has missed Loukianoff's important article in *Ancient Egypt*, 1926, 86 ff., quoted below in note b. In exactly the same way Sp. detracts from the value of his otherwise excellent brochure *Die Präambel des Amenemope und die Zielsetzung der ägyptischen Weisheitsliteratur* by neglecting the new readings indicated by Griffith in his article on *The Teaching of Amenophis* in this *Journal*, 12, 191.

seems to me obviously right. However, I do not agree with BR. that *hft mꜣꜣ* should be understood as 'on sight', *i.e.*, as soon as you behold the enemy. The sense suggests rather a passive meaning for *mꜣꜣ*, 'corresponding with seeing' being equivalent to 'when you can be seen'; or alternatively a neutral sense 'when one can see'. To these possibilities there is no grammatical objection, the infinitive being indifferent as regards voice. The phrase *hft mꜣꜣ* is obviously contrasted with *m grh* previously.

(e) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ is rendered in *Wörterb. d. aeg. Spr.*, iv, 190 as 'Kampf beginnen', the Coptic ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ being compared. The latter phrase does indeed mean in effect 'to set the battle in array', as Crum gives it, and corresponds to the Greek παράτασσεσθαι . But the sense in the two instances here and in the further one in l. 17 must be 'to challenge someone to battle'. This follows (1) from the expansion ⲉⲃⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ , etc., at the end of our passage, (2) from the known meaning 'proclaim', 'foretell', 'announce' of ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ , cf. the writing ⲛⲓⲛⲓ in l. 17, and (3) from the use with the dative here. The literal sense is, of course, to 'announce battle to' someone, and the Coptic idiom, if connected at all,¹ is due to a transition of meaning.

(f) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ 'from afar', cf. below l. 93; *Metternich stela* 53. BR. renders 'Force battle upon him from afar', and explains this as meaning, "not that they are to fight at long range, avoiding close quarters, but that they are to seek battle at the earliest opportunity, and begin the attack from afar". But this would surely be a very unnatural mode of expression, and it is far easier to suppose Piankhi to be ordering his troops to announce their intention to attack when still at some distance; in this way the enemy would have ample time to make his dispositions. This interpretation, and this alone, fits really well into the context.


(g) Literally 'If he say, Wait for the infantry, etc.', with the meaning 'wait for' which, as I showed in *Z.Ä.S.*, 49, 100-2, is necessary in seven different passages containing the phrase ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ . BR.'s rendering 'If he says to the infantry and chariotry of another city, Hasten' is impeccable grammatically, and ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ or ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ is known to demand this sense in other passages. However, (1) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ in the apodosis implies that the persons addressed by Tefnakht are not certain of his now distant allies, but the attacking army of Piankhi; (2) later on, ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ would have to be ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ since *n-sn* could only mean '(hasten) to their help', not 'against them', and both context and Breasted's hypothesis demand that hostile action against these troops should be meant. But the real objection to Breasted's translation is that my alternative fits far better into the sense of the passage as a whole.



(h) BR. and Sp. both render ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ as 'but'. This would, however, be ⲛⲓⲛⲓ .





(i) There are three possible ways of taking the demonstrative ⲛⲓⲛⲓ : (1) as subject of a clause with nominal predicate 'These are the princes. . . .' (*Eg. Gramm.*, § 127, 1); (2) as co-ordinated with *hstyw-ꜥ* 'the princes and those whom. . . .'; (3) as in apposition to *hstyw-ꜥ*, 'the princes (namely) those whom. . . .', a very common construction in Coptic, cf. ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲟⲣⲟⲕⲟⲥ , but rather uncommon in Egyptian. I prefer the last of these alternatives. In any case, as Gunn points out, these words are best taken with what follows, since while the entire body of allies is to be awaited, it is not the rank and file, but only the chieftains among them, who are to be challenged before the battle starts.






(j) ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ is a difficulty. We need not perhaps attach much importance to the determinative ⲛⲓⲛⲓ , for this may be inspired by the word for 'ancestor(s)', found written ⲛⲓⲛⲓ in l. 1. But it seems a little doubtful whether we should take this adverbial expression temporally or spatially. If the latter, then the group would be nearly equivalent to ⲛⲓⲛⲓ above.

¹ The meaning of ⲛⲓⲛⲓ 'to spread (abroad)', 'distribute' seems very far distant from the Egyptian use. Perhaps, however, the Coptic meaning is the original sense, which has only found its way into literary Egyptian in the specialized meaning 'proclaim', this surviving in ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ , see Crum.

On the whole, however, I prefer to take it temporally, the more so since *Wörterb. d. aeg. Spr.*, v, 282 quotes  as a late expression for 'am Anfang' (*der Schöpfung*). On this view Piankhi will be meaning that not only shall these allies be awaited, but also when they have arrived due notice shall be given of the attack.

(k) Probably imperative, not an abbreviation of  or , the latter occurring, e.g., in l. 85.

(l) SP. (*loc. cit.*) has cleverly discovered the meaning of these words, which had defeated all other translators. Starting out from the Coptic *ⲁⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲉ* 'so-and-so', which Erman long ago proved to be derived from  'I know not who', he quotes several Late-Egyptian examples in which a similar phrase is used as a substitute for the name of a person, when that name is unknown or when the speaker, for some reason of his own, wishes to suppress it. Here, accordingly, the clause beginning with *n rh-n* takes the place of a vocative, and this is why I have inserted in my translation a 'thou' which is not in the original Egyptian. SP. is, however, mistaken in rendering  'den, den er gerufen hat', though this is grammatically possible,  being occasionally used with a direct object in the sense 'to summon'. But the meaning clearly is 'we know not to whom to call' in the sense of 'to whom *we* should call', which Egyptian would naturally render by passive participle + dative ('one called to him') on the model of  'one who is to be feared' (*Eg. Gramm.*, § 376). The use of *čš* with *n* of a person is common.

(m)  is of course imperative. The phrase must be equivalent to    , but I can quote no other instance.

In conclusion, let us hark back to the question as to how far Piankhi's speech is historical. It is a question to which no confident answer can be given. The probability seems to be that the author of the stela has attributed to Piankhi words either in harmony with his known character or else corresponding roughly to what he actually said. I have insisted sufficiently already on the strangeness of the instructions from a strategical point of view. But it may be, as Dr. Černý points out, that in them Piankhi did not disclose all his thought, but had reasons of his own for desiring a single decisive battle, rather than a prolonged campaign. In point of fact, though Tefnakht's discomfiture seems to have been fairly rapid, we are told of a number of battles and sieges taking place before he was compelled to surrender. There are no grounds for believing that Piankhi's high-flown command was obeyed.

A TRIAL BEFORE THE PREFECT OF EGYPT

APPIUS SABINUS, c. 250 A.D.

(P. Lond. Inv. 2565)

BY T. C. SKEAT AND E. P. WEGENER

(With Plate xxviii)

THE procedure of nomination to public offices (*ἀρχαι*) in the local municipalities of Graeco-Roman Egypt is still very imperfectly known. For the period before A.D. 200 we have, it is true, in Papyrus no. 77 of the Rylands collection an authority of prime importance; but hitherto, although a certain amount of valuable information has been pieced together, notably from the documents published in P. Oxy. XII, no papyrus has come to light which similarly reveals the details of procedure after the fundamental reforms which the Emperor Severus carried through in that year. 2565, as the papyrus here published will be hereafter designated, has therefore in spite of its mutilated condition a considerable interest, which is enhanced by the fact that it relates to the Arsinoite nome, whereas almost all the earlier-known texts come from Oxyrhynchus or Hermopolis. It has thus seemed desirable to publish it with as little delay as possible, especially as many years must elapse before the appropriate volume of the *Catalogue of Papyri* can be taken in hand. Unusual difficulties both of decipherment and restoration make the interpretation of large tracts of the document extremely hazardous, since in view of the number of passages where the text, though virtually complete, is nevertheless barely intelligible, it will be realized that where half a dozen or more letters are missing a convincing restoration has frequently eluded us; but all the same we feel justified in printing the document in its present state, for to many of these problems it is reasonable to hope that the insight of other scholars, or future discoveries of related texts, will eventually provide the key.

The notes appended to the text make no claim to be an adequate commentary. In particular, many difficult and complicated points of municipal administration for which the witness of 2565 is of value, have been purposely passed over, as they will be discussed at length by Miss Wegener in her forthcoming thesis on the local senates of Egypt after the reforms of Severus. Our main object throughout has been to provide, as far as lies in our power, an accurate reproduction of the text of the papyrus.

Condition of the Papyrus

When acquired by the British Museum in November 1924, and given the Inventory Number 2565, the papyrus was broken into a mass of fragments, which were later joined up to form five columns of writing; that Col. i was originally preceded by one or more columns is indicated not only by the text of the first line preserved, but also by the existence of several small pieces (printed as Fragments 1-5) which cannot be fitted into any of the five reconstructed columns; Col. v, the right-hand half of which is lost, was certainly the last. The average height of the roll is 21 cm., the total length of Cols. i-v as now arranged, 152 cm. The papyrus generally is of poor quality, and the *kollemata* vary greatly in width, the broadest being 18.5 cm., the narrowest only 8 cm. across. Large areas are now in bad

condition, being very brittle and stained a deep red-brown to black colour through damp, while the lower part especially is often badly rubbed.

Palaeography and Style

The document is written throughout in a clear but undistinguished uncial hand; Col. ii, which is the best preserved, is reproduced here (Plate xxviii). A few abbreviations are more or less regularly employed, viz. *ει* for *ειπεν* (the final hook being in reality a cursive *π*), *ρ* for *ρήτωρ* (as in P. Oxy. 1502, where the editors' interpretation is confirmed), and *ἀπεκρ* or *ἀπεκρ* for *ἀπεκρίνατο*. *ἐξηγ* for *ἐξηγητής* and *νομω* for *νόμων* also occur. The diaeresis in the form of two dots or a short horizontal stroke is found sometimes over initial *ι* and *υ*, and there are some examples of the apostrophe (') separating two consonants. The only mark of punctuation is a sloping line placed usually at the end of each section of dialogue between the Prefect and the advocates.

The scribe was careful and generally accurate. As in even the best-written documents of this age, *ει* and *ι* are constantly interchanged; *ο* and *ω* are much less commonly confused (ll. 50, 81, 96, 99); *ει* for *ε* is found occasionally in *ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)*, for *η* perhaps twice (ll. 88, 108). The only actual mistakes seem to be] . . *ανντα* (l. 14), *ἀνάγνω* for *ἀνέγνω* (l. 48), *νενομοτεθιμένων* for *νενομοθετημ.* (ll. 58–9, cf. l. 107), *ἡμεῖν* for *ὑμεῖν* (l. 69), and perhaps *Ουαλέρος* for *Ουαλέριος* (l. 109). Several other errors and omissions, mostly in Col. iv, have been rectified by the scribe himself, who seems to have checked the whole document, after copying, with the exemplar (*ἀντιβάλλειν, προσαντιβάλλειν, cf. P. Oxy. 1479, 4 and note*). Division of words is correct throughout, *ἀπέσ[τη]*? in ll. 41–2 and *ἀναγεινώσ|κω* in ll. 82–3 being permissible (Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, 32).

In general style and structure 2565 resembles previously known records of the Prefect's court; of these it is now by far the most extensive example, and gives us a much better picture of the proceedings than the usual brief extracts from *ὑπομνηματισμοί*. We can note the preponderating share the Prefect himself took in the conduct of the case; as a rule he questions each side in turn, criticizing their arguments himself (*e.g.* ll. 101–2) or inviting criticism from their opponents (*e.g.* ll. 85, 99–100). At frequent intervals the Prefect or the advocates call for the reading of documents put in as evidence—extracts from the *ὑπομνηματισμοί* of previous prefects, of the epistrategus or strategus, or from proceedings in the Arsinoite Senate. The only law (*νομοθεσία*) quoted is in the form of a verbal response by the Emperor Severus (ll. 82–4) to a personal petition, in which he lays down the vital principle which, so far as we can judge, really decides the case in favour of the defendants. The reading of each of these documents is regularly introduced by the formula (*ὁ δεῖνα*) *ἀνέγνω τὸ ὑποτεταγμένον οὐ ἀρχή*, and, unfortunately for us, only the opening words and *καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς* ('etc.') follow, the amount quoted being quite insufficient to indicate the contents or the purpose for which it was read. After each reading, the *procès-verbal* is taken up again with the words *μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν (ὁ δεῖνα) εἶπ(εν)*. The same abbreviation of documents quoted as evidence is found in other records of the Prefect's court, notably in P. Amh. 67, 9–13, which might be restored: *ἐπίτρε-[ψον δὲ ἀναγ]νωσθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν χειρογραφίαν δι' ἧς ὁμολογεῖται [? τὰ γεγενημέ]να. καὶ ἀνέγνω τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα (? l. τὸ ὑποτεταγμένον) οὐ ἀρχή· βουλῇ | [? συναχθεῖσ]η Ἀλεξανδριανῇ τῇ κρατίστη Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος Διοσκόρου | [καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.] μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνω[σ]ι[ν] Ὀνωρατια[νός] ἔπαρ[χος] Αἰγύπτου εἶπ[εν] κτλ.* Another example is P. Oxy. 1504, where *καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. μετ[ὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν]* should be restored in l. 7. Four times during the hearing (ll. 29–30, 68–9, 104, 114–15) the Prefect breaks off to consult with his assessors (*σκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ συμβουλείῳ*), resuming the case by asking

a question or calling for fresh evidence; in all previously known instances (see ll. 29–30, note) this consultation takes place once only, immediately before the final giving of judgement, and that the presiding official apparently retired from the bema has been inferred from P. Teb. 286 (= M., Chrest. 83), 15 (*cf.* P. Oxy. 1102, 5, n.), from a trial before the hypomnematographus: ('*Ιούλιος Θέων*) [*Ιερεις*] και ὑπομνη[μα]τ[ογ]ράφος ἀνασ[τὰ]ς εἰς [σ]υμ-
[βούλιον κ]αὶ σκεψάμ[ενος με]τὰ [τ]ῶν [π]α[ρό]ν[των] [ὑπηγόρ]ευσεν ἀπόφα[σιν ἢ κ]αὶ ἀνεγνώ-
σθ[η κα]τὰ λέξ[ιν] οὗ[τ]ως ἔχουσα κτλ. Wilcken¹ has well compared Act. Apost. xxvi, 30–1: και ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Παύλου), ἀνέστη ὁ βασιλεὺς και ὁ ἡγεμῶν, ἡ τε Βερενίκη, και οἱ συναθήμενοι αὐτοῖς· και ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐλάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες, "Οτι οὐδὲν θανάτου ἄξιον ἢ δεσμῶν πράσσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος. In the case of 2565, however, it seems unlikely that the Prefect absented himself so frequently from the tribunal, and more probably the assessors were consulted on the spot on any knotty point. In any case, it is clear that henceforward reference to such a consultation cannot be invariably taken as evidence that the final judgement is impending.

Another feature in the structure of 2565 may be mentioned here: when the Prefect questions some one who has just been speaking, the fact is usually recorded in the form *Σαβεῖνος ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου αὐτῷ εἰπ(εν)* and the reply which follows is introduced merely by the word *ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)*. This criterion, though not infallible, is useful in distributing the speeches among the different pleaders where their names have been lost through mutilation of the papyrus; but it must be noted that discipline in the Prefect's court was apparently not over-strict, and an advocate who has just been asked a direct question by the Prefect is not infrequently anticipated by a colleague, or even an opponent (*e.g.* l. 85), while at least twice (ll. 45, 81) the reading of written evidence is interrupted by a protest from one or other of the persons concerned in the case.

Of the style of 2565 there is little to be said; in common with most other records of its type, the style of reporting is bald to a degree; the speeches appear broken up into short staccato sentences with, often, acute asyndeton (*e.g.* ll. 32–6), while dependent clauses or any form of elaborate construction seem to be deliberately avoided. That the Greek pleaders practised such economy of words is hardly to be believed, and probably all that we have here is a summary of the arguments used, derived perhaps from shorthand notes. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that the papyrus represents faithfully enough the general trend of the discussion, and its trustworthiness is vouched for by an occasional human touch, such as the exasperation of the Prefect when a straightforward question of his is met by an evasive reply (ll. 31–2).² And in some of the longer utterances, particularly in Col. iv, we may detect some echoes of the forensic eloquence of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the third century A.D.

Persons in the Case

1. Aurelius Appius Sabinus, Prefect of Egypt, with:
2. His assessors (*οἱ ἐν τῷ συμβουλείῳ*).
3. Castor, once (l. 116) styled *νομικός*, and once (l. 123) *ρήτωρ*. The *νομικός* was a jurist acting as unofficial legal adviser (*cf.* Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, p. 281 and P. Oxy. 1416, 21, n., where the editor compares C.P.R. 18 = Mitteis, Chrest. 84, 22–5: *Βλαῖσιος Μαρριανὸς . . . συναλαήσας Ἀρτε[μι]δ[ώρω] τ[ῷ] νομ[ι]κῷ [π]ε[ρὶ] τοῦ πράγματος ὑ[πη]γόρευσεν ἀπόφασιν κτλ.); it is unlikely that a *νομικός* would also be an advocate in the case, hence*

¹ *Archiv.*, 5, 232–3.

² *Cf.* the impatient repetition of a question by the epistrategus in a similar situation: 'Αντινοὺς ἐστίν; Ἀντινοὺς ἐστίν; (Boak, *Journal*, 18, 69–76 = S.B. 7558, l. 22).

one description must be mistaken; if so, *νομικός* is more probably correct, seeing that Castor takes no part in the previous discussion, but only appears, as in the Rainer papyrus, immediately before judgment is delivered.

4. The advocates:

For the Villagers (*κωμηταί*):

Sarapion, *ρήτωρ*.

Chaeris, *ρήτωρ*.

Seleucus, *συνήγορος*.¹ He names his own particular clients in l. 56: *ἐγὼ συνηγορῶ Ποτ[άμ]ωνι καὶ Ἐλπι καὶ Παλᾷ*.

For the Senate of Arsinoe:

Ischyriion, *ρήτωρ*.

Philippus, *ρήτωρ*.

Serenus, *ρήτωρ*.

Lucius, *ρήτωρ*.

5. Apollonides, Prytanis of the Senate of Arsinoe. Whether all the occurrences of this name refer to the same person is not quite certain, but it is highly probable, and to differentiate them into two or more persons of the same name creates more difficulties than it solves. Usually he is simply called Ἀπολλωνίδης without title or description, from which it is clear that he was not one of the professional *ρήτορες*. Hence it is natural to identify him with the Ἀπολλωνίδης πρύτανις who is addressed by the Prefect in l. 104. We can now equate him with the Οὐαλέριος Ἀπολλωνίδης ἀποδεδειγμένος πρύτανις (l. 21) mentioned in an extract from the proceedings of the Arsinoite Senate; it is natural that in an official document of that type his name should have been given in the fuller form, and if he was ἀποδεδειγμένος πρύτανις then, he might well be *ἐναρχος* at the date of the trial. Finally, we can now hardly avoid identifying him with the Οὐαλέριος Ἀπολλωνίδης ἐξηγ(ητής) of l. 44, which apparently refers to the period when he was still only prytanis-designate. This final identification is in any case practically forced upon us by the fact that if Valerius Apollonides the exegetes is distinguished from plain Apollonides, a satisfactory restoration of l. 45 becomes impossible.

Date and Place

Though the date and place of the trial are lost with the prescript of the document, both can be determined with some certainty. The adulatory reference in l. 103 to the benefits expected from the *θεία τύχη* of the Emperor Decius favours a date not long after he had been recognized in Egypt in October or November A.D. 249;² Decius died about July 1, 251,³ hence October 249–July 251 are the extreme limits of date. The prefecture of Appius Sabinus is of no assistance; this is known to have extended from at least September 14, 249, to July 17, 250,⁴ but as no subsequent Prefect is known until September 24, 258, his term of office may well have extended into 251 or beyond. Here, however, the evidence of place comes to our aid, for since affairs in the Arsinoite nome were concerned it is probable that the trial took place during the *conventus* at Memphis, which according to Wilcken was usually held within the period late January–April;⁵ occasionally, it is true, the *conventus* was held at Arsinoe itself,⁶ and of this 2565 perhaps furnishes another example (l. 109, n.);

¹ *συνήγορος* and *ρήτωρ* appear to be exactly synonymous, cf. Seidl, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie d. Altertumswiss.*, art. *συνήγορος*.

² See F. S. Salisbury and H. Mattingly, *The Reign of Trajan Decius*, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 14 (1924), 1–23. The earliest dating by Decius in papyri is November 28, 249.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, 138.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 100–1.

⁶ M. Grundz, 25, n. 5. Possibly also P. Amh. 82. Hence the vague phrase *ὅπου ἐὰν τὸν τοῦ νομοῦ διαλογισμὸν ποιῆται*, vel. *sim*, on which see Collart in *Mélanges Bidez*, 97–8.

but the phraseology of this very passage shows conclusively that Arsinoe was *not* the venue of the present trial. To enable us to decide between late January–April 250 and late January–April 251 we have only the fact that the events in the Arsinoite nome which gave rise to the trial occurred on 28 and 30 Mesore of the 6th year (of the Philippi, *i.e.* August 21–3, 249); there is nothing to indicate that any great delay had intervened before the hearing of the case, and since the reference to Decius favours the earlier date¹ we may conclude that the trial took place at Memphis on some day between the latter part of January and the end of April, A.D. 250.

¹ *Cf.* also the note on l. 103.

The Text

COL. 1

1 [.] ἢ δι[κἀ]ζεις τῆ [τῶν Ἀρσινοιτῶ] ἢ πόλει ο . [.] ἢ τὴν ἐχοῦση
 [.] γ[υ]μν[α]σίαρχον[] ντινα ἀρχ[οντα.π]άντα γὰρ ὃ πρύτα-
 [νις] . ὦν καὶ τοῦτο ο []σε ὀνομασά [. τῆ]ς βουλῆς ἰσηγη-
 [τοῦ καὶ] ἐπιψήφιστοῦ του[] κεκλημεν[.] προτέρου πρυ-
 5 [πάντως] ἐνον [ἡ]δη ὡς ἀρχοιτ[] καιος ἀρχ[ου]τας [ἀλλο]υς ζητεῖν καὶ
 [.] ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιεῖν Σαβει[νος] ἐπαρχος Αἰγ[ύπτου] αὐτῶ ἐπ(εν)· ἀνάγνω-
 [θι] ρήτωρ εἶπ(εν)· μ[] πόλεις αὐτῆ ε . [.] ἢ σοι αὐτὰ ταῦτα δη-
 [] ἄσαντα ἀφα[] ἀξιούσα ου . [.] . ἄ . εν ἐκείνος ἔχειν
 [] α τοῦτο ἐπι . [] ἐπ[ἀρχ]ον ἐκεκλ[.] ἔδωκας τὸν ἐπι-
 10 [] ἴπο παῖτιω[] . κ[] . ἀρχῆ δυνα-
 [] . ἴ[]]
 [] ἐχει ἢ []
 [] ὦ ἐπι . []
 15 [ἀνεγνω τὸ ὑπο]τετα[γ]μέ[νον] οὐ ἀ]ρχῆ . [.] ἀνταμοῖ υ[] καὶ] τὰ ἐξ[ἑ]ης
 [μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγν]ωσιν προ]σ]έ]θηκεν . ουτ[] .]ς περι τ[]] ἢ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος [] ἦσω επε[] .
 [. ἐχει]ροτόνησάν αὐτοὺς καὶ [πε]ρὶ τούτω]ν ἀνή]νεγκέν σοι κατε[] ἦσαν ὑπο τ[] .
 [.] ἐπείπ[η]νται· ἰσηγητ[ῶ]ν καὶ ἐπιψήφιστῶν τετυχηκα]σιν] πρὸς τοτ[το]
 [.] ἐπέσειλά[ς]] συ τούτους κρ[α]τίσθαι π[]] ἢν παραβαίνουσιν[] Χειρ[α]σ[] .
 20 [.] ἴστα Σαβείνου μὴ γενοιτ[] .] δε καὶ ο[]] γὰρ πάντων [] Σα]βείνος ἐ[παρ-]
 [χος Αἰγύπτου] αὐτῶ ἐπ(εν)· ἀνάγνωθι ὅτι ἡ βουλή . Δο[ύκιος] βήτωρ ἀνεγνω τ[ὸ] ὑποτε]ταχ]μέν[ον] οὐ
 [ἀρχῆ . Οὐα]λέριος Ἀπολλωνίδης ἀποδεδιγ[μένος] πρ[ό]τανις καὶ τὰ [ἐξ]ἑης . /] μετὰ τῆ]ν ἀνά-
 [γνώσιν, Σ]άραπ[των] β[ήτωρ] εἶπ(εν)· πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐκκα]λεῖσθαι λέγω . . [] . [] πιάσης ε[]
 [.] ἀντων τοιούτῶν ἐστιν ἐὰν προβο]λο]λῆ π[ά]ντων γενι]ῆται] ἴσασιν . []
 [.] ἴν ἐπιστάληναι μὲν ἐκεί]νον [ὠν]ομασμε[]ν] ζῶ β[]
 25 [. ὠν]ομασμένος δι' ὑπηρέτου δημ[ο]σίου] μν[]
]

9 X corrected from τ(?). 14, 20 υποτεταγ. μ. pap. 16 ανη]νεγ. μ. pap. 21 αποδεδιγ. μ. [ενος pap.

- 26 *μασι . . . οσιτη και τότε εαν γνω εκκαλειται .αι. δια] τουτο γαρ και απαιτει την εκκλητη]ον ο νόμος. / Σαβεινός*
επαρχος Αιγύπτου εἶπ(ειν). ἐπιστράτηγος κατεσ . [. . .] Δούκιος ρήτωρ ανέγνω τὸ ὑποτεταγμένον [οἱ] ἀρχή. Ἀ-
λέξανδρος διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν εἶπ(εν). [κα]τὰ τὸν ὄρον τὸν δοθέντα καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. / μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνω-
σιν, Σαβεινός επαρχος Αιγύπτου αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). ἀνάγνωθι ὅτι παρηγγέλασαν. σκεψάμενός τε μετὰ τῶν
30 *ἐν τῷ συμβιβωλεῖῳ εἶπ(εν). τίς συνάγει τὴν βουλήν; [Τ]σχυριῶν ρ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν). συνάγει μὲν ὁ πρύτανις λόγῳ καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν,*
ὁ γὰρ συναγ[ων] ὁ νόμος ἐστιν. / Σαβεινός ἐπ[α]ρχ[ος] Αιγύπτου αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). ὁ νόμος διακόνῳ τινὶ χρώμενος
πρύτανις [τι]ς ἦν ὁ συναγαγών. τίς πρύτανις σ[υ]νήγαγεν τὴν βουλήν; Φίλιππος ρ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν). Ἡραπίων
πρύτανις τὴν βουλήν συνήγαγεν, συναχθ[ε]ί[σ]α δέ] ἡ βουλή ὀνομασίαν πεποιήται κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. τούτων
35 *ἰσηγηται καὶ ἐπιψηφισται ἐδόθησαν τοῦ εἰς τὰς [ἀ]ρχὰς τούτους πάντων κληθῆναι. οὐκ ἐφίκασι*
πρὸς τοῦτο. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατηγίου γέγονεν διαδικ[α]σία. κατεδικάσθη[σαν] ἱρις κληθέντες καὶ μὴ
[ὕ]πακτικ[οῖ]τες. / Σαβεινός ἐ[παρχος] Αιγύπτου αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). δείξον []νην . . [] .
40 *[. ε]σχεν τῶ[. .]ιν. Χ[α]ίρεις ρ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν). [] και λέγοντα []αυ[] αἰ]ντέ[ι]ληθα. /*
[Σαβεινός επαρχος] Αιγύπτου αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). . . .]αίτ[. .]χεν ἡ βουλή; Χαίρεις ρ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν). [Απο]λλοῦ-
[δης ἡμάς] ἐπεσφράγισεν. Σέλευκος σ[υ]νήγορος εἶπ(εν) οὐ παρὴν ὁ π[ρ]ύτανις. [Σα]βειν[ος] ἐ[παρχος]
45 *[Αιγύπτου αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). ἀλλὰ ἡ βουλή ὠνόμασεν παρόντος πρωτάνεως ε [ἀπ]εκρ[ίνατο]. ἀπέσ-*
[τη . . . μ]ένης τῆς ὀνομασίας. Σαβεινός ἐπ[ι]πάρχος Αιγύπτου [αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). πρύτανις πάρην τῆ
[λ; (?)] Σερῆνος ρ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν) Ἡραπίων. / Σαβεινός[]επ[αρχος] [Αιγύπτου αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). ἀνάγνωθι. Ἀπολλωνί-
[δης ἀνέγν]ω τὸ ὑποτεταγμένον οὐ ἀρχή. ἔτους 5' Μεσορή [λ]. Οὐαλέριος Ἀπολλωνίδης ἐξηγητής),
45 *[καὶ ταῦτα] ἀναγιγνώσκοντος εἶπ(εν). ἔτους] 5' Μ[ε]σορῆ πρὸ εἰς π[ρ]ῶ εἰπ[ε]ν] π[ρ]ύτανις ἦν. λ τὴν*
[πρυτανία]ν ταύτην, μέχρι δὲ πέμπτῃς τῶν ἐπαγομένων εἰς π[ρ]ῶ εἶπ[ε]ν] π[ρ]ύτανις ὠνόμα-
[βουλήν πο]τήσας οὐκέτι εὑρέθη. Σαβεινός ἐπαρχος Αιγύπτου] αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). ἀνάγνωθι]. Ἀπολλ[ων]ίδης ἀνάγνω τὸ ὑπο-
50 *[τεταγμ]ένον οὐ ἀρχή. οἶδατε ὅτι ἐχειροτόνησαν εἰς π[ρ]ύτανίαν κ[α]ί τ[ὰ] ἐξῆς. μετὰ τὴν ἀνά-*
[γνωσιν] Σαβεινός επαρχος Αιγύπτου αὐτῶ εἶπ(εν). ὥτι ἐκ[ε]ιν[ος] ὁ π[ρ]ῶ σο]ν ὠνόμασεν ἀνά-
[γνωθι. Χα]ίρεις ρ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(ειν) κη Μεσορῆ ἐπισφρα[γί]σει ἡμάς Ἀπολλ[ων]ίδης. Δοῦκιος ρ(ήτωρ) ἀνέγνω τὸ ὑ-
26 *νόμος παρ. 29 παρηγγέλησαν παρ. 39]χεν παρ. 44 ἐση παρ. 48 I. ἀνέγνω . ὑπο παρ. 50 I. ὅτι. 51 ὑ. παρ.*

COL. V

- 106 τὸς γεωργὸς ἐξαιρουμένη τῶν κατὰ πόλιν λειτουργιῶν] . νεί]
 μ ἀν κωμηταῖς μένιν τὰ ἐκπαλαι οὖν ἐνομοθετή] . . . κ]ώμαις []
 αἰ ν. Σερῆνος ῥήτωρ εἶπ(εν). ἀπεφώνω καὶ δεῖ καὶ τῆς πόλεως προν[]
 ρ(ι)ος Φίρμος ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ἀρσινόιτων πόλει παρέσχεν τῷ τότε ἀξιώσ[αντι ?]
 τῶ[ν] ὑπαρχόντων ὁ τότε πρύτανις κελεύσα[ς] αὐτὸν τὴν ὀνομασί[α]ν ποιεῖ[ν]
 110 τ[οῦ]ς γυμνασιάρχους τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοὺς ἀρχιερεὰς τοὺς κοσμητὰς [τ]ὸν κ[οσμητήν]
 ο[. . .]νατὸ Φίρμος τοῦτο ἐπιτρέπαν· ἔὰν μὴ βουληθῆ τὸ τάγμα[α] τὸν . []
 ὁ [π]ρύτανις παρά σου. / Σαβείνος ἔπαρχος ἄγυπτου εἶπ(εν). ἀνάγ[ν]ωθι. Δούκ[ι]ο]ς ῥ(ήτωρ) ἀ[ν]έγνω τὸ ὑποτεταγμένον οὐ ἀρχή· ἔδοξεν(?)]
 τ[ῆ] βουλῇ δηλοιο τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. μετὰ τὴν [ἀνάγνωσιν, Σαβείνος ἔπαρχος ἄγυπτου σκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ συμ-]
 115 βουλίῳ εἶπ(εν). κατὰ τὸν ὄρον τὸν ὑπὸ το[ῦ] λαμπροτάτου Φίρμου δοθέντα]
 [.] . [.] νεμή[σ]ονται. Κ[ά]σ[τ]ρω νομ[ι]κ[ο]ς εἶπ(εν). Ἄπ[ο]λλων[ι]δ[ι]]
 [.] ἀπ[ι] / Σα[β]εῖνος ἔπαρχος ἄγυπτ[ο]υ εἶπ(εν)· . []
 βον ἔλοι δὸς τὴν σήμερον. / Σαβείνος ἔπαρχ[ος] ἄγυπτου εἶπ(εν).]
 Ἀπολλωνίδης ἡξιώσαμεν αὐτὸν παρῆναι, ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτῶν περ[ι]] κλη[]
 120 ἀφαρπάσθ[η]. / Σαβείνος ἔπαρχος ἄγυπτου εἶπ(εν). μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας αἴρετε ἀπέ[]
 ἄγυπτου εἶπ(εν). ἐν τρεῖσιν ἡμέραις πῶς ἀπαλλοστριούτε τὰ ἐν Ἀρσίνοίτῃ ; Σερῆνος [ρ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν)]
 κα[τ]ῆ[ξ]αχεν καὶ αὐτοὺς συνηγόρους. / Σαβείνος ἔπαρχος ἄγυπτ[ο]υ εἶπ(εν). ἐποι[η]σ[]
 Σαβείνος ἔπαρχος ἄγυπτου εἶπ(εν). μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπατε. / Κάστωρ ῥήτ[ω]ρ [εἶπ(εν)].]
 124 ἄγυπτου εἶπ(εν). λέλυται.]
 Σαβείνος ἔπαρχος]
 ὑπομνηματ[]
] προνομία σε[]
] . . . [Σαβείνος ἔπαρχος]

107 οὐ νενομοθετή] παρ.

108 I. καὶ δὴ καί.

UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

Frag. 1

]χθ[
]νομ[
] . ωσ μη[
] . ρον τόν [
]αυτα ή βο[υλή
] τόν πρῆ[τανιν
] λειτουργία [
]η . . . τα[
] . ν . δετ[
] . . . [

Frag. 2 and 3

]αρχη[
]εί[
]νιν[
] . . . [
] . . . [
]μο . . [
] . εξου[
] . τ . νπ[
] . νται ε[
]τε . . . [
]εινο[s ἐπαρχος] Διτύπτου [
]σασ[
 πρου]άνεωσ π[
] . νονομα[
] . ερον[

Frag. 4

] . [.]α[
]π[.]α[
] . . . [
] . η[
] . εν[
]ατ[
 α]νά[γνωθι ?
 ύ]ποτε[ταγμένον ?
]ουσ[

Frag. 5

? ἐπιδ]ημίαν [
]π[ις / [
] . στήσ[
] . στήν[

Translation

[This does not profess to be more than a makeshift rendering of the more intelligible parts of the papyrus; the peculiarly compressed style of the Greek makes a certain amount of paraphrase inevitable, but otherwise the original has been followed as literally as possible. It has not, of course, been possible to indicate all the passages where the restoration of the Greek is dubious, or where several alternative interpretations seem possible; furthermore, since lack of time has made it impossible for Miss Wegener to see this before it appears in print, I wish to emphasize that I alone am responsible for its composition.—T.C.S.]

26–37. . . . and then, should he decide, he appeals (?); for on this account (?) the law actually requires an appeal.

The Prefect: Did the epistrategus ?

Lucius, advocate, read the evidence beginning: Alexander acting-epistrategus said, According to the decision given, etc. After the reading, the Prefect said: Read (evidence) that they were summoned. And after consulting with his assessors, he said:

Who convenes the Senate?

Ischyriion, advocate: The prytanis convenes it in name and in appearance (only), for the (real) convener is the law.

The Prefect (to Ischyriion): The law using some instrument. Some prytanis or other was the convener. Which prytanis convened the Senate?

Philippus, advocate: The prytanis Herapion convened the Senate, and when it had been convened the Senate made the nomination in the usual way. For these [*i.e.* the persons nominated] proposers and tellers were appointed for the purpose of all these persons being summoned to undertake office. They did not appear for this. The case came before the epistrategus and they were condemned after being thrice summoned and having failed to comply.

The Prefect (to Philippus): Show

Chaeris, advocate:

39–62. The Prefect (to Philippus?): Did the Senate examine (?) them (?)?

Chaeris, advocate: Apollonides sealed us.

Seleucus, counsel: The prytanis was not present.

The Prefect (to Seleucus): But the Senate nominated while the prytanis was present.

Seleucus: He departed when the nomination began (?).

The Prefect (to Seleucus): Was there a prytanis present on the 30th (?)?

Serenus, advocate: Herapion.

The Prefect (to Serenus): Read.

Apollonides read the evidence beginning: The 6th Year, Mesore 30. Valerius Apollonides, exegetes—and in the middle of reading this he said:

A fortnight before Mesore of the 6th Year I was indeed elected to this prytanyship, but up to the fifth epagomenal day there was one prytanis preceding me. On the 30th after convening (?) the Senate (?) he was no longer to be found.

The Prefect (to Apollonides): And it was he who nominated?

Apollonides: Yes.

The Prefect (to Apollonides): Read.

Apollonides read the evidence beginning: You know that they have elected to the prytanyship, etc. After the reading, the Prefect said:—

Read (evidence) that he, the man preceding you, nominated.

Chaeris, advocate: On Mesore 28th Apollonides sealed us.

Lucius, advocate, read the evidence beginning: Chaeremon, exegetes, said, What etc. After the reading, Apollonides read the evidence beginning: Syrion son of Pasion, exegetes, etc. After the reading, the Prefect said (to Apollonides):—

From their demurrer we (?) have removed the allegation that the nomination was not made lawfully. Since they are here themselves let them speak.

Seleucus, counsel: I am counsel for Potamon, Elpis, and Palas.

The Prefect (to Seleucus): And the three have a case?

Seleucus: Yes.

Sarapion, advocate, said: We are . . . villagers and we have judgements to read. And he read the evidence beginning: Honoratianus Prefect of Egypt said, What has been established by law, etc. After the reading, the Prefect said (to Sarapion):—

To what liturgy were they nominated?

Sarapion: He did not even name the kind of liturgy, but merely made changes in the years and put them under seal.

Apollonides: With us it is always villagers who are put forward for the post of cosmetes, for

65-89. Apollonides: Always in the Arsinoite nome the villagers bear

The Prefect: Read

. to the office of cosmetes

The Prefect, after consulting with his assessors, said to Apollonides:—

Do (only) private persons become cosmetae with you, or senators as well?

Apollonides: Private persons.

The Prefect (to Apollonides): Are you willing to put forward a?

Apollonides: (Yes) when he has a sufficient fortune.

The Prefect (to Apollonides): How many of the Arsinoites?

Apollonides: Three hundred and more.

The Prefect (to Apollonides): those in the city had become cosmetae, that you might thus turn to those in the villages?

Apollonides: or if not they had become decemprimi by rota, or exempt But the remainder, the younger men, had already (?) become cosmetae, and some of them agoranomi.

Sarapion, advocate, read the evidence beginning: Honoratianus Prefect of Egypt said, What has been established by law being sufficient (?) etc. After the reading, Apollonides said:—

When affairs were in a state of prosperity this prytanis resigned his property and not a single prytanis remained to succeed him.

Seleucus, counsel: having nominated the villagers (?). I read. And he read the evidence beginning: said, I shall therefore deliver judgement, etc. After the reading, the Prefect said (to Seleucus):—

You admit however that it is lawful to impress (candidates) from the villagers?

Seleucus: It is not lawful.

Apollonides while these things were being read to-day for two days.

Seleucus, counsel: I read a law of the Emperor Severus, to the effect that men from the villages are not to be impressed into the liturgies of the metropoleis. And when they had been summoned (?), Severus said, Their request is reasonable, etc. After the reading, the Prefect said to Serenus, advocate:—

Do you also read me a law.

Seleucus: And after Severus all the Prefects have judged thus.

Philippus, advocate: The laws are indeed to be held in awe and reverence, but you in trying the case must follow (the decisions?) of Prefects who have had regard for the needs of the cities; it is the need of the city which limits the application of the law. For this reason have Prefects many a time, when such laws were quoted to them, decided having the needs of the cities before their eyes to do thus according to the decision which

93-106. demand private resources. By law you are judging citizens of Arsinoe, formerly a numerous body, but now going to ruin (?) if they hold office for two days only; and of these same facts I will read to you an admission, or better (how) one of them, making a declaration to be put on record before the strategus, said 'Let him have my property and fulfil the liturgy'; the man who said this sustained the office, this very man (?) who had abandoned his property; and asking to wear the crown (of office) he had already surrendered himself to the liturgy. (Lest?) a decision given in one case obtain force over all, the prytanis adopts a deprecatory tone.

The Prefect, to Serenus, advocate: What do you say to the law of Severus and to the judgements?

Serenus: To the law of Severus I will say: Severus ordained the law in Egypt while the cities were still prosperous.

The Prefect: The argument from prosperity—or rather the decline of prosperity—is equal both for the villages and the cities.

Serenus: After Severus this new imposition took place, which the sacred Fortune of Decius Augustus will relieve.

The Prefect, after consulting with his assessors, said to Apollonides, prytanis: The power of the laws will, as time goes on, be still further increased. There has been read an ordinance of the Emperor Severus exempting *coloni* from the municipal liturgies

Notes

1-25. Some explanation is needed of the grounds on which this column has been reconstructed. At present it consists of six detached fragments, arranged in two rows of three. In the lower row the relative positions of the three fragments are absolutely fixed by certain restorations; owing, however, to the loss of both the beginnings and ends of the lines, it is not possible without further evidence to determine exactly how the lines were divided, though their total length is indicated by assured restorations running over from one line to the next. Happily, the fibres on the verso are sufficiently distinctive to enable the three fragments in the upper row to be placed correctly by means of these in the lower, and the result is confirmed in the case of frags. 2 and 3, the distance between which is fixed by the supplement in l. 6. Furthermore, since frag. 3 in the upper row preserves the ends of the lines, we can now estimate approximately where these would have come in the lower row, and hence how the lines were divided there. The conclusion is that only 2-3 letters are lost at the ends of ll. 14-25, and consequently about 9-12 at the beginnings. In the upper row about the same amount, 9-12 letters, is lost at the beginnings of ll. 1-6, and about 12-15 letters in ll. 7-10. When calculating the number of letters missing, account must be taken of the fact that the first four lines of the column are written in a much larger hand than the remainder; l. 2, for example, seems to have contained only about 56 letters, while l. 20 contained about 68. An attempt to reproduce this has been made by spacing out the letters in the printed text.

1. This is clearly a speech of one of the advocates for the Senate addressing the Prefect;

cf. l. 93, *δικά[ζ]εις Ἀρσινοίταις*, and l. 86, both from a speech of the advocate Philippus, who may well be the speaker here also. For *τῆ [τῶν Ἀρσινοιτῶν] πόλει* cf. l. 109. Though the supplement looks short for the lacuna, it is justified by the large size of the handwriting at this point, and we might even omit *τῶν*.

3-4. The title *εἰσηγητῆς καὶ ἐπιψηφιστῆς*, which also occurs, in the plural, in ll. 17 and 34, has previously been known only from B.G.U. 362, a long roll of accounts of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe (A.D. 215); the authorization for payments from the temple funds is there expressed by the formula (e.g. col. xv, 5) [*ἀ*]κολουθῶς τοῖς ἐπισταλείοι μοι ὑπὸ τ[ῆς] κρατίστης βουλῆς διὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρποκρατίωνος γυμ(νασιάρχου) ἐνάρχ[ου] πρυτάνεως γ[ν]ώμη εἰσηγητοῦ καὶ ἐπιψηφιστοῦ. The first editor, indeed, and every one after him, has regarded *γνωμεισηγητου* as a single word in apposition to *πρυτάνεως*, and this monstrous formation, (tacitly 'corrected' to *γνωμεισηγητοῦ* by Preisigke in the *Wörterbuch*), has found its way into the new edition of Liddell and Scott. 2565, being also concerned with Arsinoe, now proves that *γνωμεισηγητου* should be divided into two words as shown.

The functions of the *εἰσηγ. κ. ἐπιψηφ.* are not easy to determine. The title is not found outside Arsinoe, though senators introducing motions at Oxyrhynchus are described as *εἰσηγητῆς* (?) in P. Oxy. 1416, and the title *εἰσηγητοῦ γενομένου* is found at Heracleopolis (*Stud. Pal.*, 20, 60), though the context cannot be determined. Miss Wegener thinks that the institution was regular throughout the metropoleis, and that in the case of liturgical nominations the *εἰσηγ. κ. ἐπιψηφ.* was the actual proposer of the candidate, as in P. Oxy. 1413, 15, ὅσοι νῦν ὀνομάσθησαν ὑπὸ Φελέου καὶ Ἡρακλιδίωνος ὀνομάσθησαν, where she regards Phileas and Heraclidion as the *εἰσηγ. κ. ἐπιψηφ.* But 2565, ll. 33-5, seems to show that the *εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ ἐπιψηφισταὶ* were not appointed until after the nomination, i.e. that their duties were merely nominal, such as the putting of the question and recording of the votes on a motion which had already been informally agreed to; the whole of 2565, col. ii, indicates that the real proposer of the candidates was the *prytanis*.

4-7. Miss Wegener (after restoring *ὁ [νόμος ἐκέλευ]σε* in l. 3) suggests *ἐκ[κεκλημέν]ου τοῦ ὑπὸ προτέρου πρυ[τάνεως ἡρημ]ένου δὴ ὡς ἄρχοντ[ος δεῖ ἀναγκ]αίως κτλ.*, l. 6, [*τὴν ὀνομασίαν*] ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιεῖ[ν τῆ βουλῆ] (or πόλει), taking the whole as a general statement of the usual procedure when difficulties arose in the nomination.

9. Possibly διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σ[ε τὸν λαμπρότατὸν ἐπ]αρχον ἐκκεκλ[ήμεθα] (or ἐκκεκλ[ημένοις]) ἔδωκας τὸν ἐπι[στράτηγον, i.e. the epistrategus was the κριτῆς δοθεῖς. But all these restorations are very hazardous, and in any case there is nothing to show that it was the antecedents of the present trial which the speaker was describing.

10-11. It is not quite certain that these lines are consecutive, but there cannot have been more than one line lost between them, and even that is unlikely.

15. *πρ[οσ]έθηκεν*. Cf. B.G.U. 361, III, 17, M. Chrest. 372, recto, col. v, 11, and *orator adjectit* in the post-Diocletian P. Bouriant 20, 4.

20. *ἀνάγνωθι ὅτι* usually means 'read (evidence of the statement) that . . . ' (cf. ll. 29, 50-1), but it is difficult to take the λ after ἡ βουλή as the beginning of a verb, which one would expect to be in the aorist. On the other hand, *Λο[ύκιος ῥ]ήτωρ* just fills the lacuna. Probably, therefore, something has dropped out after ἡ βουλή.

21. *Οὐαλέ[ριος Ἀπολλωνίδης]*. Cf. ll. 43-7, 104, and introduction.

22-6. The mutilation of these lines is regrettable, since they seem to have described in some detail the conditions of appeal against nomination (*ἔκκλητος*); unfortunately any attempt at restoration seems hopeless, and all that can be said is that apparently Sarapion is defending his clients against the allegation that they had failed to appeal, or had failed to fulfil the legal forms in appealing, against their nomination. As usual, *ἔκκλητος* is reserved

for appeal to the Prefect, the only exception so far known from papyri being P. Oxy. 1204 (A.D. 299), where ἔκκλητος is made to the Catholicus¹. The rare references to ἔκκλητος in papyri do not shed much light on the regulations governing it: in P. Amh. 82 it is stated that the appeal must be lodged within a certain number of days from the nomination (*cf.* P. Oxy. 1204, 5, n.), while from P. Oxy. 1642, 22, it appears that a candidate could not be forced to take office while his appeal was pending (ἵνα ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τὰς ἀ[ρχά]ς μὴ ἐκφορήσῃ, *cf.* Dig. XLIX, 1, 21, *Si magistratus creatus appellaverit, collegam eius interim utriusque officium sustinere debere*, etc.). Compare also P. Oxy. 2104, a copy of the same edict of Severus Alexander regarding appeals which is preserved in the Digest (XLIX, 1, 25).

25.]σειρατησκ[This was the reading of the first transcript, but a fragment has now disappeared, and only].τησκ[can now be read.

27. Miss Wegener reads κατέστ[ησεν], which she takes to mean that after their condemnation (l. 35) the nominees were appointed by the epistrategus. Apparently neither κατεδ[ίκασεν] nor κατέκ[ρυνεν], as one would expect from l. 35, can be read.

27-8. Ἀλέξανδρος διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν. This official was previously known only from P. Oxy. 1119 (A.D. 244), where he is called Ἀντώνιος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ κράτιστος ἐπιστράτηγος. Here, however, about five years later, he is styled διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν, an expression commonly taken to mean a deputy epistrategus. Now it is of course just possible that after his retirement from office he might have been called upon to act as a deputy for his successor; but that is not at all likely, and as a rule at least deputies for official posts were drawn from acting officials of lower grade. The natural interpretation is that διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρ. is merely an ornamental periphrasis for ἐπιστράτηγος; the fact that he is actually called ἐπιστράτηγος by the Prefect in the preceding line (as also in l. 35) is perhaps not an argument; but the true meaning of the title should long ago have been seen from P. Oxy. 1201 (24 Sept., 258): an application addressed in Latin *Mussio Aemiliano v(iro) p(er)fectissimo praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti)* followed by a Greek translation beginning Μουσσίω Αἰμιλιανῷ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ διέποντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. The same Greek title is given to Aemilianus by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, 11 (in the year 257) and by P. Oxy. 1468 (no date); in P. RyI. 110 (September 29–October 28, 259), however, he is styled ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμών. The Rylands papyrus being the latest in date, it has generally been supposed (so J. G. Milne, *Journal*, 10, 80) that Aemilianus was successively Vice-Prefect and Prefect; but this does not dispose of P. Oxy. 1201, and to suppose that the Latin title there is inaccurate is not a satisfactory solution. It suits the position of Aemilianus much better if we accept the evidence of P. Oxy. 1201 that he was all the time Prefect of Egypt and no mere deputy, and for this view 2565 adds strong support. It is now clear that the position of other officials styled διέπων τὴν (ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστρατηγίαν, κτλ.) must be reconsidered: in particular we may note P.S.I. 1101, addressed Ἰ[ο]υλίῳ Μαρκελλίνῳ τῷ διασημ[οτάτῳ διέποντ]ι τὴν ἡγεμονία[ν]; Μη[τ]ρόδωρος διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν, P. Oxy. 1502; Δομήτιος Ἀλέξανδρος δι[έπω]ν τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν, Wessely, *Wiener Studien*, 24 (1902), 106, *cf.* Martin, *Archiv*, VI, 217–18; Ποτάμων διέπων τὴν ἐγλογοιστίαν, W., *Chrest.* 171. All of these have been regarded in the past as deputies, but henceforward the possibility must be reckoned with that they are the properly appointed officials themselves. In minor offices διέπων is admittedly used without any implication that the holder is a deputy (*e.g.* the title διέπων τὰ πολιτικά, borne by the Prytanis at Oxyrhynchus, P. Oxy. 55, 4; 2109, 5; P.S.I. 1070, 2); and a similar ornamental periphrasis can be found even in the Ptolemaic period, in the phrase διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν (στρατηγίαν κτλ.), which, as Hunt remarks (P. Tebt. 790, 2, n.), bears no suggestion of deputizing.

¹ We may note that in the Codex Sinaiticus Act. Apost. xxv is headed Παύλου πρὸς Φῆστον ἀπολογία καὶ ἔκκλητος.

We do not of course suggest that the use of these titles *never* implies a deputy; that such a meaning is possible is clear from P. Tebt. 522, where the same person is described successively as βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς διέπων καὶ <τὰ> κατὰ [στρατηγίαν], and βα(σιλικὸς) γραμματεὺς διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρα(τηγίαν) (cf. also P. Strassb. 74), and from applications to the Archidicastes, often made through the διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιδικαστείαν (e.g. P. Oxy. 727, 1472).

28. ὄρον. Cf. l. 115, where it is used of a decision of an earlier Prefect quoted as a precedent; but a ὄρος could also be laid down by an epistrategus, cf. P. Thead. 15 (A.D. 280-1), 20, Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ κρὰ(τιστος) ἐπιστρά(τηγος) εἶ(πεν)· ἐντευχθεὶς ὄρον δώσω.

29. ἀνάγνωθι ὅτι παρηγγέλσαν. It is clear from ll. 35-6 that the judgement of the Epistrategus just quoted condemned the defendants by default, and, as in P. Hamb. 29, the Prefect calls for evidence that the original summons to attend the court had been properly served by the plaintiffs. The papyrus does not reveal whether the evidence was forthcoming, but presumably the point was satisfactorily settled, for after consulting with his assessors the Prefect turns to an entirely new aspect of the case.

29-30. σκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ συμβουλίῳ. Cf. the introduction, p. 225, *supra*. In nearly every court of justice in Egypt the presiding judge seems to have been assisted by a number of assessors, but very little is known about them, and they are referred to under a great diversity of titles. In the Ptolemaic period the συμπαρόντες mentioned in protocols of legal proceedings are usually government officials, but this does not seem to have been the case in the Roman period, for the casual way in which they are mentioned indicates rather that they are private persons and have no real *locus standi* in the Court. They are apparently to be distinguished (Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, p. 55) from the legal experts, the νομκοί, though these were also consulted on occasion by the Prefect (cf. the role of Castor the νομκός in 2565, ll. 116, 123; M., Chrest. 372, III, 18, Λούπος λαλήσας μετὰ τῶν νομικῶν εἶπεν κτλ.; M., Chrest. 84, 22-4, Βλαΐσιος Μαρνανὸς ἑπαρχος σπ[είρης] π[ρώτης] Φλα[υ]ία[ς] Κι[λί]κων ἵππικῆς συναλήσας Ἄρτε[μι]δ[ώ]ρω τ[ῷ] νομ[ι]κῷ κτλ.; also P. Oxy. 237, VIII, 2-3, where an ἑπαρχος στολῆς consults a νομκός by letter).

The συμβούλιον probably had some more or less permanent and official standing, as it only occurs in records of the Prefect's court, the other examples besides those in 2565 being P. Ryl. 75, II, 27-9, Πετρών[ιο]ς Μαμερ[τ]ίνος [σ]κεψάμενος μετ[ὰ] τ[ῶν] ἐν τῷ συμβουλίῳ (so restored from the editors' reading [.]. α . . . α . . . [.]. ων in l. 28) and P. Oxy. 2111, 9-10, Πετρώνιος [Μαμερτείνος σκεψάμενος με]τὰ τῶν ἐν συμβουλίῳ.¹ In P. Tebt. 286, restored on the analogy of P. Oxy. 1102, 5, we find the expression ἀνασ[τὰ]ς εἰς συμ[βούλιον] καὶ σκεψά[μενος] μετὰ τ[ῶν] [π]α[ρό]ν[των] used of an Hypomnematographus, but εἰς συμ[βούλιον] here may be merely abstract, 'for advice'. In some other reports of cases tried by the Prefect, however, much vaguer expressions are found, e.g. Λούπος λαλήσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων (M., Chrest. 372, IV, 12), Λούπος [βουλευσάμενος] μετὰ τῶν φίλων (P. Oxy. 706, 5-6), Εὐδα[ί]μων βουλευσάμενος σὺν τοῖς παρο[ύ]σι (M., Chrest. 372, IV, 19-20). σκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν παρόντων is found of the Hypomnematographus in P. Oxy. 1102, 5, where it confirmed the restoration of P. Tebt. 286 already quoted. In a fragmentary report of a case before the Juridicus, P.S.I. 293, 35, where the editors print - -]ς σκεψάμενος με[. . . .] ὑπαρχ[. . . .] ων ἀναγνωσθέντ[ων], one might restore - - λος (cf. l. 34) ὁ δικαιοδότη]ς

¹ In P. Goodsp. 29, III, 1-2, where the editor prints Πρε[ί]σκου ἧς ἀναγνωσθείσης . . . εραμ[. . .] μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ συμβουλίῳ εἶπεν κτλ., Grenfell and Hunt proposed (P. Oxy. 706, 6, n.) Λιβερᾶλ[ις] (?) λαλήσας (i.e. the Prefect Sempronius Liberalis, who would certainly suit the date of the papyrus); but considerations of space make Wilcken's suggestion σκεψά[μενος] μετὰ (Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*) more likely. Cf. also Act. Apost. xxv. 12, τότε ὁ Φῆτος συναλήσας μετὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου.

σκεψάμενος με[τὰ τῶν] ὑπαρχ[όντων εἶπ(εν)] τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντ[ων κτλ. The Epistrategus, too, sat with assessors, as we now learn from P.S.I. 1100, 2, Φαῦστος σκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν συνεδρευόντων; but the simple phrase ὁ στρατηγὸς σκεψάμενος εἶπεν, in M., Chrest. 89, 26–7, and P. Oxy. 1420, 1–2, may imply that the latter official had no legal assistance of this kind.

31–2. This punctuation of these lines was suggested by Prof. van Groningen. It seems, however, equally possible to discover a series of questions: ὁ νόμος; διακόνῳ τίνι χρώμενος; πρύτανις τίς ἦν ὁ συναγαγών; τίς πρύτανις συνήγαγεν τὴν βουλήν;

33–6. These lines are also difficult to punctuate satisfactorily. Miss Wegener wishes to place a stop after πεποίηται, and make κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τούτων begin a new sentence; but κατὰ τὸ ἔθος is so common at the end of a clause or sentence that I am inclined to take it so here, and interpret τούτων as meaning τῶν ὀνομασθέντων understood from the preceding sentence. τοῦ . . . κληθῆναι is presumably exegetical after ἐδόθησαν, though it might conceivably be taken with οὐκ ἐφήκασιν. πρὸς τοῦτο also is in a rather ambiguous position, and might be taken with either the preceding or the following words. The only certain punctuation is the stop after διαδικασία.

34. πάντων is obviously corrupt. It may simply be a mistake for πάντας, or alternatively the word γνώμη may have dropped out before it (cf. P. Oxy. 54, 10–12, εἰσοδοθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως γραμματέως γνώμη τοῦ κοινού τῶν ἀρχόντων; B.G.U. 235, 13, ἀναδίδωμι - - γνώμη καὶ κινδύνῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης).

35. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου γέγονεν διαδικ[α]σία certainly does not suggest, as we should expect, and as Miss Wegener is inclined to think, that the case had been expressly delegated to the epistrategus by the Prefect; it is true that an argument for this might be found in ll. 9–10, διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σ[ε] τὸν λαμπρότατον ἔπ[α]ρχον ἐκκεκλ[η]μένους ἔδωκας τὸν ἐπι[στ]ράτηγον, but, as already pointed out, these restorations are far from certain and it is not even clear that it is the present case which is there referred to. We know that c. A.D. 200 the Prefect issued an order delegating appeals concerning the offices of gymnasiarch and agoranomus to the epistrategi (P. Oxy. 1185) and it is possible that by A.D. 250 this procedure had been extended to the office of cosmetes. It is, however, an argument against this that, whereas in P. Oxy. 2130 the gymnasiarch-elect appeals first to the epistrategus, as would be expected, in C.P.R. 20 = W., Chrest. 401, a cosmetes-elect appeals direct to the Prefect without any mention of a previous application to the epistrategus. For the present the question had better be left open.

Considerably greater interest attaches to the concluding words, κατεδικάσθησ[αν] τρίς κληθέντες καὶ μὴ [ὑ]πακῆκ[οό]τες. Happily the reading is quite certain, as the gap before τρίς is too small for οἱ] τρίς (i.e. οἱ τρεῖς, cf. l. 57) to be restored. This is the only example in papyri of the procedure described in the Digest, 5, 1, 68 (Ulpian): (after the initial failure of the defendants to appear) *ad peremptorium edictum hoc ordine venitur, ut primo quis petat post absentiam adversarii edictum primum, mox alterum per intervallum non minus decem dierum et tertium; quibus propositis impetret*. Steinwenter (*Studien z. röm. Versäumnisverfahren*, pp. 75–6) has pointed out that this cumbrous process would be unsuitable for the brief duration of the conventus; and in P. Hamb. 29 (see *op. cit.*, p. 76) we find the three edicts telescoped into one—the *unum pro tribus* which by the end of the third century had usurped the name of *edictum peremptorium* properly belonging to the third only of the three successive edicts. The relevant passage of P. Hamb. 29 may be quoted here (ll. 3–9): κληθέντων τινῶν ἐκ τῶν προτ[ε]θέντων πρὸς δικαιοδοσίαν ὀνομάτ[ων] καὶ μὴ ὑπακούσαντων Μέττιος Ῥοῦφ[ος] ἐκέλευσε τὸν κ[ή]ρυκα κηρῦξαι: οἱ προτεθέντες ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ μὴ ὑπακούσαντες ἴστωσαν ὅτι πάλιν ἀναγορευθήσονται κα[ὶ] μὴ μὴδὲ τότε ὑπακούσωσ[ι]ν ἀπόντες κριθήσονται]. This is a case of judgement by default being threatened by the Prefect himself; regarding

the same procedure by judges delegated by the Prefect evidence is yet more scanty (*op. cit.*, pp. 78 ff.). In P. Flor. 6 (*op. cit.*, p. 85) the Dioecetes replies to the defendant's request for an adjournment, in order to enable him to attend to urgent private affairs, in the words: τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος κελευόμενα διὰ τάχους ἀνέεσθαι προσήκει. ἐὰν οὖν ἐντυχόντος τοῦ κατηγοροῦ κληθεῖς μὴ ὑπακούσης, ἔσται τὰ ἀκόλουθα. Steinwenter takes the final warning, ἔσται τὰ ἀκόλουθα, as a threat to issue the *edictum peremptorium* and condemn the defendant by default. But it is not clear whether the dioecetes had been delegated by the Prefect to try and to decide the case, or merely to investigate it; in P.S.I. 1100, a record of a trial before the epistrategus, the judge expressly states that he has been ordered by the Prefect to investigate the case, and declares his intention of reporting the results of his investigation; certain witnesses not being present (ll. 10 ff.), Φαῦστος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς κληθῆναι, καὶ μὴ ὑπακουσάντων Φαῦστος εἶπεν· ἐὰν μὴ παρατύχωσιν τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἔσται. Here at least the delegated judge has no authority to decide the case, and it is most unlikely that mere default at this stage would result in condemnation; it is accordingly more probable that the phrase ἔσται τὰ ἀκόλουθα or τὸ ἀκόλουθον merely refers to the consequences of breaking the oath to be present at the trial. If this be so, 2565 remains the only example of judgement by default pronounced by a delegated judge.

40. ἐπεσφράγισεν. This appears to be some hitherto unknown stage in the process of nomination, preceding the final and definitive act of nomination by the Senate. Miss Wegener connects it with the ὑπομνηματίζω of C.P.H. 7, II, 7, and the πιττάκιον of P. Oxy. 2130, 11–12.

Unfortunately ll. 40–51, though comparatively well preserved, have lost just enough at the beginnings of the lines to make it very difficult to reconstruct what happened during the various sessions of the Arsinoite Senate. Perhaps the obscurity may have been to some extent the intention of the party of the Senate, who clearly wished to prove that the nomination had been legally made, but at the same time, fearing an adverse judgement, were anxious lest responsibility should be fixed upon any individual of their number, in particular Apollonides. In the first place, the proceeding mentioned in ll. 39–40, Ἀπολλωνίδης ἡμᾶς ἐπεσφράγισεν, is definitely stated in l. 51 to have taken place on Mesore 28; the further objection by Seleucus in l. 40, οὐ παρῆν ὁ πρύτανις, would, then, naturally be expected to refer to the same occasion; this same meeting (of Mesore 28) is still under discussion in ll. 41–2, but with his next question, πρύτανις παρῆν τῇ [. . .] the Prefect seems to turn to the next session, which, since the month is obviously the same, can only have taken place on Mesore 29 or 30. Working back from the λ (*i.e.* Mesore 30) in l. 46 shows that this date is almost certainly to be restored in the lacuna in l. 44, and this is confirmed by the fact that the space there is in fact only sufficient for a single letter. The date in l. 44, furthermore, is certainly that of the sitting referred to in l. 43, where the choice between Mesore 29 and 30 may now be decided in favour of the latter figure.

Only two sessions of the Senate, on the 28th and the 30th of Mesore, are thus in question. At the former, the candidates were 'sealed' by Apollonides (Ἀπολλωνίδης ἡμᾶς ἐπεσφράγισεν, κῆ Μεσορῆ ἐπισφραγίζει ἡμᾶς Ἀπολλωνίδης), but as soon as the actual nomination commenced (?) ([? ἀρχομ]ένης τῆς ὀνομασίας) the presiding prytanis left the meeting, which was apparently unable to transact any further business. On Mesore 30 the prytanis Herapion was present (l. 43); he convoked the Senate (Ἡραπίων πρύτανις τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγεν, ll. 32–3; λ τὴν [? βουλὴν πο]ιήσας, ll. 46–7) and must have himself nominated the candidates (κάκεϊνος ὀνόμα[σεν; ἀπεκρ[ίνατο]]. ναί), but immediately after disappeared (οὐκέτι εὑρέθη), his place being taken by the prytanis-designate, Valerius Apollonides (ll. 43–5), who together with the Senate apparently completed the process of nomination.

It may be remarked here that while Apollonides is desperately anxious to avoid implicating himself in the matter of nomination, the advocates of the Senate seem to make no attempt to shield Herapion; this can be explained if, as we propose, Herapion is the prytanis who 'disappeared' during the session of Mesore 30; this discreet phrase no doubt covers the fact that, unable to meet his obligations, he had followed the immemorial custom of the Egyptian and taken refuge in flight, and consequently at the present trial his erstwhile colleagues could feel no compunction in shifting any amount of responsibility on to him.

41. *πρυτάνεως ἐτέρον* is a possible but not very satisfactory reading. *ἐνάρχου* is impossible.

41-2. *ἀπέσι*[τη? Unless the writer has made a false division, this restoration can be regarded as certain. The participle at the beginning of l. 42 may be *ἀρχομ*]ένης or *ἀρξομ*]ένης, or, as Miss Wegener suggests, *εἰσηγημ*]ένης; in any case, some such word is necessary to explain why no further attention seems to be directed to the meeting of Mesore 28, the Prefect now turning to the next session, on Mesore 30.

43. [*λ*; *Σερ*]ήνος is rather short for the lacuna, which usually contains 6-8 letters. [*ἐξήης*, i.e. τη [*ἐξήης* (βουλῆ)] would suit better, but is not so probable.

45. [*καὶ ταῦτα*] ἀναγιγνώσκοντος. No space can be found for *καὶ τὰ ἐξήης* which elsewhere follows the opening words of the ὑποτεταγμένον, and the reason for this is clearly that Apollonides interrupts himself in the middle of reading. That the subject of the genitive absolute is the same as that of the main verb is nothing unusual, this being one of the commonest constructions in Hellenistic Greek; Mayser, *Gramm. gr. Pap.*, II, 3, pp. 68-70, cites a selection of examples filling a page and a half, while for the Roman period cf. the papyrus published in *Mél. Bidez*, p. 44, ll. 8-11, *δεομένου μου δὲ τῆς κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος Γαίου Οὐβίου Μαξίμου* διαγνώσεως, ἀξιῶ καταχωρισθῆναι παρά σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα κτλ.

ἔτους ε *Μ*[ε]σορή. Presumably Mesore 30 is meant; there is not room to read ἔτους ε [*λ* *Με*]σορή. The statement that Apollonides was only appointed 19 days before he was expected to assume office is a surprising contrast to P. Oxy. 1414, 24, according to which the law (at Oxyrhynchus, at any rate) required the appointment to be made six months in advance. As regards the position of Apollonides there is already some evidence that in the absence of the prytanis his duties devolved upon the prytanis-elect: in P. Cair. Preisigke 13 a declaration of surety for an epimeletes is addressed to the prytanis-elect, and in P. Giss. 54 a διαδότης Σνήνης is nominated by the μελλοπρόεδρος. Elsewhere we find the prytanis making special arrangements for a substitute in the case of enforced absence, e.g. P.S.I. 804, a letter from the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus (?) asking his father to replace him, and P. Oxy. 1662, a letter from the prytanis to the strategus asking him to appoint a certain irenarch to take his place during a journey to Alexandria.

Another interesting point here is that the term of office of the prytanis clearly began on 1 Thoth, as had already been conjectured by Oertel, *op. cit.*, p. 347; the length of the term was probably a year, though naturally the holder was only ἐνάρχος for a few days.

46. *εἰ*[ς π]ρὸ ἐμου. Miss Wegener reads *ὁ* [π]ρὸ, taking πρύτανις as complement.

47. *ποιεῖν* in the sense of 'convoke' is classical. *κάκεῖνος ὠνόμα*[σεν; ἀπεκρ(ίνατο).] *ναί*, Cf. l. 50. This is the most definite possible statement that the prytanis made the nomination; previously it had been doubtful whether the prytanis ever acted thus on his own responsibility (negatively, van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque*, pp. 128-9); but we can now accept the evidence of B.G.U. 8, II, 4, *φρόντισον κατασχέιν* [μὴ μόνον τῶ]ν νομαρχῶν καὶ τ[ῶ]ν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐνεχομένων καὶ το[ῦ χ]ειροτονήσαντος αὐ[τοῦς πρυ]τάνεως τὰ ὑπάρχοντα; cf. also P. Oxy. 1252, II, 21-3, n., and P. Oxy. 1415, 30, where *προβάλλομαι αὐτὸν ὑμῖν* is found, apparently, in the mouth of the prytanis.

54. *παραγραφὴ* here means *exceptio*, demurrer; cf. P. Oxy. 1642, 27, and n. Miss Wegener

reads the word at the end of the line as ἀ[φη]ρήμε[θα, but the Prefect does not speak of himself in the plural (*cf.* μοι l. 85, and σοι, ἀπεφήνω in ll. 95, 108) and the vestige of a letter after ε seems inconsistent with θ, though exactly suitable to ν. It thus seems possible that the true reading is ἀφηρημένοι, agreeing with αὐτοί in the next line. Happily the general sense remains unaffected.

55–6. Miss Wegener regards Seleucus not as the advocate of these particular clients, but as the permanent legal adviser of their village. *Cf.* F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Roman Municipal Administration*, p. 25.

58. Maevius Honoratianus was Prefect of Egypt from c. 231–236, *cf.* Reinmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

59–61. It is difficult, in our ignorance of the judgement of Honoratianus previously read, to decide whether the details of this judgement are under discussion, or whether the Prefect has reverted to the conduct of the Senate of Arsinoe. In the former case the subject of ὠνόμασεν and πεποίηκε must be Honoratianus, and the meaning of ἀμοιβὰς τῶν ἐτῶν may be that he merely read out judgements of his predecessors, making the necessary changes in the dates. To suppose, however, that the discussion has turned back to the case in hand gives more point to Apollonides' protest in l. 61, and enables us to equate ἐπὶ σφραγίδων πεποίηκε with ἐπισφραγίζειν in ll. 40, 51. The subject of ὠνόμασεν and πεποίηκε will then be Apollonides himself; the obscure expression ἀμοιβὰς τῶν ἐτῶν may indicate that some kind of register was kept of persons undertaking liturgies, and that Apollonides had made the new appointment by merely changing the number of the year set against the names of the villagers, an action which he defends in l. 61 by claiming that at Arsinoe villagers were always nominated to the office of cosmetes (and thus implying that they must have been perfectly well aware of the duties they were expected to undertake). But the interpretation of the whole passage is very uncertain.

60–1. [ἀμοι]βὰς τῶν ἐ[τ]ῶν is a fairly secure restoration, Σε]βαστῶν being quite intractable; the initial lacuna in l. 61 may possibly have held two small letters, but a τ, to judge from that at the beginning of l. 55, would exactly fill the space.

61. ἐπὶ σ[φρ]αγίδων. *Cf.* B.G.U. 1032 (with Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*), 1–2, δέλτ[ον π]ροφ[ε]ρ[ε]σσίωνος ἐ[π]ὶ σφραγίδων ἐ[π]ὶ τοῦ ια (ἔτους); *ibid.*, 3–5, δέλτον μαρτυ[ρ]οποιήσεως ἐπὶ σφραγίδων γενομένην τῇ πρὸ γ εἰδῶν Ἀγούστων; B.G.U. 847 (as restored in P. Oxy. 1451, 21, n.), 16–17, [καὶ τῶν ἐπικρινομένων δέλτο]υς β [π]ροφ[ε]ρ[ε]σ[σ]ιώ[ν]ων ἐπεὶ [σφραγίδων κερρονισμένας κτλ.

67–8. Line 67 ends about six letter-spaces short of the normal length, the blank being filled up with a long horizontal stroke; at the beginning of l. 70 is vacant space of about three letters. Apparently there has been a deletion, and the words rewritten did not quite fill up the space. σύστας, but not στέψας, may be the last word of l. 67.

69. The interlineation ἦ καὶ βουλευταί seems too far to the left to come in after ἰδιῶται, and probably it is better regarded as the conclusion of the Prefect's question.

70–3. These lines have been reduced to a state of almost hopeless illegibility by the fact that the scribe originally omitted more than a line of text, and noticing this on revision washed out three lines and wrote four in their place; even this, however, did not give him quite enough space, so the final words were squeezed into the margin between cols. iii and iv, with two vertical lines drawn on either side to distinguish them from the adjoining columns (*cf.* for a similar method of insertion P. Oxy. 1184). The earlier writing was not completely effaced, and its remains add considerably to the difficulties of decipherment.

71. Something like πόσοι εἰσιν εὔποροι would be expected, but the traces after πόσοι most nearly resemble νο[.

73. No room can be found for a word like *πρεσβύτεροι* to balance the *νεώτεροι* of l. 74, but the idea is perhaps implied in the mention of decaproti, who were regularly recruited from ex-magistrates. The *περίοδος* is the cycle in which the different *φυλαί* or *ἄμφοδα* became responsible for filling the liturgical posts (*cf.* P. Oxy. 1030, 1119, 1552); in addition to this there is some evidence for an individual *ἀνάπανσις* restricting the reappointment of the same person within a certain term of years (*cf.* P. Oxy. 1410). The present passage, however, is largely unintelligible through the mutilation of the end of the line; *πανσαμεν* is fairly certain, but the succeeding letter is neither *ο*, *η*, nor *α*, though *πανσαμενω[ν]* is just conceivable. A further obstacle is the beginning of the marginal insertion, as nothing can be made of]·*ητην*, and the purpose of the stroke over the letters is obscure.

74. *οἱ λοιποὶ* is perhaps best taken with *βουλευταί*, but this is not certain, and the lacuna, which would naturally be filled with [*οἱ μὲν*], is definitely too short for that reading. Either [*ἤδη*] is to be supplied, still taking *οἱ λοιποὶ* with *βουλευταί*, or [*καί*], or even simply [*ῆ*], in which case *βουλευταί* becomes the complement. With *νεώτεροι* contrast the *βουλευτῆς πρεσβύτατος* of P. Giss. 34, 2, and *cf.* P. Oxy. 1477, 16, n., Oertel, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

76-7. *τὰ πρά[γμ]ατα* is much less likely to refer to the affairs of the individual prytanis than to the general condition of Egypt, or the Empire, and the fact that in A.D. 250 the prefecture of Honoratianus, only some 15-20 years earlier, was already looked back to as an era of prosperity is an interesting illustration of the havoc wrought by the continual warfare, both internal and external, which had distracted the Roman Empire since the death of Alexander Severus; *cf.* ll. 93-4, 100-2. For more direct causes we may adduce the oppressions of C. Julius Priscus,¹ who had been Juridicus and Vice-Prefect of Egypt before his brother, the Emperor Philip, made him Pretorian Prefect and Prefect of Mesopotamia with, apparently, a general command over the Eastern provinces (*rector Orientis* in C.I.L. III, 14149 (5)); the effects of his administration are thus described by Zosimus (I, 20, 2): *τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑώραν ταῖς τῶν φόρων εἰσπράξεις καὶ τῷ Πρίσκον, ἄρχων τῶν ἐκεῖσε καθεσταμένον ἔθνων, ἀφόρητον ἅπασιν εἶναι βαρυνόμενα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν τραπέντα, Ἰωταπιανὸν παρήγαγον εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχήν.* A further contributory cause may have been requisitions for Philip's celebration of the millenium of Rome; *cf.* B.G.U. 8 and Viereck, *Hermes*, 27, 516 ff.

77. *ἐξέστη*, which normally signifies the resignation of property in order to escape appointment to a liturgy, is surprising here, since the office of prytanis never seems to have degenerated into a liturgy, and neither appeals from nominations to it, nor offers of *ἔκστασις* in connexion with it, are known. But it is not certain that *ἐξέστη* is used in a technical sense here.

79. *ἀποφαίνομαι* is usually restricted to decisions of the Prefect, but in 2565 the Prefect is invariably given his full title *ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου*, for which space cannot be found here. *ἔ]παρχος εἰπ(εν)* is just possible.

86. *τηρῶν* appears to have no object, and something may have been omitted, *e.g.* *τὰς κρίσεις*, or simply *τά*.

89. *π]ρὸ ὀφθαλ[μῶν.* *Cf.* B.G.U. 362, v, 8-9, and P. Tebt. 28, 18, where this seems preferable to the otherwise unattested adverb *προοφθάλμως*.

93. *ἀπαίτωσι* looks at first sight more like *ἀπαρτώσι*, but actually the doubtful letters are *αι* made in one stroke with a loop at the top of the *ι* (*cf.* *ἐπισταλῆναι*, l. 24, where the same phenomenon occurs). The reading *αἰ χρεῖαι* assumes that *αἰ* has been formed in a similar way; otherwise *ἀρχήν* would be a possible reading.

¹ See A. G. Roos, *de C. Julio Prisco*, *Mnemosyne*, 51, 286 ff., 435; P. W. Townsend, *The Administration of Gordian III*, *Yale Classical Studies*, iv, 98-100.

δικάζεις. Cf. ll. 1, 86. It is highly probable that the whole of ll. 86–98 are spoken by Philippus.

94. εἰ[ς χ]εἰ[ρ]ον was suggested by Wilcken.

95–7. Though these lines are well preserved, their interpretation is far from certain. The speaker seems to be quoting, as an example of the burden which the municipal magistracies laid upon the citizens of Arsinoe, the case of a man who had resigned his property to escape some magistracy, and had nevertheless been compelled to undertake it. As regards construction, ἐνός . . . εἰπόντος apparently depends on ὁμολογείαν in l. 94, while ὁ τοῦτο εἰπών is clearly identical with the subject of εἰπόντος; difficulty is caused by ὁ δὴ; this might be corrected to ὁ δέ, introducing a fresh subject, but seems unlikely since ὁ παρακεχωρηκώς is almost certainly identical with the speaker of ἐχέτω μου τὴν οὐσίαν. If a correction is to be made, it seems better to read ὅδε, ὁ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων παρακεχωρηκώς continuing the subject of ὁ τοῦτο εἰπών. καὶ στεφανηφ[ορ]ῆσαι would then begin a new sentence.

95. ἐπεὶ (l. ἐπὶ) ὑπομνημάτων. Cf. e.g. P. Oxy. 1204, 9–10, perhaps also P. Oxy. 1418, 4 (for the editors' ἐπὶ ὑπομ[ορ]).

97. στεφανηφ[ορ]ῆσαι. Cf. στεφανηφόρος ἐξηγητεία in P. Ryl. 77, 34–5, and στέφανος, στέφω, and στέμμα in connexion with the ceremonial investiture of magistrates (van Groningen, *op. cit.*, 58, 159; P. Oxy. 1413, 4, n.; A. J. Boyé, *Studi Bonfante*, iv, 184, n. 5).

98. λαμβά[νω]ν is uncertain, as the lacuna looks only large enough for a single letter. λαμβά[ν]η might be read, certain forms of η and ν being identical in this document, but neither inspires confidence.¹ ἀπενκταῖος can mean either 'deprecating' or 'to be deprecated'; the former is more probable, since the whole of Philippus' speech is little more than an appeal *ad misericordiam*. But the whole expression seems to be without parallel.

103. ἀπότακτον is corrected by Miss Wegener to ἄτακτον, but I think a satisfactory meaning can be obtained without such a drastic expedient by comparing P. Oxy. 1662 (A.D. 246), where we find the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus about to set out for Alexandria ἔνεκεν πρεσβείας περὶ τῆς ἐπιβληθείσης ἐπιβολῆς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ νομῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποτάκτου. The adjective ἱεροῦ means some tax directly imposed by the Imperial government, as it is applied to the ἀναβολικόν and the *annona* (P. Oxy. 1135, 2 and n.; P. Oxy. 2154, 19). The nature of the impost, however, is quite uncertain; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History*, 438, regards it as an increase in the rent of state lands imposed on the nome, but this is a mere conjecture.

Δεκίου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. This gives some further reason for preferring A.D. 250 to 251 for the date of the trial, since by the latter date Decius had associated his two sons Herennius and Hostilian with him as Caesars (Mattingly, *J.R.S.*, 14, 12–16). But not much weight can be attached to this argument.

ἐπανορθώσεται. The choice of the word is significant; the one hope, at least of the middle and upper classes, during the turmoil of the third century A.D., was a return to the peace and prosperity of the preceding period; hence *restitutor orbis*, or its Greek equivalent ἐπανορθωτής, was a title commonly affected by the candidates for Empire. It makes its appearance as early as the time of Gordian III, who is styled *restitutor orbis* in C.I.L. vi, 1092 (A.D. 241), while in Egypt the title ἐπανορθωτής was assumed by the usurpers Claudius Firmus and Achilleus (*Archiv.* 9, 98–9; cf. P.S.I. 1076). The whole question of the title will be studied by Mr. C. H. Roberts in the forthcoming edition of the Merton papyri.

¹ If we could assume that *ἵνα μὴ* had dropped out at the beginning of the line, excellent sense would be obtained, the subject of λαμβάνη being τὸ ἐφ' ἐνός κριθέν, i.e. the decision of Severus quoted in ll. 83–4. But there must be some simpler solution.

104-8. These lines contain the final ἀπόφασις of the Prefect (cf. ἀπεφήνω l. 108), and the words ἀνεγνώσθη κτλ. are accordingly to be taken as part of the judgement, recapitulating the principle laid down in the law of Severus quoted in ll. 83-4. The fact that the Prefect addresses himself specifically to Apollonides shows that the latter was regarded as official representative of the Senate.

107. At the beginning κοσ-]μῆττειαν is just possible. The division οὐ νενομοθετη (for νενομοθετη[]) is perhaps to be preferred, especially as there is a mark like an apostrophe after ου, perhaps a *diastole*.

109. ρος at the beginning cannot be the end of λαμπρός, which would imply a wrong division; furthermore Firmus is called λαμπρότατος in l. 115. Hence Οὐαλε]ρ<ι>ος is the most likely solution. Valerius Firmus, who was Prefect c. A.D. 245-7 (Reinmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 138) was probably the immediate predecessor of Sabinus. His praenomen is now known to have been Gaius (P. Ross.-Georg. v. 22).

ἐπιδημήσας. This is the technical term for the *conventus*, which was occasionally held at Arsinoe (introduction, p. 227), but is not entirely confined to those occasions.

110. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. Doubtless some part of ἐξίστασθαι stood at the end of the preceding line; whether the person wishing to resign his property was the prytanis, ὁ τότε πρύτανις (cf. l. 77), is not certain; κεύσα[s] rather than κευσα[ι] should probably be read, the subject being Firmus, and αὐτόν the prytanis.

111. τάγμα in l. 112 suggests that the meaning here is that nomination to each municipal office must be made by the members of its respective τάγμα.

Fragment 1. The general appearance of the papyrus strongly suggests that it comes from the upper part of col. i; exactly the same change in the size of the hand can be observed, ll. 1-3 of the fragment being in large sprawling script like ll. 1-4 of col. i. Neither the fibres of the papyrus nor the intervals between the lines are any objection to inserting the fragment in col. i; but it seems impossible to make connected sense of the resultant text, and this argument must of course be decisive.

At the last moment a number of emendations of the text suggested by Prof. Wilhelm have reached us through the kind offices of Prof. Wenger. Though it has not been possible to utilize these in the correction of the proofs, we are glad to have the opportunity of printing the more important of them here: l. 2, οὔτε ἄλλο]ν τινα ἄρχοντα; l. 9, Σὺ γὰρ] ἔδωκας τὸν ἐπι]στράτηγον; l. 17, τετυχήκα[σιν τῶν]; l. 18, π[ρότερ]ον; l. 34, οὐκ ἐφίκασιν = ἐφήκασιν from ἐφιέναι, to appeal; l. 98, λαμβάνει written or intended, the subject being τὸ κριθέν; l. 107, τὰ ἐκ παλαιοῦ νενομοθετη]μένα.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Society's expedition to Tell el-'Amarnah, consisting of Messrs. John Pendlebury (Field Director), H. W. Fairman, R. S. Lavers, G. Rudnitzky, and T. W. Thacker, started work on 19 November, and finished in the middle of February. The season has been a successful one, the principal result being the recovery of the ground-plan of the Palace, which, we are informed, is the most impressive secular building known to us in Egypt. As regards the main state halls the Palace was found to be exactly symmetrical, and enough architectural remains have come to light to enable the whole of these halls to be reconstructed in detail. The excavation of the 'Broad Hall', the most spacious part of the building, has been completed; here the original, ambitious plan of a forest of columns, the foundations of which were marked out, was abandoned in favour of a mud-paved court, surrounded by colossal statues (some of which it has been possible to reconstruct on paper) and approached from the south by a series of monumental entrances in the form of courts surrounded by colonades. The central court seems to have been filled with stelae, of which, however, only fragments have been found. The southern end of the Palace was excavated at the end of the season. The objects removed from the site include a quantity of sculpture in relief, with some good heads, parts of a statue bearing the names of Akhenaten and Amenophis III, a fine unfinished head of Akhenaten, a great number of trial-pieces, a large piece of painted pavement from the south-east of the Harem, many amusing sketches on sherds, fragments of Mycenaean pottery of a type unusual at El-'Amarnah, and numerous ink-inscriptions from wine-jars. Some of the faience fragments found may, it is thought, join up with those brought from the Palace by Sir Flinders Petrie over forty years ago and now at University College, London. A group of rock stelae of Ramesses II and Merenptah, seen in a quarry in 1891 but not published, has been rediscovered and recorded.

The Armant expedition was in the field by the end of October, and is still there at the moment of going to press. The work has consisted chiefly in exploring and recording the temples in which Armant is so rich; five new ones have been identified, and the list of rulers who have left remains of building activity now includes Amenemmes I, Sesostris I, Amenemmes III, Tuthmosis III, a Sebekhotpe, Akhenaton, Ramesses II, Nekhtorheb, the seventh, ninth, and tenth Ptolemies, Cleopatra, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. The most important of this season's temples is that of Ramesses II; in addition to a frieze of captured cities it has a building inscription which mentions the Vizier Neferronpet and gives years 54 and 57 as falling within the period of construction. Another dated inscription of this king gives us five new *sed*-feasts for his reign, since it mentions the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, the sixth being the last previously known. Some fine blocks of the early Middle Kingdom have been found. A number of Roman rooms, from the end of the pagan period, standing from five to six feet high, and provided with cupboards, benches, ovens, and the like, have yielded, in addition to coins, glass objects, and much pottery, a large granite stela recording the victories of Tuthmosis III; unfortunately the lower part of the inscription is lost. Other objects include parts of a colossal Eighteenth-Dynasty statue, a block of Tuthmosis III originally covered with gold leaf, ostraka, and a carnelian necklace stated to be equal to those from the royal tombs of the Middle Kingdom. A large cemetery site, with stone heaps covering

the burials, proves to belong to people of Saharan or Nubian culture. The *personnel* of this year comprises Mr. O. H. Myers, Field Director, Messrs. G. MacGregor and R. McEuen, Mrs. Myers and Miss M. Drower. Mr. A. R. Callender has also been assisting.

Miss A. M. Calverley and Miss M. F. Broome, assisted by Dr. Otto Daum, resumed work at Abydos at the beginning of November. The material for vol. III of *The Temple of Seti I*, and the paintings for the entire work, were completed, and great progress was made with the material for vol. IV.

The death of Professor James Henry Breasted (at the Medical Centre Hospital, New York, of a streptococcic infection, on 2 December last) has deprived the world not only of one of the greatest figures in the history of Egyptology, but also of the foremost living American Orientalist, a scholar whose activities and interests embraced the whole of the ancient Near East, and an administrator and publicist of unsurpassed energy. His services to our science date from 1894, when at the age of 29 he published the English translation of the *Egyptian Grammar* of Erman, under whom he had studied after leaving Yale; this translation made invaluable propaganda beyond German borders for the new and revolutionary developments in Egyptian philology achieved by what used to be called the Berlin School. A mission undertaken in 1895 to make new copies of all historical inscriptions in European collections for the *Wörterbuch* not only resulted in immensely valuable material for that work, but enabled Breasted to compile the great corpus of historical documents constituting *Ancient Records of Egypt*; this, involving as it did the copying of most of the historical inscriptions in Egypt also, and a vast deal of collation and reconstruction of texts, would in itself have been a most creditable life-work, yet it was published thirty years ago. And it provided a sure foundation on which was based the brilliant *History of Egypt*, which is still the best book of its kind, and has been translated into four languages. Breasted was a true historian; he and Maspero stand together among Egyptologists in their gift of the constructive imagination which is able to combine scattered and fragmentary records into a synthesis which has the breath of life. Egyptian religion was another of his chief interests throughout his career; his thesis of 1894, for the Berlin doctorate, was a valuable study of the solar hymns of Akhenaten's reign, and in later books, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, and *The Dawn of Conscience* (published three years ago), he gave us studies of Egyptian religion and morality of great breadth and originality of treatment, the former of them indeed effecting a reorientation of the whole subject. His philological labours in the fields of history and religious thought were chiefly concerned with documents already published; but we owe to him also the publication and almost exhaustive interpretation of the unique treatise on surgery known as the Edwin Smith Papyrus, which, purchased by Smith at Luxor in 1862, and lying forgotten for nearly fifty years, was in 1920 brought to Breasted's notice by his former pupil Dr. Caroline R. Williams. The publication is in every way exemplary, despite the fact that it was produced in hours snatched from heavy administrative work at home and during travel in the East. Such are some of Breasted's personal labours for Egyptology. Not less great are those that he rendered it as organizer and Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, into the multifarious enterprises of which, from its creation in 1919, he threw an immense amount of energy, making it, with funds supplied by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jun., by far the greatest centre of archaeological research that has hitherto existed. For with the years his vision of the past had broadened from the ancient Egyptians (still his personal favourites) to ancient Man in the Near East, the various races and cultures of which must, he felt, all be studied singly and in combination, and in their relation to the classical world, to obtain the maximum of historical

knowledge—a principle which he imparted to scores of thousands of readers by his two popular books *Ancient Times* and *A Survey of the Ancient World*. 'The Institute', he wrote recently, 'is a research laboratory for the investigation of the early human career. It endeavours to trace the course of human development from the merely physical man disclosed by the palaeontologist to the rise and early advance of civilized societies.' The work of its expeditions abroad at many Asiatic sites—in 'Irāq, Persia, Anatolia, North Syria, and Palestine, and the preparation at home of the Assyrian Dictionary (on lines similar to those of the Egyptian *Wörterbuch*), with its brood of smaller dictionaries of languages written in cuneiform, concern us less than the Epigraphic Surveys at Medinet Habu, Karnak, and Saqqārah, the Prehistoric Survey of Egypt and Nubia, and the collection and publication of the Coffin Texts, about which last a further word will be found below. And here we recall with gratitude our Society's particular debt to Breasted; it was, of course, through his co-operation and advocacy that in 1929 the interest of Mr. Rockefeller was enlisted in the work of our Archaeological Survey at Abydos, resulting in a munificent subvention that has made that work possible (as a joint enterprise with the Oriental Institute) on a scale which the Society could not have thought of without such aid. It was through Breasted's mediation also that Mr. Rockefeller made a donation which has enabled the *Wörterbuch* to appear in a form commensurate with the materials accumulated; and to him again it was due that the same Maecenas presented the Palestine Government with the new Archaeological Museum at Jerusalem. His charming and stimulating personality was a delight to all who knew him; in this connexion we may quote from a letter to *The Times* by Dr. Gardiner, his closest friend in this country: 'Breasted was not a man to be easily diverted from his labours, but when at last so diverted he could play like a child and was a companion of extraordinary charm. He enjoyed talking and had many a good story at his disposal. An unbounded enthusiasm, which a touch of *naïveté* rendered doubly infectious, gave a singular attraction to his conversation, and his handsome features and athletic figure added greatly to the pleasure afforded by his society.'

Dr. John A. Wilson, previously Executive and Scientific Secretary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, has been appointed Acting Director of that Institute in succession to Professor Breasted, the appointment to be made permanent next July. Dr. Wilson is well known to many of his European colleagues through his five years' work with the Institute's Epigraphic Survey at Medinet Habu, and is also the author of a number of important articles on Egyptian subjects. Mr. Charles Breasted, who had intended to leave the Institute for another field of activity, has consented to remain until the various projects of this great centre of archaeological enterprise have been revised and reorganized.

Mrs. Marie N. Buckman has resigned after many years of much-valued service as Secretary of the United States Branch of our Society, and Mr. A. S. Arnold, Counsellor at Law, of New York, who had previously been Local Secretary for that city, has kindly consented to succeed her. We trust we are not betraying a secret in saying that Dr. Alan H. Gardiner, who has recently returned from a visit to the United States, has come back with glowing accounts of Mr. Arnold's energy and enthusiasm for the Society's interests which have greatly heartened us. Our new American Secretary, who is the proud possessor of a fine Egyptological library, has already secured us some new members and revived the interest of old ones.

Dr. Gardiner also reports on the deep interest taken in our work by the Brooklyn Museum and its enterprising Director, Mr. Philip N. Youtz. Readers of the Annual Report will be

well aware how much support our excavations owe to the Brooklyn Museum, thanks to the kindly mediation of Professor Capart.

The Oxford University Excavations in Nubia, with Mr. L. P. Kirwan as Field Director, have been working this winter at Kawa (the ancient Gematon), continuing the excavations of Professor and Mrs. Griffith, who in 1930-1 uncovered three temples (the largest of which is that of Taharka), and brought back an impressive harvest of fine objects. The first task this season was to free the temples from the great quantities of sand which had again accumulated, in order to enable Mr. M. F. L. Madacam to make a final collation of the important inscriptions, and Mr. Roy Pennison to study the architecture in detail. An examination of large numbers of fallen blocks has given hopes that a great deal more of the Taharka Temple than is now standing may be reconstructed on paper. From a number of well-preserved houses of the sixth to fourth centuries B.C., built just inside the great temenos wall, and belonging probably to priests and officials of Amūn, has come a faience plaque with the name of a new Ethiopian king. Among other small antiquities is a good bust of a young man, perhaps contemporary with Tutankhamūn, the builder of one of the five temples that are now known at Gematon.

We heartily congratulate Mrs. N. de G. Davies on the appearance of the two magnificent volumes of *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, the 104 coloured plates of which reproduce a large part of her life-work at the Theban Necropolis. The work, which includes descriptive letter-press in a third volume of smaller size, has been compiled with the editorial assistance of Dr. Gardiner.

Quite special interest attaches to the remarkable find, recently reported in the Press and confirmed privately, by the French Institute during their excavations at Tūd, near Luxor. For in the four bronze caskets found in the foundations of the Temple of Montu, and stated to contain Asiatic tribute to Amenemmes III, were not only ingots of the three precious metals gold, silver, and lead (one is reminded of the well-known mathematical problem dealing with a bag containing these metals), lapis-lazuli beads and amulets, and Asiatic figurines, but also two cylinders with cuneiform inscriptions. Should the latter mention a contemporary Mesopotamian ruler whose reign can be dated independently, the find will mark an epoch in the study of Egyptian chronology, as providing for the first time, by a historical synchronism, an external check on the accuracy of the astronomical dating which is held to indicate 2000 B.C. as the date of the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

It will be remembered that Professor Kirsopp Lake, of Harvard, sent an expedition to Sarabiṭ el-Khādim, Sinai, last spring; many new inscriptions, including some in the Sinaitic script, were found, and Dr. Čerňý, who was a member of the expedition, collated all the previously known inscriptions still *in situ* with Dr. Gardiner's and Professor Peet's edition of Sir Flinders Petrie's squeezes in our publication *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, Part I. Professor Lake has kindly expressed his willingness that all these results shall be utilized by our Society in a revised second edition of that volume. In the time available it was only possible to explore about half the Temple of Hathor Mistress of Sinai; thus the revised edition cannot appear until a further campaign has completed the examination of this site. Professor Lake's report on last season's work will appear in *Texts and Studies*, probably before the autumn.

We welcome the appearance of the first volume, edited by Dr. A. de Buck, of Leyden University, of the great corpus of *Egyptian Coffin Texts*. This is the first-fruits of an enterprise of the Chicago Oriental Institute in which several prominent Egyptologists have

collaborated at one time or another, and for which an immense body of material has been gathered from 1922 onwards in the museums of Egypt, Europe, and America. These texts, from wooden coffins of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, form collectively one of the three great bodies of Egyptian funerary literature, and form a link between the other two—the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead. The editing of the MSS. is in every way exemplary; but details must be left to the reviewer.

We gladly print the following from Mr. O. H. Myers:

‘There existed at Armant till the year 1861 an extremely interesting temple built by Cleopatra the Great in honour of the birth of her son Caesarion. This was completely demolished between the years 1861 and 1863, and the materials were taken and used in the construction of a sugar factory; but before that date it had been visited and described by many travellers, and fortunately a number of drawings, plans, and photographs of it were taken by them. We are engaged upon a reconstruction of this temple for publication, and we should be very grateful for any help which your readers might be able to give us to make this as complete as possible. Any information about unpublished descriptions, plans, drawings, and photographs of this temple, or about out-of-the-way published descriptions of it, would be of the greatest value.

‘A large number of travellers toured this part of Egypt in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the diary habit was strong, the standard of draughtsmanship high; and towards the end of the temple’s existence photography was just becoming popular. I believe that there may well remain important records in private collections which would be of great assistance in making some restitution for the vandalism of the last century. In 1857 Francis Frith took at least three photographs of this temple, which were published in *Egypt and Palestine*, 1858–9, and *Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia*, 1862. Maxime du Camp published another in *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie*, 1852, and Félix Teynard one in *Égypte et Nubie*, 1858. The negatives of these, or any other prints or negatives of this temple, might be of the greatest assistance, and I should be very grateful to hear (at 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1) from any one who could help in the search for them. It should be noted that Armant is also spelt Erment and Ermant, and of course often appears in the classical form Hermonthis.’

Professor Jean Capart was unanimously elected an Honorary Vice-President of our Society at its Annual General Meeting of the 15th July last, in recognition of the interest that he has always taken in our concerns, and the energy with which he has furthered our interests.

Two Public Lectures, illustrated with lantern slides, were given under the auspices of our Society at the Royal Society’s rooms at Burlington House, W. 1, last winter, namely ‘Last Season’s work at Tell el-‘Amarnah’, by Mr. John Pendlebury, our ‘Amarnah Field Director, on 7 October, and ‘The Gold Standard in Ancient Egypt’, by Professor Glanville, our Hon. Secretary, on 11 December. Both lectures were attended by appreciative audiences.

Details are to hand regarding the Second Semaine Égyptologique, held last July at Brussels under the auspices of the Fondation Reine Élisabeth. Over forty persons, including a number of leading Egyptologists, took part, and during the week a score of interesting papers were read on as many different aspects of our science. The participants from England comprised Dr. Gardiner (President of the Congress), Professor M. A. Murray, and Mr. and Mrs. S. R. Sherman. Mr. Sherman’s paper was on the Surroundings of Tell el-‘Amarnah,

and ended with a cinematograph film showing the Society's excavations in progress. A number of diversions were arranged for the *congressistes*, including an exhibition of Belzoni's Egyptian drawings, a visit to the Exposition Universelle, an excursion into the country, and of course a lengthy examination of the Egyptian Department of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.

One important result of the *Semaine Égyptologique* was the decision of the Fondation Reine Élisabeth to undertake a distribution of bibliographical notes on new publications (books, articles, and to some extent reviews) dealing with Pharaonic Egypt, similar to the references that have been issued by the Fondation since 1932 with regard to papyrological literature. Each work is to be given on a separate filing card of normal size (3" × 5"), so printed as to be suitable for classifying under the author's name. The usual bibliographical details are given, and when necessary a few words of description; any reviews of a book known to have appeared are also included. No institution is so well equipped as the Fondation to ensure that the information supplied will be as complete as possible; however, to obtain the maximum fullness, scholars and organizations interested in Egyptology are begged to inform the Fondation of their new publications (*especially articles appearing in non-Egyptological periodicals*), or, if possible, to send or cause to be sent copies for notice in the *Chronique d'Égypte*. It is estimated that with this outside assistance an average of about 600 cards will be sent out each year; the distribution will be periodical, the first batch being issued towards the beginning of April this year. The annual subscription is 10 Belgas (at present about 7s.), and stress is laid on the fact that this rate has been fixed far below the cost of production and postage, in order to allow all Egyptological students to avail themselves of this service, which we have no doubt will prove to be of great value.

We regret to have to record the death, last December, of Père Émile Suys, Professor of Egyptology at the Istituto Biblico Pontificio, Rome. M. Suys's chief contribution to Egyptology was a new edition of the 'Eloquent Peasant' story, entitled *Étude sur le conte du Fellah Plaideur*.

At the Congress of Orientalists held at Rome last September, Professor Moret read a paper on the Egyptian doctrine of kingly and divine justice, and discussed its possible bearings on Israel, Persia, and Greece; M. Boreux described and commented on an important Egypto-Greek head-rest of the Alexandrian Period; Canon Drioton gave another of his important elucidations of 'enigmatic writing'; Dr. von Bissing dealt with a curious seated statuette of the Fourth Dynasty; and Dr. Reich read a communication on the term 'slave born in the house'. Professor Alberto Tulli, of the Vatican Egyptian Museum, and Mlle Guentch-Ogloueff, of the Musée Guimet, also read valuable papers, the former on the medical examination of certain mummies, the latter on late personal names of an imprecatory nature.

Some recent distinctions gained by the younger generation at Oxford are worthy of record here. Mr. L. P. Kirwan (Merton College) obtained last year the degree of Bachelor of Letters for a thesis on the history of Lower Nubia in the Byzantine Period. Mr. M. F. L. Macadam (Queen's College), who was given the degree of D.Phil. last year for a thesis on stelae in the British Museum, has been elected by Worcester College to the Laycock Studentship. Mr. Girgis Mattha (Queen's) has obtained the same degree for a dissertation on demotic ostraka. Mr. T. W. Thacker (St. Catherine's), has been elected to a Senior Studentship in the University.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Myrrhe und Stakte. By Dr. phil. R. O. STEUER. Verlag der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ägyptologen und Afrikanisten in Wien, Vienna, 1933. 8vo. 48 pp.

A class of work is now beginning to appear through which we are at last getting a knowledge of the materials employed by the ancients. Quite recently we have had a splendid example in Lucas's *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*. In that volume a chemist, bringing his scientific knowledge to bear on the materials used in antiquity, has collected between two covers an immense amount of organized information on the archaeology of the country. In the work under review Dr. Steuer elucidates, probably finally as far as it goes, the question of *ntyw*, which hitherto has proved such a problem.

The first portion of the work is a very complete collection of botanical studies bearing on the question, a chemical inquiry into the nature and products of certain resins, and a collection of extracts from the classics, the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, the early Christian fathers and the Arabic writers, dealing with sweet-scented oils and resins under whatever name they seem to be hidden.

With such evidence as may be obtained from these very confused sources the author then approaches the subject of the hitherto entirely misunderstood *ntyw* and *mdt* in Egypt. This is the part which mostly concerns the Egyptologist. Dr. Steuer notes that Hatshepsut definitely states the object of her transportation of trees from Pwenet ('Punt') to have been the securing of a supply of fresh *ntyw*. The older Greek writers know of an oil (*στακτή*) which was obtained from myrrh-resin (*σμίρνα*); and just as Hatshepsut emphasizes the freshness of the *ntyw*, so is the freshness of the *σμίρνα* mentioned by the Greeks. Hatshepsut speaks of 'expressing' *mdt*. For this she uses the word *nwd* with the determinative of a press with drops dripping from it. This leaves no doubt that the *mdt* which was wrung out of the *ntyw* was a liquid. Hence *ntyw* was clearly the resin from the trees, and *mdt* was an oil expressed from it.

mdt had been known since Pyramid times, and 'fresh *ntyw*' is mentioned at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, from which period an *ntyw nḏm* 'sweet resin' is also known. This appears to be the resin before the sweet-scented oil (*mdt*, *στακτή*) had been pressed out, especially as another sort, *ntyw šw* 'dry *ntyw*', is named.

At Berbera, in British Somaliland, myrrh is still made into bales wrapped up in hides, and this practice is recorded by Pliny (xii, 35). Dr. Steuer seems to think that this was done purposely to preserve the volatile oil of the myrrh. Hide is, however, the regular baling material in those parts; for instance, the modern travellers' own collections of specimens have, as one may read, been commonly packed in this way. The more probable view surely is that the imperviousness of the normal packing material made possible the preservation of the volatile oil during transit. Hence the natives were quite by chance provided with a trade which otherwise could never have grown up.

Schweinfurth states that the Arabian myrrh has a higher content of this volatile oil than the Somali, but the reviewer would demur to the conclusion that this would exclude Somaliland from the region called Pwenet. Unfortunately the pictures of the trees at Deir el-Bahri are of no help in determining the species which produced *ntyw*.

Proceeding from the straightforward earlier statements about *ntyw* and *mdt*, the author comes to the statements of Ptolemaic times. Here complications ensue, for the words seem to have altered their meaning. *ntyw* is no longer the raw material from which a simple oil, *mdt*, was obtained, but *mdt* is a complicated preparation of which *ntyw* is a component. Moreover, a new name *bš(š)* is introduced, and this seems comparable to the old *mdt*. This entails a discussion—of only too common and unsatisfactory a type—as to the reason the priests may, or may not, have had for using words as they did.

To more purpose are the remarks the author then makes on the insecurity of results obtained from a purely literary study. To this might be added a word as to the presentation of the material. Two-thirds of the essay are taken up with extracts from every possible author who has mentioned the subject, as was noted above. When the reader has waded through all this, not knowing what points to observe, he finds that many of the statements are misleading and incorrect, or at any rate do not advance the study. Hence, after

laboriously working through the pages, he has to read them through a second time in order to note what is important and to leave the unimportant. The author no doubt had to arrive at his own conclusions in this arduous way, but should have prepared his results for the reader, and not have dragged him through the same jungle through which he had to hack his own way. It would have simplified the reader's task if the passages relevant to the argument had been picked out and the useful points emphasized which were to be found in each. For the sake of completeness the rest, bad and indifferent, need only have been grouped in an appendix. Then again, having discovered that the older Egyptian records are correct and in agreement with the better classical writers, surely it would have been better to start at the beginning and work forward rather than to work backward from the few correct or useful statements among a multitude of writings of a variety of late dates. Not only would some such arrangements have greatly shortened the article, but they would greatly have clarified the argument.

Dr. Steuer deals at length with various translations from one ancient language to a later one, but naturally, as we might say, without arriving at any result. Thus, the Septuagint generally translates the Hebrew *môr* by *σμίρνα*, but once by *στακτή* and once again by *κρόκιον*. Similarly, the Arab translators of the Greek works introduce considerable confusion by the use of their word *mai'a*. To expect anything else is surely to demand of one's authorities too accurate a knowledge both of their predecessors' minds and of technical processes carried out on an import from the ends of the earth. It is different from finding the general equivalent in one's own language for the foreign name of some simple and common material like iron or gold. Yet even that may be difficult enough, as the various translations of such a word as the Greek *ἀδάμας* show. Again, it has been thought that *κύανος* was steel, but the prevailing view now is that it was blue glass. Was *χάλυψ* really what we mean to-day by 'steel', and how many of Pliny's plants and other natural objects are unrecognizable by the best scholarship of to-day?

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

Statuen ägyptischer Königinnen; im Anschluss an den Torso Amon-erdas II in Sydney untersucht. By Dr. G. ROEDER. (Mitt. der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft (E.V.), 37. Band, 2. Heft.) Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932. 8vo. iv+84 pp., 5 pls. RM. 7.50.

A very long and detailed work on statues of Egyptian queens. We must admire the painstaking labour given by the author, though, as he himself readily admits, it proves to be only a thankless task. The inquiry has grown out of the study of the torso of Amenardas II which the author made for the *Griffith Studies*. It is entirely archaeological in method, ignoring until the end the aesthetic questions of purely artistic style. But unfortunately there is practically no evidence on which to base the desired arguments, and there are lacunae everywhere, arising from an absence sometimes of sufficient photographs of the originals, sometimes of sufficient details remaining on such statues as we have, sometimes indeed even of sufficient statues on which to base any arguments at all. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the results consist more of questions and possibilities than of anything else, as indeed the author freely admits.

In the form in which it is published, the argument is none too easy to follow, consisting as it does of a detailed study of the characteristics of fifty-one statues, many of which are fragmentary. An immense series of illustrations, classified to emphasize each point, is really necessary, but such are as good as absent. However, the author does what he can without them by lists and tables. Thus, Table II consists of the seventeen points which he considers in as many of the fifty-one statues as possible, and Table XVI is a diagram of these results as they affect a statue of a Divine Consort in Berlin. The date and provenience of this statue are unknown, but Roeder finds its details to agree most closely with those of statues of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties; he is unable, however, to bring any evidence of its supposed manufacture in the Delta.

Besides attempting to date his statues by a study of their details, Roeder attempts to find the distinguishing marks of the various schools of sculpture which must have existed in Egypt. This, however, seems to produce little result, very largely again through an almost complete absence of evidence. Many of his statues have no provenience, having been bought from dealers. Of the rest nearly all come from Thebes; from Gizah, Abydos, 'Amarnah, and Sinai only one each, from Medinet Gurob two, and from Tanis three, and these of the most varied periods. Again, the finding of a statue in a given place is not in itself proof that it was made there. In fact Roeder himself admits this for the Sinai statue, and postulates a Delta origin for the statue of Ankhnesneferibrē found at Karnak.

In his study of the forms of the vulture head-dress he is inclined to bring the three uraei from the Delta, but of this he admits there is no confirmation. Another curious detail is the replacing of the natural head

of the bird by that of a uraeus, and this he assumes to be a sign of Lower-Egyptian workmanship. But we may well ask, was the sculptor at liberty to dress the queen as he saw fit? Does it not rather imply that he had orders to represent her as queen of the Lower Country? Had the sculptor freedom to show the king in the red or the white or the double crown in accordance with the loyalties of the school in which he was trained? In such case we should often have to consider one panel on a temple wall as the work of an Upper-Egyptian school and that next to it as the work of a Lower-Egyptian one. The time is not yet ripe for an advance on Maspero's old division into the schools of Memphis, Thebes, Hermopolis, and Tanis. These are manifest, and there is plenty of evidence for them. The best Roeder can do is to see signs of a naturalistic school in some statues which he would therefore assign to Middle Egypt, as we already know such a school at Meir and Tell el-'Amarnah. He also thinks he can see signs differentiating the Theban school from the others.

Finally, Roeder attempts a discussion of his statues from the stylistic point of view. Here he has to admit that the peculiarities are not sufficiently well known to provide security in dating, and the same must be said of any attempt to assign the statues to any given school of sculpture. The author's remark is only too true, that one of the many difficulties is the variety of size, ranging as his material does from colossi to statuettes. Here again we have the usual difficulty, that often the statue is broken at the critical place.

It is interesting to note the various changes of fashion introduced by Tiya. She popularized among other things the upright feathers with disk and horns, the hair-band, the two uraei with horns and disk, and the three uraei. We might add that in another connexion it was she who introduced the extraordinary head-dress which only too often disfigures Nefertiti. What a time of change it was! for Akhenaton was the first Pharaoh to wear the two uraei.

Dr. Roeder obtains some valuable information about the Sydney torso. From his study of the position of the pillar at its back it becomes probable that it is the upper part of a seated, not a standing, statue. The statue is nameless, but is almost certainly that of Amenardas II, daughter of Tirhakah. He is known to have had a daughter of this name, and Psametik I records that Shepenapt III had adopted an Amenardas as Divine Consort. This being so, it is strange that Roeder does not remark on the complete difference between her features and those of the famous head of Tirhakah in the Cairo Museum.

In conclusion, the reviewer cannot but feel that the essay is a brave attempt to wrestle with the impossible. It would seem that the hour has not yet struck, and perhaps never will, for a study of so elaborate and far-reaching a nature. At present the most profitable form of research would probably consist in a number of careful studies of such small details as can be observed with sufficient accuracy and in sufficient numbers to provide a solid kernel of established fact.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C. By E. A. SPEISER. (Publications of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Offprint Series, No. 1.) Baltimore, 1933. 4to. 42 pp. \$0.60.

This is a useful pamphlet on a portion of one of the most complicated problems of antiquity, and one of which we know scarcely anything at present. The study is largely concerned with the quite new and astonishing discovery of the 'Hurrians'. We still do not know at all who these people were, whence or when they came, or what their civilization was. As it stands at present the discovery (and all the evidence) is linguistic. It provides a name for a people, apparently not aboriginal, who were spread over the northern parts of Syria and Mesopotamia at a certain period; it provides a name for the language of Tushratta's letter in the Tell el-'Amarnah collection; and more important still, it shows by their names that the Hurrians had penetrated far and wide, from Anatolia to Elam, from Armenia to Egypt. This latter information was quite unexpected.

Since their discovery this people has been given many names: Bergvölker, Subaræan, Mitannian, and Hurri, Hurrian, or Hurrite. Professor Speiser pleads that some form of the latter is best, for documents from Boghaz-Keui show that there was an important people to the south-east called by this name, whose language was that of Tushratta's letter. At first sight 'Mitannian' would, therefore, seem the natural name, but at present Mitanni implies to us nothing more than a kingdom which occupied a fraction of the 'Hurrian' area, which existed for only a fraction of the time during which we now have evidence for Hurrians, and which had a ruling class with Aryan titles and gods although the language of the Hurrians was not Aryan.

The essay consists in a study partly of the literary remains of this people with a view to discovering when and where they wandered, and partly of those other wanderers the Hyksos and Khabiru. It is still impossible to say whence the Hurrians came, but it is not until after 2700 B.C., Narām-Sin's time, that they begin to appear, and then as isolated and sporadic settlers near Mōsul and Nineveh. Moreover, Sethe's *Ächtungstexte*

of the Middle Kingdom give no suggestion that they had yet reached Palestine. Their intrusion there is limited to the first half of the second millennium B.C., *i.e.* about the time of the Hittite raid into Babylonia and the Hyksos invasion of Egypt. When they arrived in Palestine they seem to have exercised great influence there.

Hurrian or Hurrite seems to be the same word as the Biblical Horite. If so, the Horites were not mere 'cave-dwellers' of Edom as hitherto supposed, but were an important people spread over the whole land. In fact this is the chief interest that these people have for the Egyptologist at the moment, for their name seems to be the original from which the Egyptians derived their name of *Hr* for 'Palestine' and 'Palestinian'.

This brings us to the other wanderers of this period, the Khabiru and Hyksos. The Khabiru we have known hitherto only from the Tell el-'Amarnah Letters of about 1375 B.C., but now they have been found in Mesopotamia before 2000 B.C. They were nomads and raiders already at the time that the Hurrians were spreading over the area finally occupied by them. Although so similar to them in so many ways the Khabiru seem to have been something other than Hurrians, and to have been mainly, but not solely, Semitic. These inchoate groups of wanderers apparently picked up a living on the shores of their desert as best they could; as mercenaries if nothing better offered; at worst even selling themselves into bondage, at best raiding and plundering their settled neighbours.

Another group of wanderers in the second millennium is known to us as the Hebrews of the Old Testament. With the assistance of Professor Gunn, Professor Speiser treats the old question whether they were the same as the Khabiru on the one side, and the 'Apiru on the other. The result appears to be that these are the cuneiform and Egyptian renderings of the original Semitic *ʿbr* = Hebrew = Nomad. In the Old Testament the name Hebrew is first applied to Abraham (Gen. xiv, 13), and he would have been wandering at the time of the earlier Khabiru.

The third set of wanderers concerns the Egyptologist more closely. The author rightly points out that the name 'Hyksos' does not necessarily indicate a race, but is an entirely vague epithet meaning 'Rulers of Foreign Lands'. He then points out that the names of the Hyksos kings preserved to us are drawn from various sources, Semitic, Egyptian, and another. Our author is anxious to identify the Hyksos with the Hurrians, but to the reviewer he does not seem to adduce any evidence at all. He proves conclusively that there were Hurrians in Palestine, and that Hurrian prisoners were captured in Palestine by the victorious Pharaohs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. But this, and more in the same vein, does nothing to connect the Hyksos with the Hurrians. His philological evidence is actually against such a belief. He has to admit that the non-Semitic and non-Egyptian names of the Hyksos are apparently not Hurrian. He makes a valiant effort to derive the Egyptian word for a chariot *wrryt* from the Hurrian word *warat*, and this in spite of Gunn's categorical denial of any such likelihood. The only scrap of positive evidence is that the bird-decoration on Hyksos pottery is found again in Palestine, and in those strata at Tell Billa in Mesopotamia that also produce Hurrian things. Though this is important he gives no evidence that these birds are Hurrian, and not Indo-Iranian for example, or of one of the many stocks who were wandering about at this period.

But even this carries the subject no farther. Petrie long ago pointed out that the occurrence of Khyan's objects in Crete and Mesopotamia implied that the centre of the Hyksos was not Egypt, but somewhere in Syria. Already in 1906 Petrie had found in Egypt toggle-pins in what he realized were Hyksos graves (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 12, 13) and pointed out that they were of northern origin, quoting examples from Cyprus. Twenty years later others were found at Byblos on the Syrian coast along with a number of torques. M. Hubert (*Syria*, 1925, 16 ff.) showed them to have Caucasian affinities. These objects were somewhat earlier in date, being of the Twelfth Dynasty, of which period one torque had already been found in Egypt and recognized as non-Egyptian (Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Pl. xiii, 18 and p. 12). Others have since been found in Egypt, and always of the same date, and Frankfort once again has emphasized their northern origin (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, II, 149).

Professor Speiser mentions the great camps which are found all over Syria. They are of the type which in Egypt Petrie had identified as Hyksos as long ago as 1906, and again in 1912. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Professor Speiser should perpetuate the claim which Albright has begun to make for himself as the identifier of these camps as Hyksos (*Bull. American Schools of Oriental Research*, 1932, No. 47, p. 8) though his original study (*Journ. Palestine Oriental Soc.*, 2 (1922), 122 ff.) is based entirely on Petrie's brilliant realization. The addition Albright makes to it is due to Phythian-Adams, who pointed out to him that similar camps are to be found in Transcaaspa. Honour where honour is due! At present there is no answer either way to the question asked by Professor Speiser, whether these camps are of Indo-Iranian origin.

The author rightly objects to the vague talk sometimes indulged in of a Hyksos 'empire' from Baghdad to Crete. This is a case, only too common among scholars, of going far beyond the evidence. He also tilts against the hypercritical attitude which finds in a hiatus of only one hundred years a reason for rejecting the equation of the names Khabiru and 'Apiru.

Why the Hebrews should have spoken a Semitic tongue, when their features are so very un-Semitic, *i.e.*, un-Arab, has long been a problem. The explanation is given by the discovery of a Hurrian area centreing on Harran, the homeland of the Patriarchs, of Hurrian names in Palestine, of the presence in the Khabiru-Hebrew tribes of Hurrians and perhaps others with a predominance of Semites, and of the overwhelmingly Semitic character of the Palestine these tribes invaded. The non-Arab features traditionally known as 'Jewish' are well known in the Hurrian area, though at a later time. They are those of the Assyrians, of the 'Hittite' monuments of north Syria and Mesopotamia, and of the modern Armenians.

Professor Speiser does not deal with the burning question of the authorship of the curious art hitherto known as 'Hittite'. This art provides the monuments of the very area occupied by the Hurrians, yet they are not of the period in which we know these people. The Boghaz Keui tablets show them as living there between 1400 and 1200 B.C., but the monuments all belong to a period after 1100 B.C. Before this there seems at present to be nothing but cylinder seals of an equally definite type and resembling the monuments vaguely called 'Hittite', or perhaps more accurately 'Syro-Cappadocian'. In the *Journ. Palestine Oriental Soc.*, 7, 128 ff., Albright supposes these sculptures to be the descendants of Hurrian art, but unfortunately up to the present the postulated Hurrian ancestors are missing. The lack of any precise dating for the basalt slab from Beisan is therefore the more tantalizing. It was found lying loose in the rubbish occupying the Tutmosis III level—see Rowe in *The Museum Journal* (Mus. Univ. Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), 1929, pp. 47-9 and figs. thereto—and is clearly related to the 'Hittite' sculptures, though of very much better workmanship than usual. It is perhaps not inopportune here to recall the very curious foreign carving in jasper published in photograph in this *Journal*, 11, 159 ff. It was found with the Tell el-'Amarnah Tablets, and dates therefore to about 1375 B.C. It is the product of an otherwise unknown art, for which the circumstances of the discovery suggest a northern home. The composition of the group points in the same direction. It consists of a lion springing on the back of a bull, a *motif* which is common down to classical times in the north, and is found in early Sumerian art.

Professor Speiser still thinks of the Philistines as coming from Crete, in spite of the fact that there is no evidence for this. The whole idea has grown out of one guess (out of a large variety) which identified Caphtor with Crete. All the evidence there is points to Caphtor and Keftiu being the coast-lands of southern, and perhaps south-western, Asia Minor. Similarly, when he speaks of Tell Billa in Mesopotamia as having been in intimate connexion with Mycenaean centres, does he not really mean with centres which were equally in touch with Mycenae? Much has been done in recent years on Keftiu, Caphtor, Anatolian pottery and its relationships, but the latest work known to Professor Speiser seems to be an article by Professor Albright published as long ago as 1921.

Finally, the discovery of the importance of these completely unsuspected Hurrians gives special pleasure to the reviewer. He has never ceased to plead for more caution than is usual when dealing with anything that may have come to Egypt out of the north. At present we know vaguely that these great regions were civilized, but of their civilizations we do not see much more than a few dim reflections when peering at neighbouring lands. In the discovery of the Hurrians we have been given one more peep at the unknown north, and discover it to be just the 'seething pot' that Jeremiah (i, 13-15) saw it to be long afterwards: 'Out of the north an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land. For, lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the north, saith the Lord.'

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes. By NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES, with plates in color from copies by NINA DE GARIS DAVIES and CHARLES K. WILKINSON. (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition. Edited by Ludlow Bull, Ph.D., Associate Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, Vol. x.) New York, 1935. Folio. xii pp. and 26 Pls. \$20.

The latest addition to the Metropolitan Museum's publications is to some extent a break with tradition. The familiar folio format is maintained; but the new volume has not the bulk of those in the Tytus Memorial series, and one looks at first for a quarto companion, as with the Museum's more recent publications of Theban tombs. But in fact this book is to stand alone, and emphasizes by the prefix 'Paintings from' its

independence of the two quarto volumes which are promised under the title *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes*. Except for a Prefatory Note of three pages, and a brief description opposite each plate, there is no letterpress. It is clearly indicated by Mr. Davies that these excerpts from the tomb of Rekhmirē are offered to the world primarily as a collection of Egyptian paintings, a tribute to one of the highest levels of Egyptian drawing.

Of the twenty-six plates the first twenty are in colour; and of the copies from which these were made, three were painted by Mr. Wilkinson and the remainder by Mrs. Davies. Pl. xxi is a key-plan of the tomb, and indicates the positions of the various scenes; the remainder are key-plates of large areas of the walls, which enable the details of the colour plates to be seen in their proper context. These line-drawings by Mr. Davies, however, are by no means merely subsidiary to the painted copies. Not only do they give the outline (with much detail) of the complete decoration of the tomb (for the sake of clarity no distinction is made here between restored and existing lines), but they contain information, particularly in the opening words of short hieroglyphic texts, which anticipates the full publication of the tomb, of which they will form a valuable part.

It is not difficult to see that no other single Theban tomb could have supplied such a variegated series of pictures of such consistently high quality. The traditional features of tomb decoration required for religious and magical purposes from the time of the Old Kingdom, with the accretions and developments of subsequent ages, were fully maintained under the Empire; but it may well be that 'the principle that these scenes formed a model for the future life gradually lost much of its force, and [that] the reflection of earthly objects and scenes became to a large extent biographical or reminiscent'. And whether, as Davies suggests, Rekhmirē was deliberately trying to record for posterity the 'cultural level' of a great age, or not, here was a man who was justified in depicting his biography in a House of Eternity, one too whose biography might fully 'justify' him in the Egyptian sense. The Vizier of Tuthmosis III might well be expected to leave records in his tomb of more than personal interest; and at a time when the conventional art of Egypt had reached its most mature phase previous to the invasion of those exotic influences which were to culminate at Tell el-'Amarnah, it is not surprising that those records which are pictorial are among the best of Egyptian paintings.

Mr. Davies's choice of material for the colour-plates was not conditioned by aesthetic considerations only, since the high standard of the decoration is maintained throughout the tomb. He has therefore given special prominence to the scenes of the foreign tribute-bearers, for the sake of their great 'ethnological value'—they occupy thirteen of the coloured plates. The dues of Amūn have two plates; the famous brick-making scene two more; while the last three deal with more personal aspects of Rekhmirē's funerary arrangements. Most of these pictures are familiar to Egyptologists, whether they have seen the tomb or not; a number of the original copies are exhibited in the British Museum; but none have been reproduced with anything approaching this perfection before. Both aesthetically and archaeologically this publication will be of more value to the student than a visit to the tomb itself, with its dark interior and the inaccessible heights of its walls.

The virtual absence of letterpress has reduced archaeological comments to a minimum. Major problems are raised by the tribute-bearers, and it is not difficult to read Mr. Davies's mind about some of them. But those who disagree with him would be unwise to join issue until he has finished his say in the two volumes to come. In his identification of details in the plates he is rarely at a loss; but again the temptation to argue is better resisted. Rather let the reviewer congratulate himself on correctly guessing, without reference to the 'crib' opposite, the nature of the curiously flattened round baskets, piled one above the other, in the top right-hand corner of Pl. xiii, and described by Mr. Davies as 'small frails containing honey-combs or what not'.

As the list of the Davieses' publications for the Metropolitan Museum grows, their colleagues take the quality of their work more and more for granted. We have long since used up appropriate superlatives; but we can still be grateful to all concerned.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE.

Egypt and Negro Africa: A Study in Divine Kingship. By C. G. SELIGMAN. (The Frazer Lecture for 1933.) London, Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1934. 8vo. 82 pp., with 1 map and line drawings. 3s. 6d.

In this lecture Professor Seligman gives a quantity of information on a subject which has been much to the fore since Frazer originally expounded it, namely that of the Divine King, the man-god who lives his life, and finally lays it down, for the good of his people. The theory and practice may be shortly stated as follows. A certain individual has within him a divinity which gives him power over the elements. He brings or withholds the rain which causes the crops to grow, which in turn causes the wealth and health of the people and their cattle. No man can live for ever, yet when the time comes for the Divine King to hand on his powers to his successor they must be in at least as vigorous a condition as that in which they were received

by him. This they could not be if they came from a worn-out, decrepit old man. Hence he must deliver them up while still in his prime. Worse still, were he to die without proper precautions having been taken for their transmission to a suitable guardian, the divinity he enshrines would naturally escape into the Unknown along with him. Hence, at a suitable time, which varies in different places, he lays down his life—originally gladly, as indeed he often still does—that the virtue of these powers may be preserved to his people. This is done by his committing suicide or being killed with due precautions, when his powers are ceremonially transferred to a suitable young and vigorous successor. In due time logic has often shown that a substitute would do as well as the actual king, or that the powers of the king being magical they could be magically rejuvenated. From this a number of practices arise; not of course only in Africa but all the world over, for this theory of kingship is world-wide.

Incarnate gods of this nature prove still to be flourishing in many parts of Africa, not only among the Shilluk of the White Nile and their neighbours the Dinka and Nuer, but also in West Africa. Seligman asks whether this cannot be traced back to the *sed*-festival of Ancient Egypt. No doubt some of the features are to be found there, but as we know it at present the festival seems to be a complicated affair. The reviewer had intended to include some remarks on this question, but soon found that any such attempt would lead far beyond the scope of the present review. He hopes shortly to return to the subject, however.

In recent years many inquirers have pointed to cases of apparent influence from ancient Egypt in Negro Africa, and the Frazer Lecture is a continuation of two of the author's previous publications on this subject. The question of course is whether such things are the remains of a very old Hamitic culture, of which Egypt merely presents the earliest and best-known picture and Negro Africa the latest, or whether they are specifically Egyptian in origin. As might be expected, the answer is something of both. It is interesting that sun-worship, which looms so large in our present idea of Egyptian religion, is as good as absent in modern Africa.

The question arises of routes by which the Egyptian influence would have extended itself. They prove to be four: up the White Nile; along the North African coast past Tunis to West Africa; up the Blue Nile and along the foothills of Abyssinia to the Great Lakes; through Darfur and Wadai along the southern edge of the Sahara. Seligman does not suppose that the last was in any way a main route of influence, though his reason is rather hard to see. He himself shows that it is practicable even to-day, and conditions are hardly likely to have been worse in antiquity. He also shows that sites with apparent affinities to the Meroitic civilization of the third and fourth centuries B.C. have been found far out to the south-west of Meroe, hence in the direction of this last route.

Professor Seligman naturally, and without doubt correctly, takes it that in Pharaonic times expeditions into or through the desert had to be made without camels. Although it makes no difference to the undoubted correctness of his postulate, we may record here that it is a mistake to suppose that camels had never been seen in ancient Egypt. Strangely enough as many as eight figures of them, sometimes with loads on their backs, are known over the period running from the Second Predynastic Age to the fifth century B.C., see Scharff *Das vorgeschichtliche Gräberfeld von Abusir el-Meleq*, p. 40, no. 209; and as Seligman himself notes, Miss Caton-Thompson has reported a rope of camel-hair of Old Kingdom date. The beast of burden of ancient Egypt was of course the donkey, and journeys were limited by his powers of endurance. As to this Seligman has collected a good deal of evidence, and it may be worth while to supplement it with my own experience, although it adds nothing new. One winter in the early 'twenties I spent six weeks in the Oases with camels, and for the journey back from Dakhlah was joined by some native merchants at Tenidah. It is ninety miles without water from there to Khargah, and we left about 10 one morning, arriving before 5 p.m. two days later. The merchants' donkeys were well watered before starting, and were only given each a large pudding-basin of water half-way across. After the donkeys, the camels had what was left. A petroleum-tin of water had been hidden for this purpose on the outward journey. I do not remember that there were any of the big white donkeys with us, but I do remember the little brown ones. One had eaten the local clover, which gave it colic so badly that it had to be left to its fate with a pan of water by its side, for there is no waiting in the desert. A caravan going in the opposite direction was told they might have it if they found it still alive. Its illness had nothing to do with hardship in the desert. I suppose that if I thought about it at all, I put down the absence of white donkeys to the poverty of the merchants, but it may be that the little brown ones are hardier. Similarly I remember numbers of the latter, all very small and wretched, living in the Oases, but do not remember large white ones, though after this lapse of time I cannot say positively that I saw no single one there. I was told by the merchants that a donkey can go two days without water, but dies on the third. A camel can go four or five, but has to be trained to it before leaving the fields. It was

astounding how little water the Bedawy camel-drivers needed; they only had one quite small goatskin with them, and, being utterly careless, spilt an immense proportion even of that. The camel-drivers of course are accustomed to walk the whole way, and I and my two town-dwelling Egyptians walked most of the way, taking a 'rest' from time to time on the more lightly loaded of our two camels. With only a short rest in the shade at midday, we travelled for thirteen hours on each of the first two days. The natives, however, would have gone on longer, but by that time I had had enough. Our party suffered no sort of inconvenience beyond some fatigue to myself and the loss to the merchant. One of the camels carried a litter on which lay a man too ill to move or speak. He was stricken with what the natives called a fever, and died the day after reaching Khargah. The camels come out from Egypt for the autumn and winter, but get very poor and have to return by March to recuperate. They get maggots up their noses by the end of the time.

Hence, if they had the need, the ancients could have done a good deal of desert travel with their donkeys. In fact they clearly went up to the Oases, for Senusret I sent Iḳudidi to Abydos on some affairs of the Oasis-dwellers; see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 527. In the Eleventh Dynasty Ḥenu had gone down the Wady Ḥammāmāt to the Red Sea with donkeys, *op. cit.*, §§ 429, 430. I am told there is a spring of water at the highest part of the road. In the same dynasty another official boasts, 'My soldiers descended [from the desert] without loss; . . . not an ass died', *op. cit.*, § 448. Large caravans of donkeys went on the southern expeditions of the Sixth Dynasty. Ḥerkhuf had three hundred, and Sebni had one hundred, *op. cit.*, §§ 336, 366.

On p. 44 we find that in West Africa a play is performed in which the birth of 'a boy . . . lord of the earth' is prophesied, and the new king appears from under the skirts of a priest who plays the part of his mother. Emphasis is laid on the fact that the new arrival is already mature. It seems apposite to record here another of my own experiences, for I have seen the same play enacted by the villagers of Upper Egypt. I do not remember any prophecy or remarks on the physical condition of the child, and I failed to gather that the play had any significance. I admit I did not inquire, but took it to be merely the burlesque that it certainly was, rejoicing in coarseness as such things do. The performers are all men and boys of course, and are provided by local talent. An inspector arrives, and after finding fault with everything demands a companion from the Omdah. After endless excuses, indignation, threats, discussions, and all sorts of dreadful situations, one is eventually found and brought in. The two cohabit, and a child gets born. For convenience' sake a boy takes the part rather than a full-sized man, and he is dragged out from the skirts of the performer with an infinity of weeping and wailing. Of course it is the by-play, back-chat, topical allusions, and knock-about business, that keep the audience in roars of laughter for the whole evening. The plot is well known to the village and the characters are always the same. There are two things which make me suspect that this play may be a survival of some sort. They are the latitude which allows liberties to be taken with superiors, and the presence of a comic figure whose only function is to pop out and frighten people. He was explained to me as merely an 'afrit', and that he certainly was, in the colloquial sense of the word. His body and each of his arms and legs are covered with black clothes lent by the audience, who help to dress him with great enjoyment. The clothes are bandaged on to him with white turbans, so that he makes an apparently naked black figure with diagonal white stripes across him. He leaps about in the semi-darkness in a terrifying way, and, if I remember rightly, does not speak.

In conclusion it is only necessary to say that the book under review is as suggestive as is all Professor Seligman's work. It is mainly a handy collection of a great mass of material bearing on a religion that is to be found throughout the world. The beliefs surrounding the Mikado in Japan form one manifestation of it, and in our own land another was probably the 'touching for the King's evil' which was demanded of Charles II after his restoration. In fact these ideas are probably fundamental to most religious thought. They certainly underlie it, for not only are they so widespread, but they constitute the oldest religion of which we have any evidence, having their roots deep in the Palaeolithic Age.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

Accounting in the Zenon Papyri. By ELIZABETH GRIER. New York, Columbia University Press, and Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1934. xiii+77 pp. 15s.

Miss Grier has chosen a fascinating subject for study; her main conclusion, that 'the system of accounting in the Ptolemaic state of the third century was certainly not an Egyptian institution, nor was it partly Greek with Egyptian elements. The actual system and phraseology were distinctly Greek' is of considerable cultural and historic importance, and it is therefore the more regrettable that the arguments for this thesis are practically confined to two pages (56-7) of generalities. It is perhaps unfair to criticize the author on

this account, for the preface states that she regards the book only as 'a starting-point for a more comprehensive study of the development of Greek and Roman accounting', and the hope may be expressed that some more solid arguments will then be advanced. That Miss Grier's view is in the main correct there can be very little doubt; it is indeed all that one would expect, for until nearly the end of the third century the ruling class in Egypt still preserved their Greek mentality and outlook. But all the same the point deserves further study: to take one example, the distributive sign <, standing in Greek for *ἕν* or *τοῦτων* (see most recently Wilcken, U.P.Z., 157, 9, note; Miss Grier's translation 'deduction' on p. 69 is wrong), is undoubtedly derived from the demotic, yet we find it in Greek accounts at least as early as 270 B.C. (P. Hib. 110, recto).

Of the main subject of her book, however, Miss Grier has given an exhaustive account, drawn from all the published Zenon papyri (the only omissions I have noted are those in Lille, reprinted in Bilabel, *Sammelbuch*, 6800-6803, and the interesting tax-list in Cambridge, *ibid.*, 7222, which might well have been quoted on p. 42). Not only the accounting method, but the economic and financial problems involved, are fully treated, though this often introduces a good deal of irrelevant material. There is, too, very little attempt at arrangement and classification of the material, the documents being merely divided into 'Money Accounts' and 'Accounts of Raw Materials', the latter including, rather surprisingly, accounts of grain. Problems of metrology, chronology, and numismatics, discussion of which might have been expected, are almost entirely unnoticed. The Glossary of Accounting Terms at the end is an excellent idea, and the Bibliography very useful (on the customs-house registers, P. Cair. Zen. 59012, 59015, see Andreades in *Mélanges Glotz*, I, 7-48). Two short accounts in the Columbia collection are here published for the first time; Miss Grier's idea of using single square brackets to represent a lacuna or a deletion is an unfortunate innovation which it is greatly to be hoped will not be followed by other editors of papyri.

T. C. SKEAT.

Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers. By WALTER OTTO. (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt., Neue Folge, Heft 11.) München, Verlag der Bay. Akad. d. Wiss., 1934. 4to. 147 pp.

Originally designing this study for inclusion in the three stately volumes of *Mélanges*, recently issued by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, in memory of Gaston and Jean Maspero, Prof. Otto found his researches taking him far beyond the limits allowed him, and his work in consequence now appears as a separate publication with a dedication to Prof. Wenger. In general, it makes a contribution of outstanding importance to the history not only of Ptolemaic Egypt but of the Hellenistic world during the first half of the second century B.C. Prof. Otto's competence for the task is everywhere obvious: he has an impressive range of knowledge and mastery of his materials, a gift for the marshalling of evidence, an acute judgement; and if his style of presentation, cumbered with footnotes, which on many pages occupy more space than the text, tending to rather long and involved sentences and at times (especially in the notes) complicated parentheses and sub-parentheses, is a little unaccommodating, it may be said in defence that he is writing a work of research for scholars, not a popular handbook. His task was certainly not an easy one. Few important periods of history, at least since the art of historiography became fully established, are so unsatisfactorily documented as the Hellenistic Age. The evidence is jejune, fragmentary, and often ambiguous; the writer who would construct a connected history out of this haphazard débris must too often be content to make bricks without straw. It is necessary to deal plentifully in conjecture, to squeeze every particle of evidence in order to extract from it the last drop of information, and unfortunately the process has its dangers: the possible tends insensibly to become the probable, the precariously balanced reconstruction is treated as a firm basis for further combinations.

Prof. Otto has thus done wisely in setting strict limits to his task. At first sight, the implied title *Beiträge* for a volume of nearly 150 generous-sized pages of small print suggests an unnecessary demonstration of modesty on the part of the author; but here the name is strictly correct. A continuous history of the reign of Philometor has never been, and in all probability never will be, written; and Otto has therefore focused his attention on those critical years when events in Egypt gave a decisive turn to the destinies of the Mediterranean world. It is the expeditions of Antiochus Epiphanes against Egypt that are throughout the central theme, to which the remaining chapters, describing in detail the antecedents and consequences of the struggle, are designedly subsidiary. The opening section, *Chronologische Feststellungen*, is one of the most important as well as the most original: in it Otto attempts to fix the dates of birth of the three children of Ptolemy Epiphanes and his Seleucid queen; by a process not unfairly described as a masterpiece of

juggling with the assorted scraps of evidence which must perforce content us, he reaches the conclusion, likely to be generally accepted, that they were a good deal younger than has generally been supposed, Philometor being born in 183 or possibly 184 B.C., Euergetes a year or so later, and Cleopatra II in the last few months of her father's lifetime, or even posthumously.¹ In dealing with the early years of Philometor's reign Otto's conclusions are not always so happy: his dating of the death of the Queen-Regent Cleopatra I to between Sept. 178 and Nov. 176² (pp. 1–2) is an important step forward, but his view that her nickname among the Alexandrian populace, ἡ Σύρα, implies a pro-Syrian policy on her part rather than the simple fact that she was a Seleucid princess, seems quite unjustifiable. Nor is it quite fair to describe as 'gesichert' (p. 18) his theory that the πρωτοκλισία of Philometor mentioned in 2 Maccabees was his marriage-feast in 175 or 174 B.C. There is a good deal to be said for it, no doubt, but all the steps in the argument are very conjectural, and fifty probabilities do not make a certainty. If the festival was the marriage-feast, the name πρωτοκλισία is very strange, and Otto's explanation, that it was an intentional *double entendre* on the part of Antiochus which became current throughout the Near East, verges on the fantastic. Otto's treatment of Cleopatra II, furthermore, is unsatisfactory, chiefly because he deliberately decides (p. 135) to ignore the evidence of the prescripts of legal documents; no arguments are vouchsafed for this ultra-scepticism, and Otto has apparently overlooked the fact that he himself has used this type of evidence in determining the date of the death of Cleopatra I! The result of this policy is the astonishing statement that 'the earliest example of the association of Cleopatra II in the dating is in the 21st year of Philometor'. How then does Otto explain the prescripts of the joint reign, which in both Greek and Demotic documents (P. Tebt. 811, Year 5; B.M. dem. Pap. 10515, cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 33, no. 12a, Year 6) begin: 'In the reign of the Kings Ptolemy and Ptolemy the Brother and Cleopatra the Sister the children of Ptolemy and Cleopatra the Gods Epiphaneis. . .'? Surely the natural conclusion, already drawn by Strack and Wilcken from P. Par. 63 (= U.P.Z. 110), is that Cleopatra II was officially associated with her brothers on the throne of Egypt, at least as early as 165; and we may now reconsider Livy's clear statement, given very short shrift by Otto (p. 60, note 3), that she participated in the dispatch of the embassy of Euergetes to Rome in 169. There seems no obvious reason why the extraordinary step of raising her to the throne of her brothers should have been taken after their reconciliation, whereas if Livy is right, and she had been associated with Euergetes from the beginning of the emergency government in Alexandria, it is perfectly natural that unwillingness to depose in her a reigning sovereign should have suggested the idea of the triple régime which we know for a fact was in existence a few years later. One further point regarding the joint reign is the common assumption, shared by Otto (pp. 71–2), that Philometor took over the new dating of regnal years which his brother had initiated while isolated in Alexandria, perhaps as a concession to his brother's adherents. It is, however, much more likely to have been the initiation of the joint régime that was made the occasion for a new start; and if this is admitted, we obtain an important date in the chronology of the period, for since year I of the joint reign coincided with year 12 of Philometor, the reconciliation of the brothers must have taken place *before* 1 Thoth = 4 Oct. 169, and hence Antiochus must have left Egypt at least several weeks previously, somewhat earlier than the time Otto proposes (pp. 41, n. 1, 66) on other grounds.

In tracing the course of the campaigns of Antiochus, Otto is on more familiar ground, but here also his mastery of detail, and his gift for characterization or summing-up of a tendency or situation, make his work a valuable contribution to historical learning. For the status of Antiochus in Egypt (pp. 53–7) he has happily been able to utilise the new P. Tebt. 698, which decisively vindicates Porphyry's statement that he was crowned King of Egypt at Memphis; but, in common with the editor and Wilcken, he has failed to realize the importance of the address of the royal *prostagmā*: 'To the cleruchs in the Crocodilopolite nome. . .'. As van Groningen has well observed, this unique designation of the Arsinoite nome indicates that Antiochus

¹ Otto, adducing the evidence of the Siūt papyri in a *Nachtrag* (p. 134), notes that scribes at Lykopolis in Middle Egypt were still dating by Epiphanes on 30 November 181; he has, however, overlooked Tait, *Greek Ostraca*, I, Bodl. no. 96 (Hermonthis), which, if correctly assigned to Epiphanes (and Tait's arguments seem decisive), is dated 20 May 180. This would certainly make it easier to find time for the birth of the three children after 184 or 183. Otto does not discuss the possibility of two of them, e.g. Euergetes and Cleopatra, being twins; no doubt he tacitly assumes that even with our unsatisfactory authorities such a fact must have come down to us.

² Sir Herbert Thompson's invaluable list of the eponymous priests (*Griffith Studies*, 16–37) shows that at Ptolemais, between the fifth and sixth years of Philometor the priest of 'Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy her son' is replaced by the priest of 'King Ptolemy and Cleopatra his mother'. The latest example of the former type is dated 8 April 176, the earliest of the latter 18 November 176 (both Demotic; for a Greek example of the latter type, cf. P. Grenf. I, 10, of 10 October 174), and the reviewers suggest that the death of Cleopatra I may thus be fixed even more closely to between these two dates.

not only had dethroned Philometor, but was trying to obliterate all trace of the Ptolemaic dominion in Egypt.¹ Particularly happy is Otto's elucidation (pp. 73-4) of the fact that C. Popilius Laenas must have left Rome several months before Pydna was fought, carrying with him instructions from the Senate, *to be carried out immediately on receiving news of the Roman victory!* The sequel—his amazing interview with Antiochus, and the fateful circle traced in the sand—is the central point of the book; in it Otto sees the death-knell of the Hellenistic world whose disintegration before the growing intervention of Rome was henceforward inevitable. In his moral judgements, it is true, Otto's feelings as a good Hellenist have to some extent got the better of his critical faculty; from first to last he sees in every political event in the Near East the sinister influence of Rome, and his terrible indictment of the *Machiavellismus* which guided her foreign policy (especially p. 38) is one of the most vivid passages of the book. But the fact remains that any form of ethical judgement on states of the ancient world is a very dangerous proceeding, and in the case of Rome it seems scarcely fair to expect from her a degree of political morality which it would be hard to find in Europe to-day. To do Otto justice, however, he has at least no heroes among the Hellenistic monarchs—Antiochus, fundamentally unstable, lacking the courage and resolution to carry out his grandiose schemes; Euergetes, with the methods and morals of an American gangster; and even the saintly Philometor emerging with a somewhat dubious character, though Otto's argument² for distrusting the traditional estimate of him (p. 94) seems very flimsy.

The Cyrene inscription containing the will of Euergetes II is discussed at length and in considerable detail. The most conflicting views have been expressed concerning this document, and Otto's, which is very well argued and shows great ingenuity, is by no means the least interesting or plausible; but it is not certain that it will command universal acceptance. He holds that the inscription is not the will or a part of it, but is merely founded on the will, preserving but two clauses of the actual document (*τάδε διέθετο κτλ.*, and *ἐὰν δέ τι κτλ.*). The date, 155 B.C., is that of the erection of the stele; the will was made earlier, after 164, when the joint rule of Philometor and Euergetes ended; and Otto places the negotiations which led up to it in the year 162-161. *Τὰ περὶ τούτων γράμματα* are the documents relating to the transaction, including the will. To publish the will verbatim would have looked too official; hence extracts only were given to the world, with the insertion of connecting phrases and with paraphrases. The whole episode was a deliberate 'political indiscretion' and so was probably not committed by the king directly but by the priests of Apollo at Cyrene under his inspiration. It was indeed, Otto holds, a political masterpiece, and like P. Tebt. 5 shows that Euergetes has been too unfavourably treated in the literary tradition. This last assertion surely goes beyond the evidence. Several decrees of amnesty have been revealed by the accident of discovery, with formulae which show a considerable mutual resemblance, and we really cannot say how far Euergetes was following precedent, and, in any case, how far he himself, rather than his advisers, was responsible for the measures taken.

Otto's whole reconstruction of the situation, attractive as it is, seems just a little far-fetched, and it rests in part on his view (p. 104) that *ἡμῖν* in the clause *τὴν φύλιν καὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γενομένην* means Euergetes and Philometor, not Euergetes and the Romans. The present reviewers feel that the second interpretation is really much the more probable, nor can they agree with Otto (p. 104, n. 3) in thinking that *ἡμῖν* cannot refer to the Romans because in conjunction with *εἰς ἀλλήλους* it 'wäre eine Doppelung', or that 'das *ἡμῖν* würde auch zu dem auf die Römer in demselben Satz hinweisenden *ἀντοῖς* in Widerspruch stehen, wenn mit ihm die Römer mitgemeint wären'. However, his conception of the document certainly calls for serious consideration; and it is not the least among the merits of his monograph that by revealing new points of view it compels a re-examination of many problems in the history of the period.

H. I. BELL.
T. C. SKEAT.

The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. By WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT. (American Oriental Series, Vol. 5.) New Haven, Conn., American Oriental Society, 1934. 8vo. vii+67 pp. \$1.25.

The problem of the Egyptian syllabic orthography is one that has occupied many minds, and evoked many theories. In this admirable monograph Professor Albright gives a detailed statement of his own

¹ *Aegyptus*, 14, 120. Presumably P. Tebt. 698 dates from 168, when Antiochus had finally thrown off the mask, and when we hear from P. Tebt. 781 of ravages by his soldiers in the Fayyūm.


² *Viz.*, that the praise of Polybius reads like an echo of the propaganda of the pro-Philometor party at Rome, and is therefore suspect.

researches in this important field. Though even he would not claim that the last word has been said, his results mark a definite advance on previous work, and certainly inspire a high degree of confidence in their probability.

This work falls into three main parts. In the first, after a survey of the theories of previous scholars and an outline of his own methods of investigation, Professor Albright gives a brief history of syllabic writing in Egypt, and concludes 'that the syllabic orthography was invented before the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty'; he suggests that it may have been invented in the Egyptian Foreign Office in the twentieth century B.C. The supposed syllabic writings of the Old Kingdom are nearly all consonantal, so too are those of the *Ächtungstexte*.¹ After the Twelfth Dynasty syllabic writings increase, though it is noteworthy that the names of foreign places and gods such as Byblos (*Kpn*), Kadesh (*Kdš*), and Ba'al (*Bʿr*), names which must have been known before the invention of the syllabic orthography, continue to be spelt in the old consonantal form. The syllabic orthography was at its best in the reign of Amenophis III and in the 'Amarnah Period, but continued to be remarkably accurate for long after that time, and only became corrupt after the reign of Ramesses III. Next follows some discussion of the date of the shift in the quality of Egyptian vowels, and the laws of vocalic change in Egyptian. The section concludes with paragraphs dealing with new material for Canaanite phonology and morphology, Aegean names and words, and Egyptian hypocoristica.

The second section is entitled 'The System of Syllabic Orthography'. Professor Albright considers that most of the syllabic groups are certainly or probably independent words, usually nouns or pronouns, which contain 'only one vowel, followed generally by the weak laryngal ʒ, less frequently by ' (*i*) or *w*'. Only very occasionally did the syllabic orthography employ groups containing two strong consonants. The greater part of this section is devoted to a detailed examination of these groups and their probable origin and pronunciation.

Finally, the last half of the book is occupied by an autographed text in which selected Egyptian words, written in the syllabic orthography, are studied in twenty-two main groups. The presentation is on the whole admirable, though the smallness and indistinctness of the hieroglyphs is occasionally a little trying, and only one slight error was noticed—on p. 42, VII. B. 4, the correct reference is to C. 1, not to C. 4.

A close study of this material reveals how much has yet to be done before it can be claimed that the problem of syllabic writing has been solved once and for all. At the present moment we are in a position to deduce the vocalization of a word if we can identify its foreign equivalent; in other words, we rely on 'cribs'. This is permissible as a beginning, but it is a challenge to renewed efforts from all who are interested in this aspect of the Egyptian language. Professor Albright's autographed material is about a third only of that already published by Burchardt, and I have failed to discover in his lists a single word which has not its foreign equivalent. This is a most satisfactory state of affairs, as far as it goes, but what are we to do about the other 800 words? Are we to confess that we cannot suggest their probable vocalization? For instance, we find that the group □ ⊕ represents *pá*, *pí*, or *pú*, and that  may represent *ma*, *mi*, or *mu*, but how are we to know which of these values is the correct one in a word whose foreign equivalent is not known? There seems to be an urgent need for a further codification of our material. We need an analysis of all these groups to determine how much their values depend on the nature of the groups that precede or follow them, and how much on their own positions, initial, medial, or final. Our own language, for instance, has such rules, and there seems no obvious reason why they should be absent from Egyptian. At least, this is a part of the problem which does not seem to have been followed up and which urgently needs more attention, even though the final result may be a negative one.

Finally, one complaint: the value of the autographed portion has been decreased very considerably by the failure to reduplicate words. The majority of the words which are dealt with in the text are composed of three groups at least, but few of them are listed more than once. Thus, if it is necessary to study any particular group, only a portion of the material is to be found in the appropriate section of the text, and for the full details one is compelled to search through the whole of the autographed section. The book would have gained immeasurably if all the material referring to any one group had been gathered together in the study of that particular group, instead of being scattered through the body of the work. A particularly glaring instance of this omission occurs in the case of the group \sum_1 (X. D). The values of the group are said to be: '(*a*)r, (*i*)r, (*u*)r, (*a*)l, etc.', yet no single instance of either (*i*)r or (*a*)l (the latter is admittedly rare) is to be

¹ K. Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässcherben des mittleren Reiches*. Berlin, 1926.

found on pp. 50, 51. In fact no instance of (*a*)*l* seems to be given in any part of the lists. The value (*i*)*r* occurs several times: e.g. III. A. 1; B. 1. 5. 8. 9; IV. 14; V. C. 1; VII. A. 10. 14; B. 4, etc. One hopes that it will be possible to remedy this defect in the future.

H. W. FAIRMAN.

So far as I can see, looking at the problem here discussed from the Semitic side, Professor Albright's results may be accepted if his premises are granted. It must, however, be borne in mind that his 'Canaanite' forms are pure abstractions; they may, perhaps they do, frequently represent the truth, but there are also cases where this is probably not so. For example, on what grounds does he postulate (III. A. 2) a Canaanite 'abidti > abitti when both the forms in the Tell el-'Amarna Letters and the Hebrew forms of this verb suggest that it took *a* rather than *i* (for what reason?), which accordingly favours a Canaanite 'abadti > 'abatti? He seems indeed to use his Canaanite form as evidence for an Egyptian *a-bi-ti* and then to use this as evidence of his postulated Canaanite form. In other words, here (and perhaps elsewhere) he is in danger of arguing in a circle. So again Professor Albright postulates a Canaanite *Yasir'el* as the original form of the Hebrew *Yisra'el* and uses this to support his vocalization of the Egyptian *Ya-si-r-i-ra*; but, one may ask, how certain is the Canaanite *Yasir'el*? How, too, does he know that the origin of the Hebrew *Sarpat(a)* is a Canaanite *Šarpat(a)*; the Accadian *Šaripitu* suggests a participial form meaning 'dyeing (town)', and Accadian orthography is a far safer guide than that of the Hebrew text, which represents mainly a very much later tradition. In fact, he appears to choose whichever pronunciation, that of the Assyrian inscriptions or that of the Massoretic text, suits his case at the moment; and arbitrary selection is risky as a guiding principle. The truth is that very little is known of the original Canaanite or proto-Hebrew (or whatever it is called) pronunciation, and in almost every case allowance must be made for the vagaries of Accadian orthography as well as for the effect of a thousand years of change on Hebrew pronunciation. Consequently everything is a matter at the best of inference, at the worst of conjecture, and the strength of any single case of Egyptian vocalization as based on such evidence varies with the certainty of the 'Canaanite' form on which it is based.

G. R. DRIVER.

An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library. Edited by C. H. ROBERTS. Manchester, The Manchester University Press, 1935. 34 pp., 1 pl. 2s. 6d.

De minimis non curat lex is a sound legal maxim, but it is by no means of universal application. A very minute particle of fact may at times have a value as evidence quite out of proportion to its size. So it is with the papyrus fragment edited by Mr. Roberts. It measures but 8.9 × 6 cm. (by a misprint on p. 11 the dimensions of the fragment are confused with those of the text, which is given a greater breadth than the papyrus) and contains on each side only about a third of no more than seven lines; yet it must rank as, in some respects, one of the most important among recent discoveries of Christian papyri. To begin with, it is undoubtedly the earliest fragment of the New Testament ever found; there seems no reason to question the editor's dating, first half of the second century. Of course the dating of any manuscript on purely palaeographical grounds is never more than approximate, and perhaps 'not later than about the middle of the second century' would be a safer conclusion than the editor's; but at least one can say that if, by some wholly improbable chance, evidence should ever be found by which an exact date could be determined for the codex from which this fragment comes, one would be less surprised by a date before than by a date after A.D. 150.

In itself this claim to be the earliest fragment of the New Testament is a matter rather of sentimental interest than of serious importance; but it has indirectly a scientific significance which is very considerable in more than one respect. Historically it is of value because it tends to throw back the date at which Christianity began to penetrate Egypt proper. Till about a dozen years ago definitely Christian fragments of earlier date than the third century had not yet been discovered there, and it was permissible to think—many of us did think—that in the second century Christianity had not yet travelled beyond Alexandria; at all events had not yet passed above the Delta. Yet here we have a fragment of St. John certainly discovered in the 'Upper Country', very likely, as the editor suggests, at Oxyrhynchus, and dating apparently from the first half of the second century. Of course one swallow does not make a summer; it might be argued that this codex of St. John was written at Alexandria, that, treasured by some pious owner, it was long preserved, and that only after many years did it reach its final home beyond the Delta. That is possible of a single papyrus, but it becomes less likely with each discovery of an early Christian fragment; and taken along with the British Museum Gospel fragments and one or two early Septuagint papyri which, though they might conceivably be of Jewish origin, are at least as likely to be Christian, the new find does reinforce the growing

conviction that Christians, of some degree of education and wealth (this and the Museum fragments are clearly the work of practised scribes, not of semi-literate amateurs), were already to be found in Middle Egypt by about A.D. 150.

Again, the new fragment, small as it is, furnishes valuable evidence on the vexed question of the date of St. John's Gospel, which some would put as late as A.D. 135. It is no doubt possible to retain both that date and the Ephesian origin if we suppose that some enthusiastic disciple, receiving the Gospel on its very publication, migrated soon afterwards not merely to Alexandria but into Middle or Upper Egypt and there caused copies to be circulated; but in dealing with obscure points of scholarship we must operate rather with what I may call an average degree of probability than with the abstractly possible; and there can be no question that the discovery in Egypt of so early a fragment is a powerful reinforcement for the theory of an earlier as against a later date for the Gospel.

In two other respects the find is important for Biblical criticism: it shows that the Fourth Gospel, at first regarded by many of the orthodox with some suspicion, was circulating outside its place of origin unexpectedly early, and it is very reassuring as to the state of the text. Only in one point, and that a not very important one, does the papyrus show a novel reading; in another place it agrees with B and other early authorities against \aleph , A, and other manuscripts. In fact this fragment, from a codex written within half a century of the composition of the Gospel, presents us with the familiar text of our later authorities. It is, of course, small enough base for textual theories, but *ex pede Herculem*: it does at least, along with the other evidence which is accumulating, create a presumption that the text established by the best recent scholarship is in the main sound.

A corollary, conjectural and hazardous enough, may be added. In the *editio princeps* of the Museum Gospel fragments (*Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, pp. 38 ff.) and in the recent pamphlet (*The New Gospel Fragments*, pp. 16 ff.) the relationship between those fragments and St. John, usually regarded as the Ephesian Gospel, was assumed to be an argument against the idea that the unknown Gospel could have been originally composed in Egypt. The discovery of the new fragment and the possibility that both this and the Museum fragments come from Oxyrhynchus make some modification of that view necessary. Of course, even if an Oxyrhynchite provenance were established for both, that fact would not *prove* a connexion between them; but it would at least make possible the view that the new Gospel was composed in Egypt, even at Oxyrhynchus, and that its author made direct use of John.

The Johannine fragment was bought for the Rylands Library, along with other papyri of a quite miscellaneous character, by the late Prof. Grenfell in 1920. Its nature was recognized in the summer of 1935 by Mr. Roberts, who is editing the third volume of the Rylands papyri. He is to be congratulated not only on the good fortune which brought him this *trouvaille* and his perspicacity in identifying it but also on the skill and judgement with which he has edited it. The little booklet, excellently printed, reflects credit on all concerned in its production, and is likely to have a wide and ready sale.

H. I. BELL.

Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano. By ARISTIDE CALDERINI. Vol. I, fasc. 1, A-AAIKAPNAΣΣΕΥΣ. Cairo, Società Reale di Geografia d'Egitto, 1935. xii+216 pp.

When the late Prof. Grenfell was struck down by his last illness he had in hand, besides other undertakings, a comprehensive geography of Graeco-Roman Egypt, a scheme which he had been contemplating for many years; but though a good deal of preparatory work had been done towards it the materials collected were not yet in such a state that they could be satisfactorily handled by any one else; and it seemed that the execution of this much needed project must be postponed indefinitely. It was therefore a matter for general rejoicing when Prof. Calderini announced (at first in the *Compte rendu du Congrès intern. de Géogr.*, Cairo, 1925, v, 23-9; later in *Aegyptus*, 11, 1930-1, pp. 10-12, and *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft—Münchener Beitr. z. Papyrusforsch. u. ant. Rechtsgesch.* 19—, pp. 400-5) that he was engaged on a similar undertaking. The present fascicule marks the beginning of the actual publication; and it may be said at once that the work which Prof. Calderini is doing puts every papyrologist and every student of the history and geography of ancient Egypt in his debt. It may be—it can hardly not be—that errors and omissions will be detected in this and following parts (a list of *Aggiunte e correzioni* on pp. ix-xii notes, besides some new evidence published while the part was in the press, a few points overlooked in compilation); but every page gives proof of the author's untiring industry and the thoroughness with which he has explored his sources, while the arrangement of the material is admirably clear and concise.

In a provisional *avvertenza*, pending a more elaborate introduction to be published when vol. I is completed, the author explains his method and scope; and it will be sufficient here to record what these are. The dictionary is to include (1) all Greek and Latin geographical and topographical names (whether in Egypt or elsewhere) found by Calderini in the Greek and Latin texts coming from Egypt, that is chiefly papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions; (2) all the geographical and topographical names referring to Egypt found by him in Greek and Latin authors and texts from outside Egypt down to A.D. 1000. It will be seen that he has combined two rather different schemes. From a logical point of view the union is not easy to defend. A geography of Graeco-Roman Egypt is one thing; a collection of all the geographical names preserved in papyri and other texts found in Egypt is another. Calderini's scheme, it may be objected, is at once too narrow and too broad: his work is not a complete geography of Egypt even during the period covered, for it uses only the Greek and Latin evidence, and it incorporates a mass of material which, useful enough as a separate study (witness F. Heichelheim's *Die auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich*), is irrelevant here. To include the evidence of hieroglyphic, demotic, Coptic, and Arabic texts, so far as it bears on the Graeco-Roman period, would, however, have entailed enlisting the services of experts in those languages and might well have prevented the execution of the task altogether; and as for the second point, it is a little churlish to complain that too much is given us.

The *avvertenza* explains the method according to which the information given under each entry is arranged. The number of sections naturally varies with the importance of the place and the consequent abundance of material. The full scheme is as follows: First come the references in chronological order, authors, if such there are who mention the place, coming first; then are given the various forms of the name; then notes on the name whenever 'the difference is not a graphical variant but a substantial diversity'; then its etymology; then epithets applied to the place by the sources; then its nature (city, village, &c.); then its position; then its identification, if known; then its history; then such points of local topography as edifices, quarries, &c.; then its products; then the known officials, followed by such references to trades, professions, &c., as occur in the sources; then data relating to the population; then various other information; and lastly a bibliography. In the case of the larger articles a more elaborate and subdivided treatment is required. The longest article in the present fascicule—indeed probably in the whole work—is that on Alexandria; and in this, for which the editor has been able to draw on the rich stores of information collected by Lumbroso, some of the sections, for example those on history and topography, are really substantial articles in themselves. This great mass of material is excellently digested and arranged, in a way to facilitate reference. Indeed, the editor deserves warm congratulations on the fascicule as a whole, and all scholars will wish him success in the completion of his immense task.

H. I. BELL.

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