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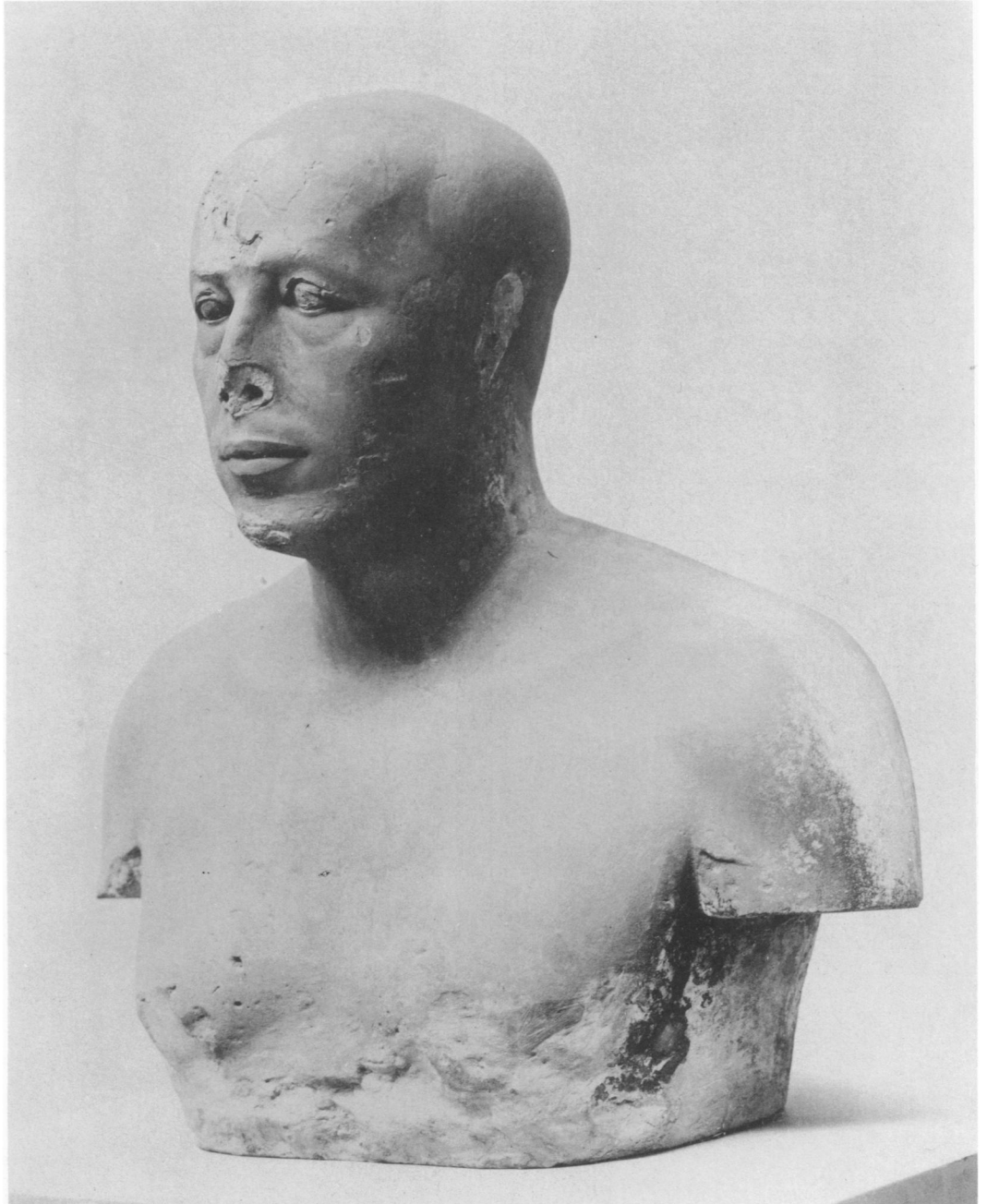
## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL FOREWORD ... ..	I
THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II ... .. A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman ...	2
THE NAME OF LAKE MOERIS ... .. Alan H. Gardiner and H. I. Bell ...	37
QUEEN NITOCRIS OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY ... .. Percy E. Newberry ...	51
NOTES ON THE NAUKRATIS STELA ... .. Battiscombe Gunn ...	55
NOTES ON COPPER-BRONZE IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM ... .. Dows Dunham ...	60
PICTORIAL COIN-TYPES AT THE ROMAN MINT OF ALEXANDRIA ... .. J. G. Milne ...	63
WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt., F.R.S., F.B.A. ... .. Percy E. Newberry ...	67
A SIDELIGHT ON DIOCLETIAN'S REVIVAL OF AGRICULTURE ... .. Naphtali Lewis ...	71
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: Co-regencies of Ammenemes III, IV, and Sebknofru <i>by</i> P. E. Newberry, p. 74; The God Semseru <i>by</i> Alan H. Gardiner, p. 75; Magnesium in Egyptian Copper-bronze Objects <i>by</i> Dows Dunham, p. 76; On the Carrying Capacity of Ramesside Grain-ships <i>by</i> James Hornell, p. 76; Pap. Argent. Gr. 1, verso, Col. 1 <i>by</i> F. M. Heichelheim, p. 78; The Word <i>hm</i> in 'His Majesty' and the like <i>by</i> Alan H. Gardiner, p. 79; Corrections to Brief Communication, vol. XXVIII, p. 69 <i>by</i> W. E. Crum, p. 79.	
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS:	
A. C. JOHNSON and S. P. GOODRICH, <i>Papyri in the Princeton University Collections</i> , vol. iii. Reviewed by C. H. Roberts ... ..	80
OTHER NEW BOOKS ... ..	80

## LIST OF PLATES

- Plate I Limestone Bust of 'Ankhḥaf. Fourth Dynasty, from Gīzah, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston . . . . . *Frontispiece*
- Plate II Painted Wooden Model of Offering-Bearers, Middle Kingdom, from El-Bersheh, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston . . . . . *facing p. 50*
- Plate III Spectrograms of Metal Objects from Nubia and elsewhere . . . . . *facing p. 60*
- Plate IV Pictorial Coin-types: Alexandrian Types. 1-8. Labours of Heracles: (1) Echidna—year 4: (2) Nemean lion, and (3) garden of Hesperides—year 6: (4) Diomedes, (5) Stables of Augeas, (6) Nemean lion, and (7) garden of Hesperides—year 10: (8) Antaeus—year 24. 9. Judgement of Paris—year 7. 10. Lycurgus—year 18. 11. Perseus and Andromeda—year 24. Ionian Types. 12. Heracles and Iole. 13. Demeter . . . . . *facing p. 63*
- Plate V Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, F.R.S. From the painting by P. A. de Laszlo *facing p. 67*

PLATE I



**LIMESTONE BUST OF 'ANKHAF**  
Fourth Dynasty, from Gīzah, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

SINCE these prefatory lines were last undertaken, Fate has again dealt hardly with our Society and science. Above all, we mourn the loss of Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, our earliest excavator and the pioneer of scientific digging; later pages contain a tribute to his memory by Prof. Newberry. A disastrous blow to our future prospects was the death, as deeply regretted as unexpected, of our recently elected President, Sir Stephen Gaselee, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., F.B.A., the Librarian of the Foreign Office and an eminent all-round scholar whose wide interests touched Egypt from the side of Coptic. Our profoundest sorrow should, however, be reserved for younger men whose promise had only started upon its fulfilment. The passing of Paul C. Smither came as a great shock to those who knew his remarkable ability, to which were added abounding enthusiasm and unconquerable energy justifying the highest hopes.<sup>1</sup> Finally, every Egyptologist of whatever nationality will deplore the death of Dr. Hugo Ibscher, by far the ablest of mounters of papyri, whose technical skill was coupled with amazing perseverance; the present writer, his friend for over forty years, is glad to testify to his unswerving honesty of purpose and loyalty to his lifework and his colleagues.

Again this year our efforts are cramped by need for economy in paper. Contributions of merit have not been lacking; indeed some have had to be refused. As regards illustrations, Dr. Dows Dunham has kindly come to the rescue. The frontispiece represents one of the finest known pieces of portrait sculpture; when the original was stored away for safety, a cast was made and Dr. Dunham had the happy idea of trying how it would look in modern costume—with what result readers can see in the Boston Museum's *Bulletin* for Feb. 1943. To the same generous helper we owe pl. 2.

News of outstanding interest must be summarized briefly. Despite the recently announced find of the Serapeum of Alexandria, archaeological reports from Egypt are dispiriting. Much wanton damage has been done in the necropolis of Thebes, and we cannot but remind the Egyptian Government of its heavy responsibility in a matter touching not only their own possessions, but also a world-wide interest. We hear also of a feverish and ill-conceived haste to excavate, and it is impossible to emphasize too forcibly the need for scientific control and prompt publication of results. By way of contrast, praise is due for the astonishingly increased bulk of the *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, to which many young Egyptians now contribute articles; for this new development we offer cordial congratulations to Dr. Leibovitch. Good tidings come also from Khartūm, where Mr. Arkell, working under difficult conditions, has unpacked and secured from destruction valuable archaeological material resulting from the excavations by Reisner, Griffith, and others. It is to be hoped that the present magazine will soon be replaced by a Museum worthy of such efforts.

<sup>1</sup> Beyond this brief footnote no mention is here made of that brilliant young Coptic scholar Charles R. C. Allberry, since he is only posted as missing and we look forward with confidence to news of his safety.

## THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II

By A. M. BLACKMAN and H. W. FAIRMAN

### C. THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS OVER HIS ENEMIES A SACRED DRAMA

(Continued)

THE Introduction to the texts translated below was given in *JEA* xxviii, 32 ff., at the end of which it was noted (1) that the play consists of a prologue, three acts divided into scenes, and an epilogue; (2) that the names of the characters (including the Reader and the chorus) who were intended, or who we think were intended, to declaim the various speeches, choruses, and portions of narrative,<sup>a</sup> are placed before the respective passages in square brackets [ ]; and (3) that the numerals in the translation, likewise placed in square brackets, denote the pages and lines in Chassinat's publication. A few words are also required concerning the order of the reliefs. As these proceed from right to left the description of the figures contained therein must also proceed in that direction. Accordingly, of the two boats depicted in reference to any scene, that nearest to the right is to be accounted the first.

The present instalment gives the description and translation of the Prologue and Act I, together with as much of the autographed Commentary<sup>b</sup> as refers to the said portions. At the end of the Commentary will be found the corrections of a number of printer's errors occurring in our joint article in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 399-428. Most of these are due to the fact that we could not, owing to the international situation, be supplied with a revise of the first set of proofs. Consequently the printer's misunderstandings of a number of the corrections, and certain new errors as well, could not be rectified. We feel it is appropriate to publish these corrections here, as we shall often cite the article in the following pages and shall frequently have occasion to refer to it in our future writings on Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts.

#### PROLOGUE

Published: Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. 1; *E.* vi, 60-3; xiii, pls. cccxciv-ccccxvi.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Behind Thoth, who is reciting from a roll, stands Horus of Behdet, holding a harpoon and rope in his right hand and accompanied by Isis. To the left of these three divinities Horus of Behdet once more appears, this time in a boat, with the rope in his left hand and in his right the harpoon, with which he pierces the head of a hippopotamus. Behind him is Isis again, followed by a small and much damaged figure of Ḥar-Khentekhtai. On the water's edge, facing the boat, is the King (appropriately wearing the head-dress of Onuris),<sup>c</sup> who also pierces with a harpoon the head of the same hippopotamus.

<sup>a</sup> Only small scraps of the narrative texts are, as pointed out in *JEA* xxviii, 33 f., preserved in our version of the Edfu play. <sup>b</sup> Referred to by figures in the translation. <sup>c</sup> See *JEA* xxviii, 37, with n. 5.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus of Beḥdet	Horus of Beḥdet, son of Isis <sup>a</sup>
	Isis	Isis?
	Thoth	Thoth
	Ḥar-Khentekhtai	—
	The King	The King
	—	Reader
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above the first figure of Horus of Beḥdet: [63, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, with dappled plumage, who came forth from the horizon; a hero of great strength when he sallieth forth to battle<sup>1</sup> with his mother Isis protecting him.*

A, 2. In front of Horus: [63, 1] *I cause thy Majesty to prevail against him that is rebellious toward thee on the day of the mêlée.* [63, 3] *I put valour and strength for thee into thine arms, and the might of my hand into thy hands.*

A, 3. In a vertical line behind Isis, but referring to Horus: [63, 6] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Protector who protecteth his father, great Warden who wardeth off the foe. It was he who established the sky upon its supports.<sup>b</sup> Successful are all the things which he hath done, Horus of the fierce countenance, who hath slain<sup>c</sup> the Caitiff, Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky.*

B, 1. Above the first figure of Isis: [63, 4] *Utterance by Isis the great, the god's mother, Scorpion<sup>d</sup> of Beḥdet, nurse of the Falcon of Gold.*

B, 2. In front of Isis: [63, 4] *I give thee power against those who are hostile toward thee, O [my] son Horus, thou lovable one.*

C, 1. Above Thoth: [62, 9] *Utterance by Thoth, twice great, lord of Hermopolis, him with the honeyed tongue, skilled in speech,<sup>e</sup> who heralded the going of Horus to launch<sup>f</sup> his war-galley, who overthrew his enemies with his utterances.*

C, 2. In front of Thoth: [62, 10] *A happy day for Horus, lord of this land, son of Isis, lovable one, who hath obtained triumph, heir of Osiris, offspring of the triumphant Onnophris, of great strength in every place of his!*

D, 1. Above Horus of Beḥdet in the boat: [62, 3] *Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, who on his father's behalf punished the Monster for<sup>g</sup> what he had done.<sup>2</sup> He turneth himself about in his form of doughty harpooner and trampleth on the back(s) of his foes.*

D, 2. In front of Horus: [62, 4] *The single-barbed harpoon is in [my] left hand, the three-barbed in my grip. Let us slay yon Caitiff with our weapons!*

<sup>a</sup> See below, p. 4, (b) = E. VI, 60, 11, and the speech of Thoth, p. 5, (d) = E. VI, 61, 3.

<sup>b</sup> In his capacity as sky-god; see E. VI, 70, 2, and Junker, *Giza*, II, 48 ff. For the construction *s(w) smn·n·f* see Gardiner, *Eg. Gram.*, §§ 124; 148.

<sup>c</sup> For *ḥms* 'slay', 'slaughter' see *Wb.* III, 96, 10; E. IV, 306, 8; 343, 8; VII, 45, 12; 149, 7; 159, 4-5; 168, 15-16; 202, 8; 215, 16; 265, 15-16; VIII, 26, 15; *M.* 125, 2.

<sup>d</sup> See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 419, n. 75.

<sup>e</sup> Probably *rh*, rather than *ikr*, *ḏd*.

<sup>f</sup> For this meaning of *wḏi* see Erman, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, xxxix (1912), 925; see also E. v, 125, 5-6; VI, 122, 4; 125, 2 (with Chassinat's n. 4); 127, 9.

<sup>g</sup> After the Commentary had been completed Blackman came to the conclusion that the two passages *ḏbṽ* (var. *smṽ*) *Dns m ir(t)·n·f hr it·f* discussed in n. 2 and there translated 'who punished (var. "slew") *Dns* as something which he did on his father's account', should be rendered 'who on his father's behalf punished

E, 1. Above Isis in the boat: [62, 6] *Utterance by Isis the great, the god's mother in Wetjet-Hor,<sup>a</sup> who protecteth her son in his war-galley.*

E, 2. In front of Isis: [62, 6] *I fortify thy heart, my son Horus. Pierce thou the Hippopotamus, thy father's foe.*

F. Above the King: [60, 6] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rēc, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), valiant in the fray, courageous with the thirty-barbed harpoon, who casteth (his weapon) at his foes amain.<sup>3</sup>*

G. In a single horizontal line above the King and the divinities in the boat: [62, 1] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, a hero of great strength; most warlike emanation among the gods, who guardeth (s) the Path[s] of Horus<sup>b</sup> (?); valorous one, of proud bearing<sup>c</sup> when wielding the three-barbed harpoon, who travelleth swiftly in<sup>d</sup> his war-galley;<sup>d</sup> lord of Mesen, captor of the Hippopotamus,<sup>e</sup> who exerciseth protection (ir s); Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky.*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [READER.] [60, 9] *Long live the good god, son of the Victorious Horus, excellent offspring of the Lord of Mesen, bold fen-man,<sup>f</sup> valiant<sup>g</sup> in the chase,<sup>h</sup> [60, 10] the Man of the First Lotus-leaf<sup>5</sup> (?), battling Horus,<sup>i</sup> a man to seize the mooring-post in the water,<sup>j</sup> lord of valour, Son of Rēc, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

(b) TO BE RECITED BY HIS MAJESTY:

[KING.] *Praise to thee and a merry noise to thy war-galley, O Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky. I adore thy name [61, 1] and (the names of) thine executioners<sup>6</sup> in thy train. I give praise to thy spearsmen, I revere thy harpoons recorded in the Emanations of Rēc,<sup>7</sup> I give thanks to thy weapons.*





(slew) *Dns* because of what he had done'. Blackman's view is that the *m* before *ir(t)·nf* is in both instances a writing of the preposition *n*, as it seems almost certainly to be in three other passages also cited in that note, namely *E.* I, 378, 16-17; IV, 78, 4; VI, 257, 15. The rendering, now rejected, to which we refer at the beginning of n. 2, was 'who punished the Monster to avenge his father'.


<sup>a</sup> Or rather, perhaps, *Wetjes-Hor*, see Gardiner, *JEA* xxvii, 44, n. 1. <sup>b</sup> See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 174.

<sup>c</sup> = *hy hrt*. For other instances of this common epithet, a possibly better rendering of which is 'of erect bearing', see *E.* III, 69, 18; IV, 344, 4; VI, 78, 12; VII, 132, 8; 152, 6; VIII, 35, 2.



<sup>d</sup> For *phrr m chstf* see *E.* I, 424, 14; III, 137, 11.15; 257, 17; and cf. *phrr m sintf*, *E.* II, 45, 7.

<sup>e</sup> We evidently have here some writing of *in hrb*, for exx. of which see *E.* IV, 59, 11; VI, 64, 7; 122, 7.

<sup>f</sup> For other instances of the attribute *shy kn* 'bold fen-man' see *E.* IV, 59, 5-6; 212, 6; V, 214, 7; VI, 56, 2. 8; 57, 5; 61, 10; 83, 14; 91, 3. As in this passage *shy* is determined by  in VI, 57, 5 and 61, 10. In VI, 56, 2. 8; 83, 14; 91, 3, the determinative is ; in V, 214, 7, it is ; and in IV, 59, 5-6; 212, 6, .

<sup>g</sup> For *pr-c* see Junker, *Onurislegende*, 20; also *E.* I, 14, 13; VI, 62, 4, where the attribute is assigned respectively to Horus as  'spearsman' and *msnty* 'harpooner'.

<sup>h</sup> To the references given in *Wb.* I, 469 for *bhs* 'hunt' add *E.* III, 348, 1 (obj. *msi* 'lion'); VII, 209, 1; *Urk.* VI, 19, 16 (obj. *cwt* = small game in general); Mond & Myers, *Temples of Armant*, I, pl. 103, l. 6.

<sup>i</sup> The epithet 'Battling Horus' is again assigned to the King in *E.* VII, 132, 1; it is also assigned to Horus, *E.* VI, 64, 8; 215, 7. Cf. , as epithet of the King, *E.* VI, 91, 2 (see also *Wb.* II, 216, 7) and of Horus, *Urk.* VI, 49, 7, and the designation  'Horus the Fighter', *E.* II, No. 20 (perhaps to be emended *Hr ch-c?*). In *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 22, 22, the 'sacrificer', *mhwty*, is entitled *ch-c*, which Faulker, *JEA* xxiii, 168, renders 'warrior-priest'.

<sup>j</sup> For *s n šsp mnit m nwy* as describing the King see *E.* IV, 213, 14; 374, 7; *M.* 160, 12 (see Commentary, n. 5); as describing Horus, see *E.* VI, 66, 11. The expression, one would imagine, refers to the dangers incurred in mooring a vessel during the period of inundation, when the landing-places were under water. In this connexion see Blackman's remark, *JEA* xxii, 104, on *P. Chester Beatty* No. v, rt. 6, 4 f.

(c) [READER.] *Here beginneth the bringing to pass of the triumph of Horus over his enemies, what time he hasted to slay the foes after sallying forth to battle.<sup>a</sup> Seth hath been judged in the Tribunal of Rē and Thoth saith:*

(d) [THOTH.] *A happy day, O Horus, lord of this land, son of Isis, lovable one, winner of triumph, heir of Osiris, offspring of Onnophris, whose strength is great in every place of his!*

*A happy day on this day which is divided<sup>8</sup> by its minutes! A happy day on [6I, 5] this night which is divided by its hours!*

*A happy day in this month which is divided by its fifteenth-day feast! A happy day in this year<sup>b</sup> which is divided by its months!*



*A happy day in this eternity which is divided by its years! A happy day in this everlasting! How pleasant it is when they come to thee every year!<sup>9</sup>*

(e) [HORUS.] *A happy day! I have cast (my harpoon) lustily!<sup>c</sup> A happy day! My hands have the mastery of his head!*

*I have cast at the cows<sup>10</sup> of the hippopotami in water of eight cubits.<sup>11</sup> I have cast at the Lower Egyptian Bull<sup>d</sup> in water of twenty cubits, a harpoon-blade of four cubits, a rope [6I, 10] of sixty cubits<sup>e</sup> and a shaft of sixteen cubits being in <my> hand(s), a stripling<sup>12</sup> <I> of eight cubits.*


*I have cast standing in the war-galley on water of twenty cubits. I have hurled<sup>f</sup> with my right hand and swung with my left, as doth<sup>g</sup> a bold fen-man.*



<sup>a</sup> See Commentary, n. 1. For the significance of the opening words of this passage see *JEA* xxviii, 37, with n. 4.

<sup>b</sup>  seems to be a writing of *rnpt* rather than of *nrt* (see Commentary, n. 9), though Fairman is not altogether averse from the latter reading, because of  in the next sentence, the Ptolemaic scribes having a fancy for the employment of those two words for 'year' in parallel or closely connected phrases; see the first part of the above-mentioned n. 9, (d)-(g).

<sup>c</sup> For this meaning of *m rnp* see *Wb.* II, 434, II. 12.

<sup>d</sup> *Kṛ mhy* is a not infrequent term for the hippopotamus = Seth. That this god, the national god of Upper Egypt, should be designated Lower-Egyptian Bull seems strange. But this may be accounted for partly by the fact that the cult of Seth was well established in the north-eastern Delta by the beginning of the New Kingdom (Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 153), and partly because hippopotami in the later pharaonic times were perhaps more numerous in the Delta swamps than in Upper Egypt, and so were then regarded as typical Lower-Egyptian beasts (see Pliny, *H.N.*, xxviii, 8, where he says that they abounded in the Saïte nome). Fairman remembers reading somewhere that hippopotami were observed in the Delta swamps as late as the early seventeenth or late sixteenth century A.D. For other instances of *kṛ mhy* in Edfu texts see *E.* II, 45, 9; IV, 59, 5; VI, 61, 9; 67, 5; 71, 8; 79, 7; 82, 6; 83, 7; VII, 24, 14; VIII, 26, 13.

<sup>e</sup> Restore , as Chassinat suggests, and cf. the parallel passage, *E.* VI, 216, 12, quoted in Commentary, n. 11.

<sup>f</sup> This phrase occurs again *E.* VI, 83, 13-14, and in the two passages quoted in Commentary, n. 11. The word *hṣ·n·i* 'I have hurled' describes the casting of the harpoon, and *sṣ·n·i* 'I have swung' (lit. 'I have spread out') the throwing of the rope, which was attached to the harpoon-blade (see Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 28). With regard to the words *m i·by·i* 'with my left hand', it should be observed that Gardiner, loc. cit., describing a fine New-Kingdom painting of a hippopotamus hunt (unhappily now destroyed) states that 'a coil of cords that radiate from various points in the hide of the wounded animal is wound round the left arm of the hunter'. It will have been noted that contrary to *Wb.* III, 455, 7, our reading of   is not *sn·n·i* but *sṣ·n·i*. The verb *sṣ* 'spread' would in our opinion not be unsuitably employed to describe the casting of a loose rope, which would be spread out in its progress through the air.

<sup>g</sup> As the speech was intended to be recited by an actor impersonating Horus, one would expect to find here and in the parallel passages (see preceding footnote) *mī ir shty kn* rather than *mī ir·n shty kn*, which in ordinary Middle Egyptian would mean 'as did a bold fen-man'. Probably *mī ir* was the reading in the original



- (f) [ISIS?] *The pregnant ones among the hippopotami give not birth,<sup>a</sup> not one of their females conceives,<sup>b</sup> when<sup>c</sup> they hear the thud<sup>d</sup> of thy shaft and the whistling<sup>e</sup> of thy blade, like thunder in the east of heaven, like a drum<sup>f</sup> in the hands of a child.*
- (g) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!<sup>g</sup>*

## ACT I

THE HARPOON RITUAL: PROPITIATING THE GOD AND HIS WEAPONS<sup>h</sup>

## SCENE I

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. II; *E.* VI, 63–6; XIII, pls. cccxcvii–ccccxcviii.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, armed with harpoon and rope, thrusts his blade into the snout of a hippopotamus. In the second Horus of Behdet, similarly armed, pierces the head or forehead, of a hippopotamus. In either boat is an animal-headed demon (heads of both figures destroyed),<sup>13</sup> who carries a harpoon, blade uppermost, in his right hand and a knife in his left. On land, facing the boat, stands the king in an attitude of respect (his hands hanging down on either side of him).

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen	Horus
	Horus of Behdet	
	Two demons	—
	The King	The King? <sup>i</sup>
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [65, 2] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, pre-eminent in Pe and Mesen, great god, pre-eminent in Wetjset-Hor, the lion pre-eminent in Khant-Iebt, who driveth (šn<sup>c</sup>) Seth into the wilderness,<sup>14</sup> goodly Warden of the Two Lands and River-banks, Protector who protecteth Egypt (Bꜣꜥt).*

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [64, 11] *The first harpoon is stuck fast in his snout and hath severed his nostrils.*

version, and *mi ir·n* is due to the Ptolemaic redactor, who was influenced by the fact that the preceding verbs are in the *sdm·n·f* form. It must be remembered that in hieroglyphic texts of the Ptolemaic period *sdm·n·f* has lost its past meaning and frequently occurs in sentences where Middle Egyptian would employ the form *sdm·f*. We are, therefore, almost certainly justified in translating 'as doth a bold fen-man'.

<sup>a</sup> This translation of *n ms·n* is based on the assumption that the *sdm·n·f* form occurred in the archetype of the text.

<sup>b</sup> Is  $\overline{\text{m}} = \text{m}$  a mistake for  $\overline{\text{m}} = \text{m}$ , or did the archetype read *nn iwrt m rnmwt·sn* 'there is not one of their females that conceives'? We have adopted the second alternative.

<sup>c</sup>  $\overline{\text{H}} = \text{m} = \text{dr}$  =  $\overline{\text{m}} = \text{dr}$  in  $\overline{\text{m}} = \text{dr}$ ; see Sethe, *ZÄS* LXII, 6, (3). See also *JEA* xxviii, 33 with n. 9.

<sup>d</sup> *Hbꜥ* means 'mash', 'beat up' in a liquid, or 'triturate' in a mortar (*Wb.* II, 488, 3. 4), hence our rendering 'thud'.

<sup>e</sup> See *Wb.* IV, 301, 1.

<sup>f</sup> The reading seems certain (see Chassinat's note); *Wb.* IV, 207, 6, does not record this spelling but only gives *shwt*.

<sup>g</sup> This frequently recurring ejaculation was probably shouted out by the whole body of performers who represented the supporters of Horus, and, it may well be imagined, by the crowd of onlookers as well.

<sup>h</sup> See *E.* VI, 63, 10 = p. 7, F. 1.

<sup>i</sup> The dramatic text seems to indicate the king's presence, but assigns him no speaking part; see below, p. 8, n. i.

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [65, 4] *Utterance by Chief-of-the-Two-Lands-when-he-riseth: I guard thee from him who is hostile to thee, I protect<sup>a</sup> thy Majesty with my charm(s). I rage against thy foes as a savage baboon, I lay low thine enemies in <thy> path. I protect<sup>b</sup> thy Majesty every day. I am the first of thy crew.*

C. The King's address to the first harpoon:<sup>c</sup> [64, 12] *The first of the weapons which rushed after him who assailed him<sup>d</sup> (Horus), and took the breath from the snout of the Hippopotamus.*

D, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [65, 10] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, the Avenger who exacteth retribution from That One in Retribution-town,<sup>e</sup> who overthroweth his enemies [in] the Place of Piercing.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [65, 7] *The second harpoon is stuck fast in his forehead, it hath cleft the crown of his head.*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [65, 12] *Utterance by Offerer-who-appor-tioneth-his-Offerings: I am with thee in the mêlée<sup>f</sup> that I may punish the transgressions of thine enemies (sic). I break<sup>g</sup> his bones, I smash his vertebrae, I crunch<sup>h</sup> his flesh, I swallow<sup>h</sup> his gore.*

F, 1. Above the King: [63, 9] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, Lord of Diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), Priest and Minstrel (ihy) of Horus of Behdet, who propitiateth the god and his harpoons.*

F, 2. The King's address to the second harpoon: [65, 8] *Thy lance which brought<sup>i</sup> in the Caitiff though he was afar; it hath cleft the crown of the head of the Hippopotamus.*

G. In a single horizontal line above the figures and their accompanying inscriptions: [63, 12] *Praise to thee, praise to thy name, Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, goodly wall . . . (rest destroyed).*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [64, 3] *[The first harpoon is stuck fast] in his snout and hath severed his nostrils. The blade taketh hold in the head of the Hippopotamus in the Place of Confidence.*

(b) [CHORUS.] *O Horus,<sup>j</sup> fair are thy trappings of giraffe's<sup>k</sup> hair, thy net (ḥt)<sup>l</sup> which is*

<sup>a</sup> For *gs-dp* as a verb see *Wb.* v, 201, 4.

<sup>b</sup> For the paradigm *twt rf sdm* see Piehl, *Texte provenant du grand temple d'Edfou, Extrait des Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, session de Genève 1894, Section IV (Leyden, 1896), p. 114, n. 4.

<sup>c</sup> The direction in which the signs face indicate that these words are assigned to the King, as are the similarly placed lines of text in the subsequent scenes of this act.

<sup>d</sup> This writing of *th* with the meaningless  $\text{ⲟ}$  is common in Ptolemaic texts; see, e.g., Junker, *Gramm.*, § 47.

<sup>e</sup> *Dḥ*, the old name of Edfu, here rendered 'Retribution-town' in order to preserve the play on words.

<sup>f</sup> For this word see Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 33 f. and 157.

<sup>g</sup> For exx. of *sw* 'break' see *E.* I, 559, 3 (*sw* *ihḥw* 'who breaks bones'); *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 23, 20; 24, 4. 5. 6; and Faulkner's note in *JEA* xxiii, 176. In *E.* vi, 184, 6, *sw* means 'break off' the leaves or twigs of a tree.

<sup>h</sup> For other exx. of the verb *sm* with *t(w)r* as object see *E.* vi, 66, 2; 68, 12; 72, 1; 75, 8; vii, 324, 10. Despite *Wb.* I, 381, 4 *t(w)r*, not *wtr* is almost certainly the correct reading of  $\text{ⲟ}$  for as Gardiner points out it is surely the old word  $\text{ⲟ}$ , *Wb.* v, 386, 13.

<sup>i</sup> For this verb *nw* see *Wb.* II, 221, 1.

<sup>j</sup> For this use of *pw* see Gardiner, *Gramm.*, p. 87 with n. 2.

<sup>k</sup> In a note on *P. Bremner-Rhind*, I, 4, Faulkner, *JEA* xxii, 132, suggests that the meaning here is 'giraffe's hide', though elsewhere the word means 'wig', *P. Bremner-Rhind*, loc. cit., and 'tresses', *Herdsmen*, 5. But possibly the Egyptian poet had in mind some military accoutrement decorated with 'giraffe-tails' or the hair taken from them.

<sup>l</sup> See also *E.* vi, 79, 8 = *JEA* xxx, 3, (a).

*Min's and thy shaft which belongeth to the spear of Onuris. Thine arm was the first to cast (the harpoon<sup>a</sup>). . . . [64, 5] Those (?) upon the banks rejoice<sup>b</sup> at the sight of thee, as (at) the rising of Sothis at the year's beginning, when they behold thy weapons raining down in mid-stream like the moon(-beams) when the sky is peaceful.<sup>16</sup> Horus is in his bark like Wnty,<sup>17</sup> having overthrown the hippopotami from his war-galley.*

(c) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(d) [HORUS.] [*The second harpoon is stuck fast*] *in his forehead, it hath cleft<sup>c</sup> the crown of the head of the foes (sic).*

(e) [CHORUS.] *Grasp firmly the harpoon, breathe the air in<sup>d</sup> Chemmis, O lord of Mesen, captor of the Hippopotamus, creator of joy, goodly Falcon who boardeth his boat and taketh to the river<sup>18</sup> in his war-galley; the Man of the First Lotus-leaf (?) . . . battling Horus, the Man of the First Lotus-leaf (?); those who are in the water [are afraid of him],<sup>19</sup> awe of him is in<sup>e</sup> those who are on the bank; thou subjugator (dr) of every one, thou whose . . . are strong,<sup>f</sup> the Perverse One (Nbd) in the water (?)<sup>g</sup> feareth thee.*

*Thou smitest and woundest<sup>h</sup> (?) as if it were Horus<sup>i</sup> who cast (the harpoon), even the Victorious Bull, Lord of Prowess<sup>j</sup> (?). [64, 10] The Son of Rēc hath done for Horus even as Horus himself did, (yea) the Son of <Rēc> hath done likewise.*

*Let thy talons grip the second harpoon.*

(f) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

SCENE II

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. III; E. VI, 66-8; XIII, pls. CCCXCIX-D.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, armed with harpoon and rope, pierces a hippopotamus in the neck. In the second Horus of Behdet, similarly armed, wounds the head<sup>k</sup> (?) of a hippopotamus (destroyed). In either boat is an attendant demon, armed as in the preceding relief. The first demon is bull-headed and so probably was the second. The King stands at the water's edge, facing the boats, with his hands raised in adoration.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet } Two Demons _____ The King _____ _____	Horus _____ Isis _____ Reader Chorus

<sup>a</sup> See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 6.

<sup>b</sup> For this meaning of *ibi* see *Wb.* I, 7, 4.

<sup>c</sup>  $\frac{\text{C}}{\times\text{O}} \frac{\text{C}}{\text{C}}$  reads *tš·n·f*; cf. *E.* IV, 213, 14; VI, 65, 7. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Sc.  $\uparrow \frac{\text{C}}{\text{C}} \frac{\text{C}}{\text{C}}$ .

<sup>e</sup>  $\frac{\text{C}}{\text{C}}$  probably = *m* here; see also *E.* VI, 238, 11.

<sup>f</sup> Does  $\frac{\text{C}}{\text{C}}$  read *šny* here and mean 'bristles', a reference to *sr n mmy* above (*E.* VI, 64, 4)?

<sup>g</sup> For *hrt* 'water' see *Wb.* III, 144, 4; *E.* IV, 213, 13.

<sup>h</sup> A writing of *wd·k stw* (see *Wb.* IV, 353, 13)?

<sup>i</sup> The wording of this paragraph suggests that it is addressed to the King, though in that case one would have expected the accompanying relief to depict him wielding a harpoon, as does that illustrating the Prologue. The words 'Let thy talons, etc.' are again, evidently, addressed to Horus.

<sup>j</sup> *Nb*  $\frac{\text{C}}{\text{C}}$ ? Hardly a writing of *nb mkt* 'Master of Protection'.

<sup>k</sup> See *E.* VI, 67, 2; 68, 7.

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [68, 2] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, wall of stone round about Egypt (Bꜣꜥt), excellent protector, guardian of the temples, who driveth back the Perverse One (Nbd) from the Two Outpourings, the goodly Watchman of the Fortress.*<sup>20</sup>

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [67, 9] *The third harpoon is stuck fast in his neck,<sup>a</sup> its barbs bite into<sup>b</sup> his flesh.*

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [68, 4] *Utterance by Bull-of-the-Two-Lands: I assault<sup>21</sup> him who cometh to profane<sup>c</sup> thy palace. I gore<sup>d</sup> with my horns him who plotteth against it. Blood on my horns and dust behind me<sup>22</sup> for every<sup>e</sup> violator of thy nome.*

C. The King's address to the third harpoon: [67, 10] *Make a slaughtering! Let its barb bite into<sup>f</sup> the neck of the hippopotamus.*

D, 1. Above Horus of Beḥdet: [68, 10] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, bird-shape in the midst of his bark, who trampleth on . . . against him.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Beḥdet: [68, 7] *The fourth harpoon is stuck fast in his pate, it hath severed the vessels of his head<sup>g</sup> (?).*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [68, 12] *Utterance by Black-Bull:<sup>h</sup> I eat the f[lesh] (?), I swallow the gore, of them that cause alarm<sup>i</sup> to thy temple. I turn my face toward him who cometh against thy house, I drive away the Caitiff from the temples<sup>j</sup> (?).*

F, 1. Above the King: [66, 4] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, lord of diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

F, 2. The King's address to the fourth harpoon: [68, 8] *[My] horn goreth<sup>k</sup> the marauder when he sheweth himself. (To be repeated) 4 <times>(?); it hath sundered the vessels in the head of the hippopotamus.*


G. The line of inscription [66, 7-9] running along the top of the relief is too much broken to translate.

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [66, 10] *The [third] harpoon is stuck fast in his neck, its barbs bite into his flesh.*

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *E.* XIII, pl. D.

<sup>b</sup> For *ꜥm-sn*. But see, perhaps, Blackman, *JEA* XVI, 64, (5). *ꜥm* lit. means 'swallow'. The words *hmsw:f ꜥm-s(n?) hꜥw:f* occur again in *E.* VI, 66, 10.



<sup>c</sup> *Ksm* in the sense of 'violate', 'profane', a sacred building occurs again, *E.* VI, 332, 16. The usual meaning seems to be 'assault', 'attack', for which see *E.* III, 5, 1; 33, 12; V, 48, 3; VI, 14, 9; 50, 10; 237, 13; VII, 113, 3; VIII, 26, 13; 62, 17; *D.* II, 182, 11-12.

<sup>d</sup> For a good example of *hwn* 'gore' see  'He is like a bull which gores him who attacks him', *E.* I, 442, 17; see also *E.* IV, 66, 6; VI, 178, 16; *M.* 141, 15-16. In *Urk.* VI, 81, 9, *hwn* is used of the 'bite' of snakes, where the parallel text, 81, 10, gives *psh*.

<sup>e</sup> For this use of the definite article *pꜣ* in conjunction with a noun and *nb* 'every', 'any', see Blackman, *JEA* XXVII, 87, n. 16.



<sup>f</sup> For *sꜥm+m* with this meaning see *Wb.* IV, 45, 8.

<sup>g</sup> Emending *n tp:f*.

<sup>h</sup> The apparent  is evidently a badly formed .

<sup>i</sup> For *hri* 'strike fear into', 'alarm', with the preposition *n* see *Wb.* III, 147, 11.

<sup>j</sup> *Hꜥwt nꜥrw?*

<sup>k</sup> Reading *wšm ꜥb[i] (ꜥ)wꜣy*. There is perhaps a trace of  after *ꜥb*, the 1st pers. sing. suffix; cf.  'my horn gores the body of thy foes', *E.* VI, 178, 8, where, as in our passage, *wšm* has no determinative.

(b) [CHORUS.] *Hail to thee, the one that sleepeth alone, that communeth with his own heart (only),<sup>a</sup> a man to seize the mooring-post in the water.*

(c) [ISIS.] *Cast (thy harpoon), I pray thee, at the mound of the Savage Beast.<sup>23</sup> See, thou art on a mound clear of bushes,<sup>b</sup> a shore<sup>c</sup> free from scrub. Fear not his awfulness,<sup>d</sup> flee not because of them that are in the water.<sup>e</sup> Let thy harpoon fasten on to him, my son Horus.*

(d) [READER.] *Isis said to Horus:*

(e) [ISIS.] *Thy foes are fallen beneath thee, (so) eat thou the flesh of the neck, the abomination [67, 1] of women.<sup>f</sup>*

*The noise of lamentation is in the southern sky, wailing is in the northern sky, the noise of the lamentation of my brother Seth. My son Horus hath him fast holden.*

(f) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(g) [HORUS.] *The [fourth] harpoon is stuck fast in his pate, it hath cut open the vessels of his head (?), the back parts in his head.*

(h) [CHORUS.] *Grasp the harpoon which Ptah,<sup>g</sup> the goodly guide, fashioned for the Fen-goddess,<sup>24</sup> which was fashioned in copper for <thy> mother Isis.*

(i) [ISIS.] *I have made raiment for the Fen-goddess, for Tayt,<sup>25</sup> Šdt, Sothis, Dꜣyt,<sup>h</sup> and Our Lady of the Chase.*

[67, 5] *Be firm on thy feet against yon Hippopotamus, hold him fast with thy hand.*

(j) [HORUS.] *I have cast (my harpoon) at the Lower-Egyptian Bull and sore wounded Terrible-Face,<sup>i</sup> ploughing up the water with my (?) . . . from upon the bank (?). I reach (?) the water and approach the river (? itrw?).*

(k) [ISIS.] *Let thy harpoon fasten on to him, my son Horus, (on to) yon enemy of thy father. Drive<sup>j</sup> thy blade into [him], my son Horus, that thy shaft may bite into his skin,<sup>k</sup> let thine hands drag yon Caitiff. . . .*

### SCENE III

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. IV; *E.* VI, 69–72; XIII, pls. DI–DII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, and in the second Horus of Behdet, armed as before. Both Horus-gods pierce a hippopotamus

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 41 f. For the epithet 'a man to seize the mooring-post in the water' see above, p. 4, n. j.

<sup>b</sup> *Wb.* v, 109, 2, tentatively gives 'castor-oil bush' as the meaning of *kꜣkꜣ*, comparing the word with the Greek *κικι*. It might be pointed out that castor-oil bushes grow thickly on the banks of the Nile in Lower Nubia at the present day. Faulkner in a note on *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 18, 25, in *JEA* xxiii, 15, observes that this identification is accepted by Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, 70, 164, and *Kēmi* II, 102, but disputed by Dawson, *Aegyptus* x, 66. Gardiner is of the opinion that *kꜣkꜣ* is a general word for 'bush', 'brush', and refers us to his *Admonitions*, p. 86, and to Edgerton and Nelson, *Historical Records*, p. 26, n. 33a.


<sup>c</sup> *Mryt* is clearly to be read here in view of the suffix 's attached to *bḥ*. For *bḥ* see *Wb.* I, 468, 6.

<sup>d</sup> Reading *šfyt*[f], with [s] instead of [c].

<sup>e</sup> Here with crocodile-determinative; see Commentary, n. 19. *M bḥn n imyw-mw* occurs again in *E.* VI, 79, 10; 81, 2.


<sup>f</sup> Is this a reference to some taboo which forbade women to eat the flesh from a hippopotamus' neck?

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *E.* VI, 83, 12, and perhaps also *E.* VI, 74, 6.

<sup>h</sup> For *Šdt* and *Dꜣyt* see *Wb.* IV, 565, 20–22; V, 519, 5. The word , *Wb.* v, loc. cit., 6–11, suggests that the latter goddess was connected with cloth and clothing.

<sup>i</sup> Seth in the guise of a crocodile; see also *E.* I, 69, 6; IV, 78, 9; 214, 1; VI, 67, 5; 119, 6; 149, 3; 160, 10.

<sup>j</sup> Lit. 'drive it for thee, (namely) thy blade'. For this transitive use of *hꜣi* see *Wb.* II, 475, 41.

<sup>k</sup> Emending ; the scribe has given the word the determinative of *ntt* 'cord', 'fetter'.

in the back (or flank). In either boat an attendant demon bearing the usual weapons. The demon in the second boat is lion-headed and the other, whose head is badly mutilated, may be also. The King stands on land, facing the boats, in the same posture as in Scene I.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet }	Horus
	Two Demons	—
	—	Isis
	The King	—
	—	Reader
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [71, 10] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, goodly spearsman in Retribution-Town (D̄b3), goodly watcher in the Two Lands and River-banks, who protecteth the cities and safeguardeth (mk) the provinces, falcon of great strength pre-eminent in Pe and Mesen,<sup>a</sup> lion pre-eminent in Thel.*

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [71, 5] *The fifth harpoon is stuck fast in his flank, it hath cleft open his ribs.*

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [71, 12] *Utterance by Shining-Bull: I cut out<sup>b</sup> the hearts of those who fight<sup>c</sup> against thy Behdet, I tear out the hearts of thy foes, I swallow the gore of those who are hostile to thy city, I taste the kidneys<sup>d</sup> of thine enemies.*

C. The King's address to the fifth harpoon: [71, 7] *The first arrow which hath no rival, the fifth<sup>e</sup> of the weapons, it hath cleft open the ribs of the Lower-Egyptian Bull.*

D, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [72, 7] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, the Protector who protecteth the cities and provinces, who spreadeth his arms around Upper and Lower Egypt, his Mesen being at the forefront thereof.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [72, 3] *The sixth harpoon is stuck fast in his ribs, it hath sundered his vertebrae.*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [72, 9] *Utterance by He-loveth-Solitude: I sharpen my teeth<sup>f</sup> in order to bite thy foes. I whet my talons to seize hold of their skin(s).*

F, 1. Above the King: [69, 2] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, (Blank), Son of R̄c, Lord of Diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), winner of triumph as (?)<sup>g</sup> a lion, who giveth thanks to the sacred harpoon.*

F, 2. The King's address to the sixth harpoon: [72, 5] *The sixth harpoon which devoureth everyone<sup>h</sup> that confronteth it; it hath sundered the vertebrae of the back(s) of thy foes.*

<sup>a</sup> For the relationship of Pe with Mesen and their connexion with the cult of Horus at *T̄rw* (Sile), as well as for the identification of Horus of Edfu with the local lion-god of the last-mentioned place, see Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 162, and n. 20 of the Commentary.

<sup>b</sup> *Bsk* 'cut out', 'eviscerate', occurs again with *ibw* in *E. VI*, 86, 12; *VII*, 128, 10; 142, 14; 201, 5; 214, 2; 323, 7; *M.* 147, 6. In *E. VII*, 201, 5, it has as object *bt̄nw̄f*.

<sup>c</sup> For the verb *bcr*, derived from the name of the god Baal, see *Wb.* I, 447, 14.

<sup>d</sup> See *Wb.* v, 445, 16, and *E. VI*, 127, 12.

<sup>e</sup> See Chassinat's n. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Blackman & Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 420, n. 96.

<sup>g</sup> *.....* for *m*?

<sup>h</sup> Reading *cm iy nb m-h̄w̄f*.

G. In a single horizontal line (much damaged) along the top of the relief: [69, 4] . . . *adoring thine image, making obeisance to thy form . . . thine ancestors . . . thy Majesty prevaieth over thy foes. Thy Majesty placeth them as a protection round about Mesen, unendingly and unceasingly for ever.*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [69, 8] *The fifth harpoon is stuck fast in his flank,<sup>a</sup> it hath cleft open [his] ribs.*

(b) [CHORUS.] *Thrust<sup>b</sup> home the harpoon, spread wide the rope, make common cause (snsn) with Horus who shooteth amain.<sup>c</sup>*

*Lo, thou art a Nubian in Khent-ḥenf,<sup>d</sup> (yet) thou dwellest in a temple, for Rēc hath given thee his kingship with the intent to [69, 10] overthrow the Hippopotamus.*

(c) [ISIS?] *The cry of the Hippopotamus fallen in thy rope! Alack, alack in Kenmet!<sup>26</sup> The boat is light and he who is in it is a child, (yet) yon Caitiff who is in thy rope (is fallen).<sup>27</sup>*

(d) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(e) [HORUS.] *The sixth harpoon is stuck fast in [70, 1] his ribs, it hath sundered his vertebrae.*

(f) [READER OR CHORUS?] *I wash my mouth, I chew natron,<sup>e</sup> that I may extol the might of Horus son of Isis, the goodly stripling who came forth from Isis, son of Osiris, the lovable one.*

*Horus hath flung (his missile) with his hand, he whose arm was strong from the first,<sup>f</sup> when he established the sky upon its four supports. Successful are the deeds which he hath done.*

<sup>a</sup> Restoring [𓆎]; cf. *E.* XIII, pl. D II = *E.* VI, 71, 5.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Wb.* v, 595, 11. 12. But should we emend [𓆎] <sup>𓆎</sup> bi and translate 'seize the harpoon'?

<sup>c</sup> This and the next sentence seem to be addressed to Horus of Beḥdet as distinct from the young Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, mentioned in the following paragraph; see *JEA* XXVIII, p. 33.

<sup>d</sup> = *Hnt-ḥn-nfr*; see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 183 f.; Steindorff, *Griffith Studies*, 366 f. The name is mis-spelt again in *E.* VI, 196, 12, as 𓆎𓆎𓆎. What is said about the kingship of Rēc indicates that the person addressed is Horus, the god of Edfu (see Junker, *Onurislegende*, 16). He is probably designated a Nubian (*Nḥsy*) because the temple in which he is said to dwell is situated in what was at one time practically Nubian territory. Likely enough, when the archetype of this text was composed, the tradition was still current that Edfu was originally Egypt's southern frontier-town (Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 151). For a long time after its foundation the townsfolk of Edfu, no less than the people to the south of it, may well have been regarded as Nubians (*Nḥsyw*). Similarly to-day Aswān, in respect of its inhabitants, is much more a Nubian than an Egyptian town. See also Fairman's remark, *JEA* XXI, 29, n. 7. In *E.* VI, 86, 11, it is Seth who is called *p-Nḥsy* 'the Nubian'.

<sup>e</sup> I.e. the singer had to purify his mouth before he could chant or recite the praises of Horus. So, also, the two wailing women (*ḏrty*), who impersonated Isis and Nephthys and bemoaned Osiris in the mysteries, had to wash their mouths and chew natron that both they and their lamentations with which they 'beatified' the dead god might be pure (Junker, *Stundenwachen*, § 70 f.). Similarly the priests, before entering upon their monthly course of service, had to 'drink' natron for a specified number of days (Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, pl. 57, 9 ff.) or 'chew' (*wšr*) it (Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 11, 2), while magicians washed their mouths and swallowed natron in order that their spoken spells and manual acts might possess their full potency (Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* xxxix, 70 f.). The purificatory rites undergone by the King in the 'House of the Morning', and by the statues of divinities, kings, and private persons, and by mummies, during the performance of the Opening the Mouth and of the temple and funerary liturgies, likewise comprised the actual or simulated cleansing of the mouth with natron (Blackman, Hastings, *ERE.* x, 478<sup>1</sup> ff.; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, II, pp. 5 ff.; *Liturgy of the Funerary Offerings*, pp. 56 ff.; *Pyr.* § 26 ff.; Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, p. 202; Blackman, *JMEOS* 1918-19, pp. 28 ff. and 50 ff.; see also *Pyr.* § 1367e-68a).

<sup>f</sup> Lit., perhaps, 'he whose arm began existence in strength, when he established, &c.' *šr* without infinitive or other object is rare according to *Wb.* IV, 407, but for two more exx. see *E.* VI, 70, 9, and Gunn, *Synt.* 57, (89). For Horus as constructor of the firmament see *E.* VI, 63, 6, and p. 3, n. b. In both texts occur the words 'successful are the deeds which he hath done'.

*Lo, Busiris, Mendes, Heliopolis, Letopolis, Pe, Dep, Memphis, Hermopolis, Hbnw,<sup>a</sup> the Oryx Nome, the Nome of Dwn-ḥnw, Ḥ-nēsu,<sup>b</sup> Heracleopolis, Abydos, Panopolis, Coptus, Asyūt, Behdet, Mesen and Denderah are in joy, making jubilation when they see this beauteous and [70, 5] enduring memorial which Horus son of Isis hath made. He hath built the Throne (P), adorned with gold, overlaid and finished with electrum. Its sanctuary is beautiful and noble, like unto the seat of the Master of the Universe. His Majesty dwelleth in Ḥḥ-nfr,<sup>c</sup> the Coasts of Horus adoring him, on the estate (?) of his father Osiris. He hath taken the office of his father, winning him triumph and avenging him.*

*He (Seth) thought to oppress him,<sup>d</sup> but he (Horus) attacked him.*

*How pleasant is the father's office to his son who hath vindicated him. He giveth thanks for it (?).*

(g) [ISIS.] *Thou who didst act under my guidance,<sup>e</sup> thou hast dealt with the malady<sup>f</sup> (?). Thou hast oppressed him who oppressed thee. My son Horus hath grown up in his strength, and was from the first ordained to avenge his father.<sup>g</sup>*

(h) [READER OR CHORUS.] *The sky was cleared<sup>h</sup> for him by the north wind, and [70, 10] the Two Lands were strewn with Upper-Egyptian emeralds,<sup>i</sup> because Horus had builded<sup>j</sup> his war-galley in order to go therein to the fen to overthrow the enemies of his father [71, 1] Osiris, to seize for him the disaffected.*

(i) [HORUS.] *I am Horus, son of Osiris, who smote the foes and overthrew his enemies.*

(j) [ISIS.] *How pleasant it is to walk along the shore unhindered,<sup>28</sup> to pass through the water without the sand swelling up<sup>k</sup> (?) under thy feet, and no thorn pricketh them,<sup>l</sup> and the crocodiles are not uncovered, thy grandeur having been seen and thy shaft planted in him,<sup>m</sup> my son Horus.*

(k) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

<sup>a</sup> Capital of the sixteenth Upper-Egyptian nome (the Oryx nome), the modern Zāwīet el-Amwāt; see Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 61; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, IV, 25. *m-t* at the beginning of the sentence is evidently a mistake for *m-tn*.

<sup>b</sup> *Dwn-ḥnw* is the name of the eighteenth Upper-Egyptian nome, see Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 62. *Ḥ-nēsu* was the capital of this nome and is probably to be identified with El-Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris, south of Shārūnah; see Kees, *ZÄS* LVIII, 98 f., and Gauthier, *op. cit.*, IV, 86.

<sup>c</sup> *Ḥḥ-nfr* is, according to Gauthier, *op. cit.*, IV, 150, a name for Memphis. This passage reflects, perhaps, the Memphite origin and connexions of the play (see *JEA* XXVIII, 36).

<sup>d</sup> *Dḥr-f* is infinitive + suffix after *ḥmt-n-f*; cf. *Sinuhe*, R 163.

<sup>e</sup> If these words are rightly assigned to Isis,  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$  is a mistake for  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$ .

<sup>f</sup> Cf., perhaps, the not infrequent expression occurring in the medical papyri, *mr ʾry-i* 'a malady which I will treat', e.g., Breasted, *Edwin Smith Surgical Pap.*, pp. 95 ff.

<sup>g</sup> Lit., 'and began existence in order to avenge his father'; cf. *E.* VI, 70, 2.

<sup>h</sup> We take *wb*: to be passive *sdm-f*.

<sup>i</sup> Actually green felspar; see Lucas, *Anc. Eg. Materials and Industries*, ed. 1934, pp. 39 ff. Cf. also *E.* I, 139, 13.

<sup>j</sup> Clearly a writing of *mdh*, for which verb see *Wb.* II, 190, 7.

<sup>k</sup> *Wb.* IV does not record this word. Is it a reduplicated form of *šfi*, meaning 'swell up', or is it to be identified with the obscure word  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}$  'spread', 'burrow' (?), Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, v, 612<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>l</sup>  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$  = *sw*, the dual *rdwy* being here treated as a masc. sing.; see Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 425, n. 166; Sethe, *ZÄS* LIV, 15; *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1934, XIII, 13. For other exx. of this use see *E.* I, 374, 3; IV, 303, 8-9; VII, 265, 16; VIII, 142, 3-4; *D.* II, 181, 1-2. For *tbs* 'prick' see also *E.* VI, 178, 10; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, pl. IV, Theb. T. 90k. and also, perhaps, *E.* v, 85, 14. As Gardiner has pointed out to us the word was originally *db*s (hence  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}$  not  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}\overline{\text{ḥ}}$  in Bohairic), see his *Chester Beatty Papyri*, p. 17, n. 3.

<sup>m</sup> 'Him' must be Seth. *Mḥ* and *smn* we regard as passive *sdm-f* forms, both preceded by  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$  = *iw*.



## SCENE IV

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. v; *E.* vi, 72-6; XIII, pls. DIII-DIV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats, the first containing Horus, lord of Mesen, and the second Horus of Beḥdet. Horus of Mesen appears to be driving his harpoon into the testicles of a hippopotamus, which is lying on its back, while Horus of Beḥdet pierces the hind quarters of his victim. An attendant demon in either boat armed as usual; both apparently lion-headed. Facing the two boats is the King, his arms raised in adoration. The action of this scene seems to have been interrupted by an interlude, not depicted in the relief, representing the slaying of the *Sʿbt*-snakes in Letopolis.<sup>a</sup>

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Beḥdet } Two Demons — The King — —	Horus — Isis — Reader Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [75, 5] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, lion pre-eminent in Theb, falcon of great strength, lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, guardian who guardeth Egypt (Kmt) from the desert countries (dšrwt), wall of copper round about his Upper-Egyptian Mesen, watcher over his Lower-Egyptian Mesen.*<sup>b</sup>

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [75, 1] *The seventh harpoon is stuck fast in his body and hath spiked (?) his stones.*<sup>c</sup>

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [75, 7] *Utterance by His-Speech-is-Fire: I make ruby-red mine eyes and blood-red mine eye-balls.<sup>29</sup> I repel them who come with evil intent toward thy seat, I eat their flesh, I swallow their gore, I burn their bones with fire.*

C. The King's address to the seventh harpoon: [75, 2] *The seventh harpoon which cleaves to (lit. 'is upon') his body and hath mangled his limbs and skewered the Hippopotamus from his belly to his stones.*


D, 1. Above Horus of Beḥdet: [75, 13] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, who driveth back the Caitiff from his temple, who standeth round about it like a wall of copper, whose protection is in its whole circuit.*

D, 2. In front of Horus of Beḥdet: [75, 10] *The eighth harpoon is stuck fast in his hind quarters, it hath ripped up his haunches.*

E. Above the demon in the second boat: [76, 1] *Utterance by He-cometh-forth-with-*

<sup>a</sup> See Commentary, n. 33.

<sup>b</sup> For the two Mesens see *E.* vi, 8, 8; 16, 13; 91, 8-9; see also vii, 102, 3.

<sup>c</sup> This word (see also *E.* vi, 73, 4) is apparently to be read *gsty* 'testicles'; see *Wb.* v, 208, 1. In the relief illustrating the text Horus is clearly depicted thrusting the 'seventh harpoon' into that portion of the hippopotamus' body, *E.* XIII, pl. DIV. The word is written  in *E.* iv, 255, 15-16. Gardiner's view is that *mḥ* (*Wb.* II, 130, 1-2) means 'hold, bind, together' as with a skewer, and he suggests the rendering adopted here.

*Mouth-Aflame: I quell the assailant of the Balcony of the Falcon,<sup>a</sup> I as an ape turn back him who is [hostile] (?) towards it.*

F, 1. Above the King: [72, 12] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, (Blank), Son of Rēc, Lord of Diadems (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), excellent<sup>b</sup> overseer of Behdet (on behalf) of the Holy Winged Orb; who giveth thanks to him who is in his war-galley.*

F, 2. The King's address to the eighth harpoon: [75, 11] *Adoration of the raging sacred harpoon which stirreth up confusion. The eighth harpoon, it hath laid hold on the hindquarters of thy [foe] it hath ripped open his haunches.*

G. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [72, 15] *Praise to thy face, glory to thy might, O Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, strong wall, warlike falcon,<sup>c</sup> excelling in strength, greatly feared, who woundeth him that seeketh his hurt,<sup>d</sup> a hero of great [strength], . . . protecting his temple, he of the sharp talons,<sup>30</sup> . . . guarding Mesen unceasingly and unremittingly. Thy valour and thy might are round about thy temple for the length of eternity.*

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [73, 4] *The seventh harpoon is stuck fast in his body, it hath spiked his stones.*

(b) [READER.] *Isis uttered a cry,<sup>e</sup> speaking to the [73, 5] fatherless<sup>f</sup> child battling with Pnēhes.*

(c) [ISIS.] *Be of good courage, Horus my son. Lo, thou hast him fast holden, yon enemy of thy father. Be not wearied (wrđ) because of him. [One hand] grappleth with thy harpoon in his hide, two hands grapple with thy rope.<sup>31</sup> Thy blade, it hath bitten into his bones, I have seen thy blade in his belly, thy horn playing havoc with his bones.<sup>32</sup>*

(d) [CHORUS.] *Ye who are in heaven and earth, fear Horus. Ye who are in the abyss, do him reverence. Lo, he hath appeared in glory as a mighty king, he hath taken the throne of his father. The right arm of Horus is as (those of) the young fen-men.*

*Eat ye the flesh of the foe, drink ye of his gore,<sup>g</sup> swallow<sup>h</sup> them up (?), ye who are in the abyss!*

(e) AN INTERLUDE. [STAGE-DIRECTION.] *LETOPOLIS. THE SLAYING OF S3BT-SNAKES FOR HIS MOTHER ISIS.<sup>33</sup>*

SCENE IV CONTINUED. (f) [READER.] [74, 1] *Isis came, having found the Hippopotamus*

<sup>a</sup> The 'Balcony of the Falcon' is mentioned again, *E.* vi, 6, 7; 93, 11; 263, 1; 297, 16; see also Junker, *WZKM* xxvi, 42 ff.; *Wb.* iv, 29, 13; 302, 7; *E.* vi, 93, 10; 102, 9; 143, 10; 152, 2; 153, 5; 263, 1; vii, 25, 14.

<sup>b</sup> For  $\text{𓆎}$  as a writing of (*imy*)-*r* see *Wb.* ii, 94. This *r*, of course = the Coptic  $\lambda\Delta$ -,  $\lambda\epsilon$ -, for which see Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 48.  $\text{𓆎}$  probably reads *ikr* or *mnḥ* here rather than *rḥ*.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently *ḏrty* is to be restored here,  $\text{𓆎}$  being the determinative (see Chassinat's n. 6), though one would expect *bḥ*, which would have given us the common epithet *bḥ tkk*.

<sup>d</sup> Reading *nkn ḥḥ sirtf*?

<sup>e</sup> *Sgb* 'cry' is a Late-Egyptian word (see Introduction, *ŶEA* xxviii, 33) found in *Contendings*, i, 5. 21; *P. Chester Beatty I*, vs. B, 31; *Wenamūn*, 2, 13; and in demotic texts, e.g., *Khamuas I*, 4, 9, 14. 20; 5, 30. It also occurs in the copy of a Late-Egyptian text at Edfu, Myth D; see *E.* vi, 216, 6.

<sup>f</sup> Sc. *iwty it:f*; see Chassinat's n. 5.

<sup>g</sup> An abbreviated writing of  $\text{𓆎}$ ; see *E.* vi, 66, 2; 68, 12; 72, 1; 75, 8, and p. 7, n. h.

<sup>h</sup> According to *Wb.* iv, 129, 13, this verb means 'prattle', 'cry', of an infant. But the context here demands some such rendering as 'swallow', 'chew', 'munch'.

standing with his feet on dry land. She (?) made . . . for (?)<sup>a</sup> his war-galley and her son Horus, saying:<sup>b</sup>

(g) [ISIS.] *Lo, I am come as the Mother from Chemmis, that I may make an end<sup>34c</sup> for thee of the Hippopotamus which hath crushed the nest (?)<sup>d</sup>. . .*

*The boat is light, and he who is in it is but a child, (yet) yon Caitiff who is in thy rope <is fallen>.<sup>27</sup>*

(h) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(i) [HORUS.] *The eighth harpoon is stuck fast in his hind quarters, it hath ripped up his haunches.*

(j) [CHORUS.] *Let thy divine harpoon bite into his face. O Horus, be not (?)<sup>e</sup> . . . because of him. Onuris is the protector of thy rending talons (??) . . . [74, 5] of the dss-fish in. . . . How many dost thou spike when thy talons take hold, when thy shaft hath been made ready<sup>f</sup> in thy hand! Thou cuttest up (?) the flesh in the morning. Thine arrows (?) are (those of) the Master of the Bird-pool (?). Satisfaction<sup>g</sup> (?) of thy throat is given thee, so say (?) the young craftsmen. It is Pta<sup>h</sup> who presenteth it (?) to thee.*

*Hail Horus, beloved of the fen-men! Lo, thou art a diving hbs<sup>i</sup>-bird which transfixeth the fish in the water.<sup>j</sup>*


*Lo, thou art an ichneumon, firmly poised upon its claws, which seizeth the prey with its paw. Lo, thou art a hunter's hound which breaketh through<sup>k</sup> (?) the fat of the neck<sup>l</sup> in order to [eat] the flesh.*



*Lo, thou art a stripling<sup>m</sup> of sturdy build (?), who slayeth one mightier than himself.*

*Lo, [74, 10] thou art a fierce lion, ready for the fray upon the river-bank, which standeth astride the carcass.<sup>n</sup>*




*Lo, thou art a flame . . .<sup>o</sup>, inspiring fear (?), which rageth on a hillock of brushwood.<sup>p</sup>*




(k) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

<sup>a</sup> Reading *ir-n[s]*. What immediately follows must be corrupt.  can hardly represent the compound preposition *r-irw* *r*. What is required here is an object for *ir-n-s*—if that restoration is correct.

<sup>b</sup>  = *d(d)s*; see also *E. VI, 117, 1, 2*, and cf.  = *d(d)-in* *E. VI, 113, 2; 129, 8; 134, 3*.

<sup>c</sup> Note 34 (in autograph) has had to be held over for Vol. xxx.—ED.

<sup>d</sup> I.e., the dwelling of the young Horus in the papyrus-swamps. We do not understand . The following  is, perhaps, for *iw*, introducing *dpt is-ti*, though, be it noted, in the other two occurrences of this phrase, *E. VI, 69, 11*, and *217, 7*, an introductory *iw* is wanting.  is an abbreviated writing of *nwh*.




<sup>e</sup> Perhaps we should read *m* , the sculptor having omitted the determinatives  or , and translate 'be not troubled because of him'? For this verb *nkm* followed by the preposition *n* see *Wb. II, 344, 5*.







<sup>f</sup> For a verb *sdf* with this meaning see *Wb. IV, 384, 2*. The seemingly same word just a little further on may be a miswriting of *stf* = *sft* 'cut up'.

<sup>g</sup> Apparently so; see *Wb. IV, 15, 23*.


<sup>h</sup> See above, p. 10 with n. g.


<sup>i</sup> See *E. IV, 199, 6*.

<sup>j</sup> Lit., 'which transfixeth the water, (more exactly) the fish', a good instance of substitution-apposition introduced by the *m* of equivalence; see, furthermore, footnote on *E. VI, 85, 8* and the passage *E. I, 15, (12)*, 'Horus of Behdet, who openeth the ball of dung (?) in Naunet,    and bringeth back the light of heaven', lit. 'bringeth back heaven, (more exactly) the light'. An almost identical passage occurs *E. II, 19, (34)*; see also Blackman, *JEA* xxii, 43, (26); Junker, *Onurislegende*, 5 f.

<sup>k</sup> We regard  as a miswriting of  or . The next group   looks like a mistake for  'fat'.

<sup>l</sup> Cf. N. de G. Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, I, pl. 22, bottom.

<sup>m</sup> Emend *sdtj*. <sup>n</sup> Lit. 'who has placed the carcass beneath him'. <sup>o</sup> We can suggest no rendering of .

<sup>p</sup> Lit. 'which lives on (in?) a mound of *kk*-bush(es)'. For  see above, p. 10, n. b.

## SCENE V

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. VI; *E.* VI, 76–8; XIII, pls. DV–DVI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Two boats. In the first Horus, lord of Mesen, and in the second Horus of Behdet. Both attendant demons, armed as usual, appear to be lion-headed. Horus, lord of Mesen, thrusts his weapon into the hind quarters of a hippopotamus which is standing upright, while Horus of Behdet harpoons the feet of one which lies on its back. The King is in the posture of Scenes I and III.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus, lord of Mesen } Horus of Behdet }	Horus
	Two Demons	—
	—	Isis
	The King	—
	—	Reader?
	—	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus, lord of Mesen: [77, 13] *Utterance by Horus, lord of Mesen, great god, lord of the sky, who cutteth off the legs of his enemies; a hero of great strength when he sallieth forth to the battle; who runneth apace after his foes.*

A, 2. In front of Horus, lord of Mesen: [77, 11] *The ninth harpoon is stuck fast in his hind legs.*

B. Above the demon in the first boat: [78, 1] *Utterance by Death-in-his-Face-Loud-Screamer: I encompass thy Majesty round about as a wall, a stake<sup>a</sup> (?) protecting thy soul on the day of conflict (hrw dmd). I watch over thy temple by day and by night,<sup>b</sup> warding off (šn<sup>c</sup>) the foe from thy shrine.*

C, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [78, 5] *Utterance by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who transfixeth the hocks<sup>c</sup> of his foe.*

C, 2. In front of Horus of Behdet: [78, 4] *The tenth harpoon is stuck fast in his hocks.*

D. Above the demon in the second boat: [78, 7] *Utterance by Fiery-Face-who-bringeth-in-the-Mutilated (?): I drink<sup>d</sup> the blood of him who would overthrow thy sanctuary, I cut in pieces the flesh of him who would violate thy shrine. I give thee the valour and might of my arms and the strength of my Majesty against thine enemies.*

E, 1. Above the King: [76, 5] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, (Blank), Son of Rē, Lord of Diadems, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), Servant-of-the-Falcon of Horus of Behdet, Servant-of-Horus of Harnōfer.<sup>e</sup>*

E, 2. In front of the King: [76, 4] *Adoration of the sacred harpoon.*

F. In a horizontal line above the relief: [76, 8] *Glory be to [thy] spirit, thou spearsman*

<sup>a</sup> *Wb.* IV, 467, 11, takes  $\overline{\Delta}$  together with *inb*, which seems unlikely. Gardiner suggests that we have here a writing of the Coptic  $\overline{\Delta}$  (see *Wb.* IV, 467, 2) or of a related masculine form and translates as above. Can  $\overline{\Delta}$  mean 'palisade'?

<sup>b</sup> For *m dtf ht f* see *Wb.* V, 506, 10.

<sup>c</sup> A corrupt writing of *insty*; cf. *E.* VI, 78, 4. The passage in Griffith, *Siut*, I, 314, clearly shows that *inst* means 'hock' and *mnt* 'hind leg'.

<sup>d</sup> For other instances of *shb* 'drink', 'swallow', with *snf* or *t(w)r* (see p. 7, n. h) as object see *E.* I, 310, 2; II, 75, 6; IV, 286, 3; V, 53, 11; VII, 164, 9; 323, 6; *D.* IV, 119, 3. For the spelling with *h* see *Wb.* IV, 268.

<sup>e</sup> *Hm-gmhsu*, 'Servant of the Falcon', is a title of the priest of the live hawk venerated in Edfu temple, in whose honour an annual festival was celebrated, *E.* VI, 103, 1–5; see also *E.* II, 34, 15–16; III, 64, 11; 175, 17; VI, 262, 14; VII, 208, 13–14; 271, 15–16; VIII, 83, 4; *D.* III, 175, 17. The priest in question impersonated Shu, *E.* VI, 103, 1. For the title *hm-Hr n Hr-nfr* see *E.* II, 34, 16. For other exx. of *hm-Hr* see *E.* V, 40, 3; VI, 91, 2; 93, 14; 245, 15.

of great [strength], Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky. Adoration to thine avenging angels<sup>a</sup> (?), thy followers, thy messengers, and thy watchmen who watch over thy sanctuary. Glory be to thy war-galley, thy mother, thy nurse,<sup>b</sup> who dandled thy loveliness upon her knees. Praise to thy blade, thy shaft, thy ropes, and this thine armoury for overthrowing thy foes. Thy Majesty setteth them for a protection round about thy temple. Thy spirit safeguardeth Mesen for ever.

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [HORUS.] [77, 1] *The ninth harpoon is stuck fast in his legs, entering (?) the flesh of the Hippopotamus.*

(b) [CHORUS.] *Let thy harpoon lay hold on him, Horus, fierce of face, alert son of the Master of the Universe. At dawn thy wonders are seen like (those of) Haroeris, on the river-banks.*

*Can it be that a brother hateth his brother<sup>c</sup> who is older than he? Who will love him?<sup>d</sup> He will fall by the rope of Shesmu,<sup>e</sup> as the spoil of Our Lady of the Chase.*

(c) [ISIS.] *Hast thou called to mind<sup>f</sup> how when we were in Lower Egypt the father of the god(s) sent us gods to row us, Sopd being our helmsman? [77, 5] How the gods were united in watching over us, each one of them skilled in his trade?<sup>g</sup> How Khentekhtai steered us,<sup>h</sup> and Geb showed us the way?*

(d) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*

(e) [HORUS.] *The tenth harpoon is stuck fast in his hocks.*

(f) [READER?] *'Come and cause him (?) to . . . who . . . against him,' say (?) the Young Harpooners.<sup>i</sup>*

(g) [CHORUS.] *Seize ye and lay hold, ye lords of strength, plunder, ye masters of the savage beasts!<sup>j</sup> Drink ye the blood of your foe(s) and of their females,<sup>k</sup> sharpen your knives and [whet] your blade(s),<sup>l</sup> steep (?) your weapons in it (i.e. in the blood)!*

*Yours are the bodies of lions in the hidden covert (?). Yours are the bodies of hippopotami, whose abomination is. . . Yours are [77, 10] the bodies of 'bb-geese which run along the shore, their heart(s) elated at alighting thereon<sup>m</sup> (?).*



(h) [CHORUS AND ONLOOKERS.] *Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!*



<sup>a</sup> See Commentary, n. 6.

<sup>b</sup> For this identification of Isis with Horus' war-galley see *E. IV*, 212, 14-213, 1, and the passage, *E. VI*, 59, 6-7, quoted in Commentary, n. 36.


<sup>c</sup> Sc. *in irf sn msq<f> sn-f?* If we have rightly understood the meaning of these words, *in irf msq sn sn-f* was rather to be expected.

<sup>d</sup> Sc. *n-m mr-f sw*. For the wrong employment of *mr-n-f* here see above, p. 5, n. g.




<sup>e</sup> Cf. *Pyr.* §403a. The  before  is probably for preposition *m*; see *E. VI*, 69, 10, and Commentary, n. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Reading *in iw shj·n-k* and further on  .



<sup>g</sup> = *iry wnwtf*; cf. *Wb.* III, 84, 1. 2, and *hmww tpy(w) n wnwtf·sn*, *E. V*, 4, 5; also *hmw(w) nb n wnwtf·sn*, *E. IV*, 8, 9. For other exx. of *wnwt* = 'trade', 'profession', see *E. VI*, 173, 10; 179, 11.




<sup>h</sup> Sc. *hr irt n-n hmw* and further on *(hr) mtr n-n wst*. For  as a writing of the name of Geb see Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, p. 40.

<sup>i</sup> It is highly doubtful if this sentence is to be regarded as a fragment of narrative.

<sup>j</sup> *N: nbw nht* and *n: nbw h'w* (sic) are vocatives, see Erman, *Neuaeg. Gramm.* (1933), § 177. *Nbw h'w* should almost certainly be emended *nbw*   , see Commentary, n. 23. This and the following exhortations seem to be addressed to the 'Young Harpooners', who are here, perhaps, represented by the two attendant demons.

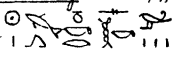
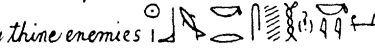
<sup>k</sup> See Commentary, n. 10.

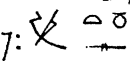
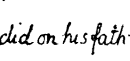
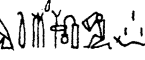
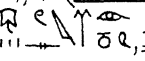
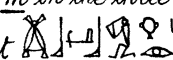
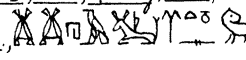
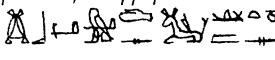

<sup>l</sup> Reading   = *dm·tn dmt·tn*. The next phrase means lit. 'furnish your weapons with it'.

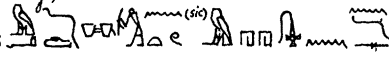
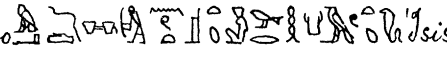
<sup>m</sup>   must be a writing of *hpy* = *hpyt*, infin. of *hpi*, a verb which means 'encounter' and can take a direct object; see *Wb.* III, 258, 13, where, however, no example of the word with this determinative is cited. Note that  is the name of a species of small birds, *Wb.* III, 258, 1.

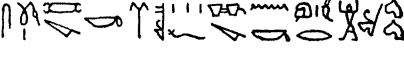

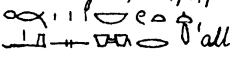

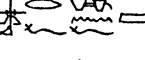
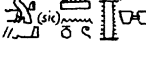

(To be concluded)







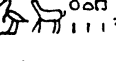
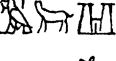
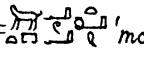
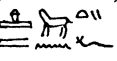

## COMMENTARY

1. For other examples of *bsi r sky* see E. III, 4, 1; 23, 10 (*bsi r sky m-hnt 'hst*); IV, 2, 12, 7; VI, 61, 2; 77, 13-14; VII, 202, 8; cf. also the phrases 'I protect thee anew  on the day thou salliest forth to battle', E. IV, 231, 3, and 'I give thee strength to slay thine enemies  on the day thou salliest forth to battle', E. III, 293, 6.

2. This is how we venture, as against *Wb.* V, 556, D. II, to render *db: Dns m ir(t) n f hr it f*, taking the literal translation to be 'who punished *Dns* as something which he did on his father's account. Other exx. are E. III, 28, 16; IV, 375, 5. Our translation finds strong support in a variant version of the phrase in M. 86, 7:   which again literally can only mean, 'who slew *Dns* as something which he did on his father's account'. In *db: Dns*  E. I, 378, 16-17, the construction is different and we were at one time inclined to see here an instance of substitution-apposition introduced by *m* and to translate 'who punished *Dns*, or rather his crime', i.e., 'who punished *D.*'s crime', or 'who punished *D.* for his crime'. The same construction also occurs in E. IV, 78, 4 (*db: Mds m lmsw f*) and in E. I, 309, 9 (*db: B m ir(t) n f nb*). The only possible translation, however, of  E. VI, 257, 15, seems to be 'The Great Beast', has been destroyed because of what he did', *m ir(t) n f* being for *n ir(t) n f*. Accordingly the *m* in the three preceding exx. may also stand for *n*, a suggestion which finds support in the variant , 'who punished Be there because of what he did', E. I, 309, 11. *Dns* (see *Wb.* V, 469, 12), lit. 'the Heavy One', 'the Lumbering One', is a very common appellation of Seth. However, it does not seem to be a general name for him like *Nbrd*, *Nhs*, *Hnty*, *Mds*, etc., so much as the name he bore when he took on the form of a hippopotamus, see, e.g.,  'who punished *lhw* (Seth) as *Dns*', E. IV, 173, 3; V, 73, 10; and  'who punished *Mds* there as *Dns*', E. V, 154, 18. In this connection the Edfu writings of *Dns* that we have so far listed are illuminating. Of these seven (E. II, 166, 11; III, 28, 16; IV, 173, 2; 343, 7; 374, 13; V, 73, 10; VI, 59, 6) have the hippopotamus as determinative, two (E. I, 131, 11; IV, 59, 12) the hide , one (E. I, 228, 18) an oryx bound for sacrifice, and one (E. I, 378, 17) the Seth-animal similarly bound.



3. The fundamental meaning of *mdd* seems to be 'press hard, violently', and it can be used with or without an object (see below). Faulkner, *JEA* XXX, 169, rightly, we think, renders  'it (the flame) presses hard on thee with fiery breath'; see also  'the Sorceress presseth thee sore', *Lrk.* VI, 29, 5. We have noted the following uses at Edfu: (1). With direct object in the oft-recurring *mdd h: b* 'who presses hard on', i.e., 'thrusts violently (with his harpoon) at the Hippopotamus (= Seth)', E. III, 350, 3; IV, 2, 12, 11; 246, 8; 343, 14; 347, 13; VI, 43, 3; M. 94, 3; 160, 15. (2). With direct object in the equally common *sti r mdd hftw f*, an example of which is the occasion of this note, and which we have rendered 'who casteth (his harpoon) at his foes amain', lit. 'who casts in order to press his enemies hard',

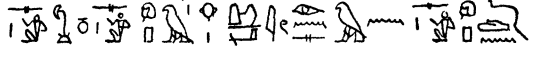
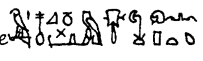
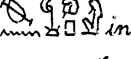
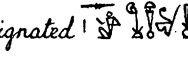

E.I, 381, 13; III, 127, 14; 257, 1; IV, 59, 4; 173, 6; VI, 60, 7; VIII, 144, 5. (3) Without object in the epithet *slt* *r mdd*, 'who casteth amain', sometimes followed by *r s'rk* 'in order to annihilate', E.VI, 239, 4; VIII, 149, 7; 157, 3; M, 160, 12. For other examples of these three usages see *Wb.* II, 191f. with *Belegstellen*, p. 278. Here are some other uses of *mdd* which occur in the Edfu texts, but are not recorded in *Wb.* The meaning in each case is clearly an extension of the basic meaning 'press hard'. (a)  'I plant thy knife in his bones, I batter his head for thee with my full strength', E. II, 74, 7. We know of no other instance of  as determ. of *mdd*; it is possibly a printer's error. (b)  'all its cubits attain (lit. are pressed to) perfection', E. IV, 4, 7. (c)  'the sight of it (the great gateway) amounts to (lit. is pressed towards) a marvel', E. V, 6, 8. (d) 'The form who protects his children.  Who indeed amounteth unto him (i.e., resembleth him) in the (other) cities?' E. III, 200, 2-3; IV, 170, 5-6. (e) 'The great girdle-wall .... protecting the *srh* of Him-with-the-Mottled-Plumage.  What fortress amounteth unto (i.e., resembleth) it in the (other) cities?' E. VI, 16, 2. One expects *r-f* here, not *r-f*, as the suffix *f* refers to the girdle-wall of Edfu temple and not to the god. The *r* is possibly a sculptor's error. (f)  'Min is the Ranger of the eastern desert, seeking his eye in God's Land', E. II, 35, 6.












   , which is undoubtedly to be read here, is probably a writing of *m-hnt* (Junker, *Gramm.*, p. 154) rather than of *m-hnw* (*op. cit.*, p. 153), the  favouring the former and not the latter reading. For  = *hn* see *op. cit.*, p. 23; see also  = *hwnw*, E. VIII, 95, 10, and  = *hnt*, E. V, 4, 2. The scribes seem sometimes to have become confused in their writing of these two prepositions. Thus in *h r ntw* =  'more blissful than the gods in the arms of his mother', E. III, 35, 3 (cf. E. III, 213, 16) we clearly have *m-hnw*, whereas in 'This god is to be brought out in procession  and is to rest in it' (i.e., in a building previously mentioned) E. V, 355, 2, we surely have *m-hnt*, the writing of which closely resembles the  of our text.

5. This obscure epithet is again applied to the king in E. VIII, 131, 16; M, 160, 12. In the second instance it has been wrongly inserted after *šp* in the epithet *s n šp mnt*, which it should precede. As epithet of Horus it occurs E. VI, 64, 8; 215, 7. Some of the ex. Gunn has remarked to us, suggest that *s h' tpy* means 'a man of the First Thousand', a member of an aristocratic body (cf. the Four Hundred in New York!), but the fact that the king is designated *h' tpy* in E. II, 45, 4, seems to render this interpretation impossible. Let us now consider the possibility of *h'* meaning 'lotus-leaf' (*Wb.* III, 219, 1) in this combination. Then *s h' tpy* 'the Man of the First Lotus-leaf' might denote the first created being of the primordial age, the expression containing a reference to the lotus out of which the sun-god emerged in the beginning of time. This suggestion, which we put forward very tentative-


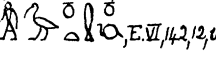

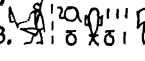


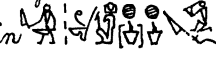





a). Cf. *mdd w' t*, *mdd m'n*, *Wb.* II, 192, 4, 5, and the use of *hwn* in similar contexts cited by Blackman, *JEA* XXIII, 38, (13).

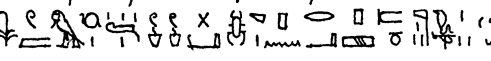


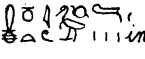

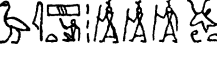
b). So Brugsch, *ZÄS* IX, 14, 2. Chassinat reads  instead of  without adding (sic).

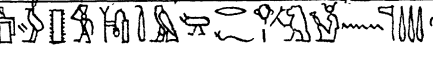

ly, finds some support in the passage in Myth D, E, VII, 215, 5-8, to which we have alluded above. The passage reads: 'So he came, even Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of the Two Lands, who protecteth the weak from the strong, his followers being with him, to wit his harpooners; his ships, his floats (?), his implements, his rope, his harpoon, his weapons of war, the gear (?), having been assigned  to the Man of the Lotus-leaf (?), to the First Man, even Battling Horus, for Horus had turned himself into the First Man. And Re' said: This is the counter-part of Re', my heir Shu, whom Ptah created'. These words seem definitely to equate the Man of the Fl and the First Man with Shu, the first being to be created <sup>by the sun-god</sup> according to the Heliopolitan theology. In practically all the passages cited or to be cited, shy seems to denote a person of warlike character, a character, however, it is to be remembered which suits Shu = Onuris, for Onuris is emphatically a warrior-god (see Junker, *op. cit.*, 1 and *passim*). Now if the Man of the Lotus-leaf is Shu, it looks as if the leaf in question may have had some connection with the engendering of him. Did one version, now lost to us, of the crude Heliopolitan creation-story relate that the sun-god brought Shu into existence while squatting on a lotus-leaf, which floated on the primordial waters beside the flower from which he had recently issued? An objection to this solution of the problem seems, however, to be found in the passage  'Good god, valiant in casting (his harpoon), shy shy, who does not miss his mark', E, II, 45, 4, where the king himself is apparently designated First Fl. But this objection is removed if shy can be regarded as a nisbe-form, in which case shy shy would be analogous to shwt shy, the nisbe-form of shwt shy, and would mean 'He of the First Lotus-leaf', i.e., Shu = in this context Onuris. Similarly  in E, I, 113, 4, an epithet of the king, would have to be rendered, 'heir of Him of the First Lotus-leaf', namely heir of Shu. In E, III, 301, 11-12, 'the excellent emanations (shw) of exalted station in Behdet, the predecessors of the children of Re', are designated . Are these words to be rendered 'the Men (?) of the First Lotus-leaf among their brethren', meaning that, like the shwt shy, they were the first divine beings to exist? It ought here to be noted that a god  is recorded, D, II, 188, 7.

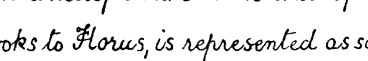

6. Our study of the Edfu texts has so far shown that , var. , is employed as determinative in the following words: (a) shy shy '(murderous) messengers'; exx.            

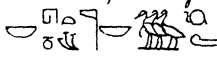
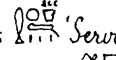
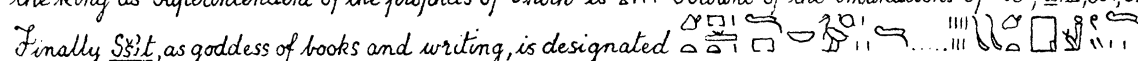


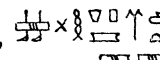
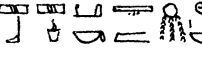
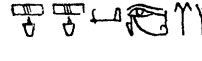
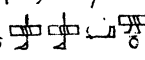
(Isbt n Rē'), in the latter, 'M. who resideth in Throne-City (Bhdt) of Rē'.' We so far know of six occurrences of  as an ideogram. 1. The example in our text which led to this discussion. 2. , E. VI, 11, 12, where, since the word  is applied to the king who is slaughtering an ox, it is probably to be read mrhwy, and the whole group translated 'skilled (rh), butcher of the Majesty of Rē'; see E. VI, 87, 1, which practically confirms this reading. 3. , E. VI, 17, 1. The very similar passage in E. VI, 14, 6-7, suggests that  here is to be read h3tyw, particularly as the '(murderous) messengers of the lord of Pe' are mentioned immediately afterwards. 4. The reading of  in , E. III, 33, 11, is doubtful. The context and the Ptolemaic scribes' well-known love of alliteration suggest h3tyw. We should then have h3tyw h3ty h3ty h3ty h3tyw. 5. If exx. 3 and 4 are to be read h3tyw, so, too, possibly is  in the passage E. III, 32, 5, especially as it is immediately preceded by the word ht-i 'I engrave, inscribe'. On the whole, therefore, we also favour h3tyw as the reading of  in ex. 1, and we have accordingly translated the word 'executioners'. 6. , E. VI, 76, 8, is very doubtful, but, as it is immediately followed by šmsw and hbyw, it is perhaps to be read šfwtyw 'angels'. It might here be noted that  occurs E. V, 191, 11, as a writing of modmt 'stibium', a mistake, of course, for , see, e.g., Junker, Über das Schriftsystem im Tempel der Hathor in Dendera, p. 29.


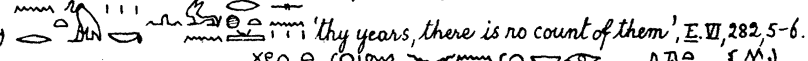
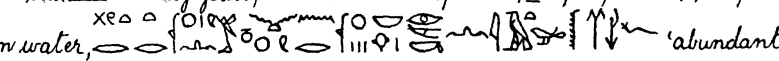
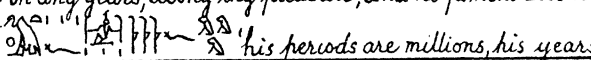
7. Lit. 'belonging to the Emanations of Rē'.' For this designation of ancient records and time-honoured religious books see Gardiner, JEA XXXIV, 168, 173. According to the Satrap Stela, ZAS IX, 2 = Lusk, II, 14, 9ff., Alexander II restored to their rightful places 'the images of the gods found in Asia together with all their cultus-vessels (dbhw nb) and all the Emanations of Rē' belonging to the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt'. Several instructive examples of the use of the expression occur at Edfu and Denderah. It is said of the moon-god Khons , 'He is the Emanations of Rē' (i.e. the ancient records are personified in him), parceling out this land and giving shares) to gods and goddesses', E. IV, 91, 1-2. The great girdle-wall of the temple of Horus is , 'inscribed conformably with , the Emanations of Rē' (i.e. legends) of the earliest Primordial Age', E. VII, 14, 12-13. In view of the above-quoted passage in the Satrap Stela it is not surprising to learn that the traditional ceremonial acts performed by the king during the celebration of the temple liturgy are , in accord with what is prescribed in (lit. 'like what is in accordance with') the Emanations of Rē', D. II, 3, 1, or to read in E. III, 4, 5-6, of 'the superintendents of the prophets in the temples, the chief priests () of Egypt (Isty)  'the great scholars (rhw-ist uru) learned in the Emanations of Rē'. Emanations of Rē' seems, indeed, to be a general term for the books kept in the temple library at Edfu,


a) Cf. the similar use of m-snt n in , 'its wall is inscribed conformably with , every kind of hieroglyphic text', E. VII, 8, 4-5.

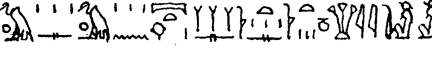
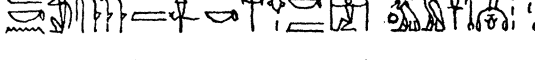
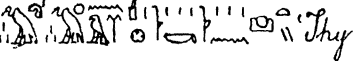

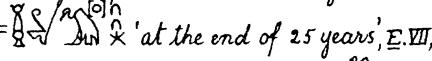
















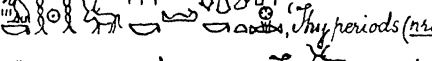


for in a relief on the south wall of that chamber the king, who is depicted dedicating three boxes of books to Horus, is represented as saying  'I bring to you (=Horus and his Ennead) caskets containing excellent mysteries (cf. E. IV, 299, 12-13), to wit the choicest of the Emanations of Re', the term in question being followed by the titles of various works, E. III, 351, 6-7. A reference to such books occurs apparently in E. VII, 22, 6, where mention is made of 'these names of the Great Seat of Re'  which are in accord with the Emanations of Re' belonging to the temples'.


Thoth, as the god of learning, is naturally associated with the bsw Re and therefore bears such titles as  'lord of the hdr-plant, lord of the Emanations of Re', E. VI, 278, 1-2; see also E. V, 9, 1, 2. It is to be observed that the king as 'Superintendent of the prophets of Thoth' is  'Servant of the Emanations of Re', E. III, 351, 6. Finally Sst, as goddess of books and writing, is designated  'pre-eminent in the House of Book(s), mistress of the Emanations of Re'.... Sst-bury, pre-eminent in the House of Amulets, mistress of mysterious writings, who directs ordinances', E. IV, 299, 12-13.

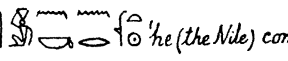
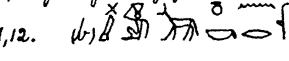

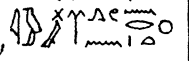
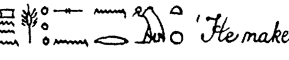
8. Ššb 'divide correctly', here used of time, is frequently employed in respect of division of land, e.g., Ššb t3 frn, E. III, 190, 6; 251, 16; IV, 91, 2; 389, 17-18; V, 91, 2; Ššb T3 mai, M. 89, 18; Ššb ih m ht mn, M. 77, 1. It is said of the Ennead of Re', E. IV, 309, 16, 'ye are the gods, the lords of this land,  who correctly divide (i.e., measure) the Nile by hand-breadths?', and of Thoths, E. IV, 246, 12-13,  'thou correctly dividest the land by thy brightness'. The king is described as he  'who correctly divides the Wd3-eye (see ZAS XLVIII, 101ff.) into its component parts', E. IV, 265, 1, and when 'stretching the cord' in the foundation-laying ceremony, as  'he who correctly divides (with the mrht, see Borchart, Die altägyptische Zeitmessung, 54f.) the movement(s) of the stars (i.e., plots out their movements in relation to the meridian)', E. VII, 44, 13-14. The beer-goddess Mnkt is likewise said to 'divide correctly' the beer-jugs (nbty), D. II, 216, 11, and E. I, 462, 15, i.e., in order to make sure that they will hold the right quantities.

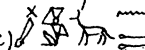



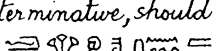

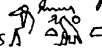
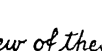

nrt is an adverbial expression probably to be read n-nrt (see below, § 2) and meaning 'yearly', 'year by year'. Nrt is apparently a not uncommon word in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts for 'year', 'period' (see E. VI, 195, n. 4; Brugsch, ZAS IX, 59), of which we have noted the following examples. (a)  'at the end of 25 years', E. IV, 7, 10. (b)  'thy years, there is no count of them', E. VII, 282, 5-6. (c) 'He pour-eth forth for thee the inundation water,  'abundant at its season, without missing its appointed time in any years, doing thy pleasure, and no famine accompanieth it (the inundation water)', E. IV, 195, 15. (d)  'his periods are millions, his years

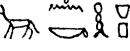
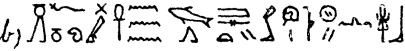
a) For this value of  as a word-sign and phonogram see Wb. II, 277ff. b) With the construction n(n) th n dmdt cf. n(n) d3r n bhsu-sr, D. I, 47, 15, qu. below n. 10, § 5.



hundreds of thousands', E. VII, 263, 6. (e)  'its (the temple of Edfu's) periods are the periods of the sky upon its four supports, its years are the years of the Two Lights (the sun and moon)', E. VII, 49, 10-11. (f)  'She presents years unto thee, bestowing on thee millions of periods in life, happiness and joy', E. VII, 189, 9-10. (g)  'Thy periods are the periods of Horus in Pe, thy years are the years of the Horizon-god', E. IV, 90, 12. (h) 'that their names may be pronounced in the Great Seat <sup>sic</sup>  for millions and millions of years', E. VII, 4, 3. (i)  'at the end of 25 years', E. VII, 6, 4. *Wt.* II, 429, and Junker, *Schriftsystem im Tempel der Hathor in Dendera*, II, maintain that  and  are writings of *rnpt*, and the former, while citing  as a Late-Egyptian word for 'Termin', 'bestimmter Zeitpunkt', does not refer to *rrt* at all, despite its quite unquestionable occurrence in exx. (a)-(c). The view expressed by these two authorities is, however, justifiable to a certain extent, for, as we shall see,  and variant writings must sometimes, apparently, be read *rnpt*, and the composite sign  does seem to be a writing of *wf-rnpt* rather than of *wf-rrt*, see Junker, *op. cit.*, 30. Our study of Ptolemaic inscriptions has so far led us to the following conclusions. When  or  is without the determinative  or , the group is more likely to read *rnpt* than *rrt*; see exx. qu. below under § 2, 4 and 5. Accordingly, in the prayer for a happy and prosperous year, M. 126 ff., sometimes the sign  is used (M. 128, 1, 12; 129, 11; 134, 12, 14; 136, 20; 137, 10, 12; 139, 6), and sometimes  (M. 128, 16; 129, 14; 130, 10; 136, 12), and in a somewhat similar litany, E. VI, 94, ff., the frequently recurring  is almost certainly also a writing of *rnpt*. These two observations, however, do not by any means represent a fixed rule, for on the one hand in Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, pl. 30,  and  seem to be employed indifferently as writings of *rnpt* (see also the exx. under § 2, [C], and 3, [E], below), and on the other hand the vulture without  or  occasionally seems to be a writing of *rrt*, e.g.,  'Thy periods (*rnwt*) are eternity, thy years (*rnwt*) everlasting upon thy throne in Pe and Meson', E. VI, 319, 15. For  = *rnpt* see Pichl, *Inscr. hiérog.*, II, *Commentaire*, p. 12, n. 3; *Wt.* II, 429; E. VI, 277, 5; VII, 127, 9. For another possible instance of  = *rrt* see below under § 4, (b).

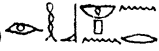
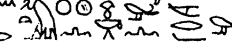





We will now enumerate certain adverbial phrases occurring in the Edfu and Denderah texts which contain the words *rrt* and *rnpt* and which illustrate at the same time what has been said about the uses of the sign .

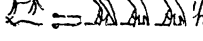
- rnpt* 'yearly', 'every year'. Exx. (a)  'he (the Nile) cometh unto thee every year', E. I, 469, 6; see also 178, 3; 477, 12. (b)  'he cometh again unto thee every year', E. I, 581, 12; see also II, 79, 10; 261, 7. (c) 'He (the king) bringeth thee the fresh water . . . ,  coming at its appointed season, renewing itself yearly', E. VI, 205, 10-12.
- rrt* 'yearly', 'every year'. Exx. (a) 'He (the king) bringeth thee the eight canals of Egypt by which the Nile flows out to the sea . . . ,  in order to come back again every year', E. VII, 194, 13-195, 2. (b)  'He maketh

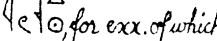
its harvest to flourish for thee every year', E.VI, 37, 1-2, with n. 2. These are clear instances of n rrt. Those following might possibly, in the light of what has been pointed out above, be read n r n p t, but, with one exception, seem more likely to be writings of n rrt. (c)  'he returneth unto thee every year', D.I, 56, 2-3; see also IV, 188, 7 (); E.IV, 193, 15 (). The last example, , is an unusual writing and, since it also lacks a determinative, should perhaps be read n r n p t. (d) 'The kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Great Powers,....  who come out at their appointed season yearly, at the happy festivals of their Majesties', D.IV, 143, 5; see also III, 46, 1 (). (e) 'Sokar-Osiris  =  who becometh young again every year as a living emanation', E.IV, 115, 4. In view of these examples we feel justified in reading the  of our text, E.VI, 61, 7, as n rrt, contrary to *Wb. II, Belegstellen*, 430, 9, where it is cited as a writing of n r n p t.

3. tp r n p t r n p t 'year by year'. Exx. (a)  'the Nile cometh unto thee at his season year by year, without ceasing', E.VI, 59, 9; see also III, 46, 5; 170, 5. (b)  'he bringeth unto thee the Life-Renewer (=the inundation), issuing from the Leg year by year without ceasing', E.III, 148, 13-14; see also 76, 2; 90, 10; IV, 63, 10.


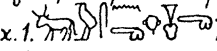
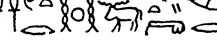
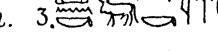
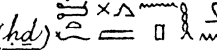
(c) '.... in order to array (db) thy image (bs-k) together with the Ennead of thy ki,  'year by year without ceasing', D.IV, 106, 7. Having in mind the numerous parallels with the writing  we are of the opinion that, despite the presence of the determinative°, the expression in ex. (c) is to be read tp r n p t r n p t and not tp rrt rrt.

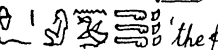




4. rrt rrt 'year after year', 'year by year'. Exx. (a)  (Blank)....  'This festival is celebrated year after year, and the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, N,..... celebrateth this festival year after year, without cessation or intermission for ever', E.VI, 103, 4-5. (b) 'Her shmw are within it every day  year after year without ceasing', D.IV, 232, 1. The writings  in ex. (a) suggest that  in (b), although the expected determinatives are lacking, should be read rrt rrt rather than r n p t r n p t. The compilers of *Wb.*, who do not quote ex. (a), would, however, doubtless read  and  as n r n p t.



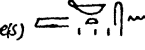


5. m rrt rrt 'year after year'. Ex.  'he cometh to thee year after year', Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 53 a, 7; see also II, 40 d. So far we have found no examples in the Edfu inscriptions of m rrt rrt, which is read m r n p t r n p t by *Wb. II*, 430, 8. On the whole we prefer our reading m rrt rrt while keeping our eyes open for further evidence which may finally settle the question one way or the other.


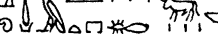



Gardiner gives us an interesting note on the XXth Dynasty phrase , for exx. of which see *Wb. II*, 279, 13, and *Med. Fabr.* (ed. Chicago), 138, 47. He believes that we have here a word for a shoal or sandbank or the like, which reappears every year.









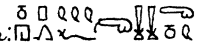
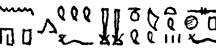


a) See Blackman & Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 416, ff., n. 68.

10.  and variant writings of this group represent frequently in the Edfu texts a word for the females of animals, especially of cattle. Exx. 1.  'Lusty bull, copulating with the cows', E. III, 134, 1. 2.  'He is the Living Ram, may he live for ever, the generating ram beloved of the wethers', E. VII, 271, 1-2. 3.  'I give thee yon bull(s) of thine, and for thee are thy cows with their milk', M. 139, 17. 4. 'He brings thee the watered land (called) Hd with its milk (hd)  streaming from the udder(s) of its cows', E. IV, 26, 8-9.

5.  'the father of males and females', M. 132, 9. For two more examples see E. IV, 25, 13, ; 337, 6, . The question is how this group is to be read. The sign , which represents a bivalve shell, possesses in ordinary hieroglyphic writing the phonetic value h; Gard., Gram., p. 468. But this cannot be the value of  in the group we are discussing, for Wb. gives no word like h.t for 'cow' or 'female'.

Another group representing a word for females of animals and as common in the Edfu texts as , is  with variant writings. Exx. 1. 'Drink ye of the gore of your foes'  and of their females', E. VI, 77, 8. The 'foes' in question are the confederates of Seth in the form of hippopotami. 2. 'I thrust at the ravening crocodiles, I pierce their bodies, I slaughter their old ones with their young ones,  I slay their females, I smash their eggs', E. IV, 211, 11-212, 1. 3. 'He bringeth thee Sh:t-Her mistress of cattle, bearing pails of milk.  She giveth (sc. d*is*) to thee yon bulls of thine and these thy cows by the favour of her Majesty', E. I, 419, 6-7.

4. 'Rejoice, thou hast smitten thy foes, , the bulls being as cows for thee!' M. 114, 5, 13. 5.  'I give thee the byres with bulls and cows, and there is no lack of their calves', D. I, 47, 15. Other exx. are E. V, 49, 5-6, ; VII, 204, 7, ; 226, 8, .

The word , with variants, is well known, being a Late-Egyptian writing of , hmt, 'cow', 'female animal', see Wb. III, 76. Owing to the exactly similar employment of , etc. (= hmut) and , etc. in the passages cited by us, we conjectured that the latter group is simply a writing of the former,  replacing , and that it also reads hmt. Evidence that our conjecture was correct soon came to hand. Written with or without the flesh-determ., ,  (see Wb. II, *loc. cit.*), hmt also has the meaning 'uterus', 'vulva'. A text in one of the entrances to the east stairway in the temple of Edfu thus speaks of the personified inundation water:  'His member becomes erect, he copulates with his vulva (= the inundated land) and he creates his children, in number more than a million', E. I, 581, 15. In a parallel text in another part of the same temple we read:  'His member becomes erect, he copulates with (his) vulvae, and he creates his children, a million in number', E. III, 102, 2. These two passages clearly shew that the plural , is simply a graphic variant of the singular  and is accordingly to be read hmut 'vulvae'. For other



ed by our text, and by the two other descriptions of the hunt here given, to the parts of the harpoon, the various depths of water, and to Horus himself, are fairly in agreement, a fact suggesting that all three accounts, which closely resemble one another in other points as well, have a common basis, namely the local folk-tales which had supplied the material for the play.

	MYTH C = E.VI, 61. CUBITS	MYTH D = E.VI, 216-217. CUBITS	E.IV, 213. CUBITS
Depth of water in which are the cows	8	8	
Depth of water in which is the Lower Egyptian Bull.	20	12	
Length of harpoon-blade	4 <sup>a</sup>	4	4
Length of shaft	16	20	17
Length of rope	60	60	60
Height of Horus	8	3	7
Depth of water beneath Horus	20	20	

As the texts of Myth C are better cut and less corrupt than the text of Myth D, the readings of the former are to be preferred. Accordingly the '12 cubits' (depth of water) and '20 cubits' (length of shaft) of Myth D are probably to be emended '20 cubits' and '16 cubits' respectively.  $\Pi$  is doubtless a sculptor's or scribe's error for  $\Pi$ , while the  $\Pi^x$ , 17, in E.IV, 213, an easy corruption of  $\Pi^x$ , 16, indicates that the latter figure is correct against the 20 of Myth D. Again the  $\Pi^x$ , 7 cubits (height of Horus), of E.IV may well be another sculptor's or scribe's blunder for  $\Pi^x$ , 8 cubits, the numeral in question being written  $\Pi$  in Myth C and  $\Pi$  in Myth D. Lastly it should be pointed out that the '16 cubits' (length of shaft) and '8 cubits' (height of Horus) of Myth C are more likely to be correct than the '17 cubits' and '7 cubits' of E.IV, 213, because in both the other texts all the measurements are in even numbers.

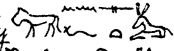
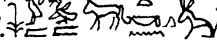



12. The passage E.IV, 213, 7-10, quoted in the preceding note, shews that  $\Pi$  is to be restored here; of the  $\Pi$  of Myth D. There is clearly room for  $\Pi$  beside  $\Pi$ . As the text stands 'a stripling of eight cubits' must here be a circumlocution for the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. singular suffix. But the wording of the above-mentioned text in E.IV, which reads not unlike a quotation from a dramatic text, tempts us to emend  $\Pi$  (i) nds (im i) n mh 8 and translate '(a harpoon-blade of four cubits....) being in (my) hand(s), a stripling (i) of eight cubits'.

13. The use of  $\Pi$  as 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. suffix in E.VI, 65, 5, and the words 'I rage against thy foes as a savage baboon', suggest that the demon in the first boat, and perhaps in the second boat also, was baboon-headed.














14. For this abnormal writing of  $\Pi$  (= the eastern desert) with  $\Pi$  instead of  $\Pi$  or  $\Pi$ , see Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, VII, 100.  $\Pi^c$  n, according to *Wb.* IV, 504 (see also E.VI, 75, 2-3; 121, 1; 123, 8), means 'scare away', 'drive away, from' a place,

a) See also E.III, 255, 15, 'a harpooner of great strength, grasping  $\Pi$  a harpoon (sic) of 4 cubits'.

b)  $\Pi$  is a not uncommon spelling at Edfu; see, e.g., E.I, 36, 14; 38, 7; VII, 184, 10; 193, 11.

but here the context demands that *h* be rendered 'into', as it does in E. III, 188, 14, *m3i-wr-phity*  'a lion of great strength who drives Seth into the deserts'; see also E. VII, 287, 2, and cf.  'he is a lion who maketh Seth withdraw unto the Asiatics, E. VII, 16, 13. Though *Wl.* gives no exx. of a transitive use of *tkr*, such a use is not impossible in view of Junker, *Gramm.*, pp. 92ff. For the divine decree banishing Seth from Egypt into the eastern desert see *Luk.* VII, 25, 14; 27, 1-9, and note especially the words 'Thou holdest sway in the desert ()', *ONhd*, but thou shalt not dwell in Timuris.' *op. cit.*, 27, 5-6. Cf., too, 'King M is a lion of great strength,  banishing his foes into the desert, as Re himself and the gods ordained with one consent,' E. VII, 184, 10; see also E. III, 188, 16, according to which Horus is  'he who casts the Red One (Seth) into a foreign land'.

15. The meanings of the verb *dbdbt* (see *Wl.* V, 44.2), as employed at Edfu, seem, according to our present knowledge to be as follows:—

- 'Cut up' flesh (*wf*, *h'w*) or a body (*dt*). Exx. (a) 'I transfix the Hippopotamus (*ns*)  in order to cut up its flesh, so that it is given as meat-portions to very god,' E. VI, 138, 7-8; see also VI, 86, 1-2; VII, 168, 15. (b) 'I have captured (*in:n'i*) the Hippopotamus (*ns*)  I have cut up his flesh (*h'w*), I have set his meat-portions before thee,' E. IV, 343, 6-7. (c)  (Horus) who cuts up the body of *Tbh* (Seth), E. IV, 60, 11-12. 2. 'Cut in pieces', 'slash', 'slaughter', a single enemy (esp. a Sethian animal) or a group of enemies. Exx. (a)  'who cutteth in pieces the Hippopotamus in Retribution-Town,' E. III, 28, 10. (b) Retribution-Town of Him who exacted Retribution,  where the *dn-dn*-serpent was cut in pieces,' E. VI, 11, 7. (c) 'The Hippopotamus (*db*) is subdued  the Monster cut in pieces,' M. 160, 9. (d) 'It is the single-barbed harpoon for piercing the crocodiles, the weapon of thy choice (*db; n k3:k*)  which slasheth the Hippopotamus,' E. VII, 239, 10-11. (e) 'The *Mntyw* are slain (*mds'ti*),  the *Tjehnw* are cut to pieces,' E. IV, 341, 2-3; see also 236, 12; 266, 2. (f)  'who cuts the foes to pieces,' E. II, 65, 12; see also VIII, 143, 5. (g)  'thy knife to stick into, to cut to pieces, the hippopotami,' E. VI, 239, 1. 3. 'Rend in pieces'. Ex. The lion *M3i-wr-phity* 'who roareth after the Cut-throat (*mds*),  who rendeth in pieces the carcass of *Tbh*,' E. IV, 285, 12-13. 4. 'Crunch' flesh (*wf*). Exx. (a)  'I crunch his flesh, I swallow his gore,' E. VI, 66, 1-2, the passage which occasioned this discussion. (b)  'I drink the blood of him who would overthrow thy sanctuary, I crunch the flesh of him who would violate thy shrine,' E. VI, 78, 7-8. Though 'rend in pieces' is not ruled out as the meaning of *dbdbt* in these two sentences, nevertheless

a) For this use of the Old Perfective see Gardiner, *Gram.*, Supplement, 10, n. on 3315; Blackman, *JEA* XXV, 36.

b) Cf. the English 'cut to pieces', used of the routing of an armed force with heavy casualties.

c) Cf. D. IV, 24, 12, 'Horus of Behdet  who cutteth the Monster in pieces'.

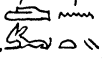
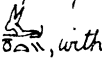
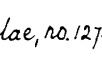
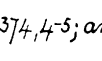
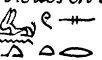
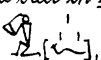
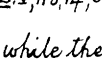
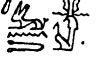
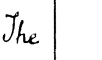
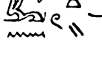


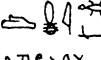
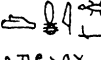
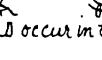
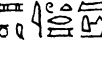
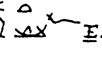
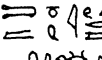
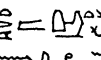
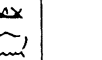
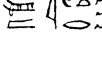
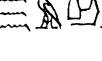
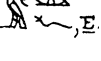
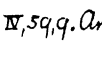
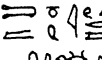
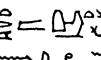
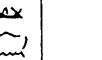
since dbdb has the determinative in ex. (b) and in both ex. is in parallelism with a verb meaning 'swallow', 'drink' (s'm, shb), we feel that 'crunch', 'bite small', 'mince', are more likely renderings of the word. On the other hand dbdb might possibly in either context mean just 'eat', despite the  $\Delta$ -determinative in (a), and in this case would be a late variant of the old ndbdb 'eat', 'nibble', for which see Wb. V, 442, 16, and II, 368, 12, with Belegstellen. We do not find ourselves in agreement with Wb.'s rendering of dbdb wf (hr) msk, namely, 'stechen in (hr) die Haut'. Our view is that the expression describes the slaughterer cutting up for distribution the victim's flayed carcass, as it lay on its hide which was spread out on the ground. Exx. (a) The Hippopotamus (nš) is in the place of slaughter (nmt), the Deserving-of-Destruction is destroyed (htrm htrm-ti), I cut up his flesh upon his hide', E. VIII, 149, 3-4; see also IV, 111, 3. (b) 'I (Horus) give thee thine enemies slaughtered in the slaughter-house, I cut up their flesh upon their hide(s)', E. IV, 351, 6. (c) 'hacking at his (the Hippopotamus)' flesh so that it is cut to pieces upon his hide', E. I, 381, 15-16.



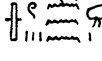
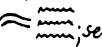
16. The poet is evidently comparing the shower of Horus' weapons with the moon-beams pouring down from the sky on a peaceful night. For two other instances of ttf employed in this sense see E. III, 255, 15; VII, 83, 8. Cf. also the transitive use of ttf in 'I make thy weapons to rain down in the midst of the water', E. IV, 59, 10.

17. The sign in Ptolemaic texts has the values Wnty and Dwnty. Wb. V, 433, appears only to admit the latter reading, but cf. Wb. I, 325, 13. Instances showing the full spelling of the word are rare, and usually the ideogram alone is employed. The sign differs considerably in the various instances and generally there are no criteria to establish which reading is to be adopted. When the ideogram alone is used it has the three following forms: 1. Horus on a bull (E. I, 302, 15; III, 278, 8; IV, 58, 4; 59, 8; V, 118, 14; 186, 16; VI, 64, 6; 142, 1. 14; VII, 111, 4; 152, 3; 310, 11). 2. Horus on a crocodile (E. III, 88, 13; IV, 213, 3; 374, 14). 3. A man on a bull (E. VI, 117, 3; Mariette, Denderah, IV, 73, 22; 61 = Brugsch, Dict. géogr., 920). Wb. records none but form 3, which, so far as we know, only occurs as an ideogram in the title of a prophet of Horus of Fihnw (E. VII, 117, 3) and in a writing of one of the sacred names of that town (Mariette, op. cit., IV, 73), which, as the variant (see Brugsch, loc. cit.) shews, is to be read Hwt-Dwnty. The title of the prophet is

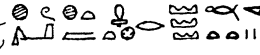
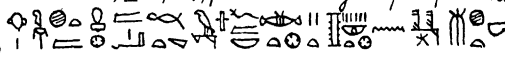
a) This sign was still legible, apparently, when Naville made his copy of these inscriptions; see his Mythe d'Horus pl. IV. b) Cf. E. IV, 343, 6-7; VII, 86, 1-2; 138, 7-8. c) Sometimes with, and sometimes without, the double crown. In his right hand he carries a  $\downarrow$ -sceptre or else a lance (occasionally, so it would seem, a staff) which presses on the head or neck of the animal upon which he is standing. d) In all three instances wearing the double crown and armed with a lance. In E. IV, 213, 3, he wields the lance with both hands. e) Holding a lance or staff like Horus, but wearing no crown. f) Gauthier, Dict. géogr., IV, 142.


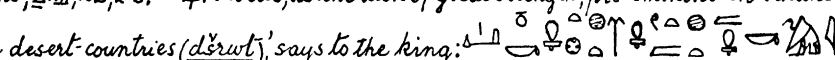
also, therefore, to be read Dwnty, and JE A XXXI, 31, n. 1, should be emended accordingly. The priest bore this title because he impersonated the god in certain ceremonies (see Blackman, Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian) VI, in Hastings, ERE X, 295 f.; see also JE A VIII, 10 ff.). Dwnty, furthermore, must undoubtedly be the reading of the ideogram depicting Horus on a bull when it is followed by such words as hnty Hwt-Dwnty (E. V, 186, 16) or hnty Hbnw (E. V, 142, 14; VII, 111, 4). At Edfu, so far as we are aware, phonetic writings of the names Dwnty and Wnty occur in all only four times. , with the determinative of a man on a bull, appears in E. I, 185, 9, as an epithet of Osiris-Sepa, and, as we have already pointed out, another example of this sign used as an ideogram, and three examples of that depicting Horus on a bull similarly used, are also thus to be read. The spelling Wnty occurs thrice. , with the determinative of a falcon on the back of an oryx, in E. VI, 307, 5 (cf. Berlin photographs of Philae, no. 1275, cited by Junker, Onurislegende, 37); , with the determinative of a man on a crocodile, in E. IV, 374, 4-5; and , with the determinative of Horus on a crocodile, in E. VI, 84, 6. In addition the ideogram of Horus on a bull in E. V, 118, 14, clearly has the value Wnty, in view of the pun contained in the words ntk Wnty    [i], while the fact that the ideogram of Horus on a crocodile is followed by wnp Wh-sp.f in E. IV, 213, 3-4 (cf. E. VI, 84, 6), and by wnp st n it.f in E. IV, 374, 14, suggests that in both cases the sign is to be read Wnty, the Ptolemaic scribes, as has already been pointed out, being very partial to alliteration. We are not conversant with the full evidence from other Ptolemaic temples, but it would seem that at Edfu the reading Wnty is in most cases to be preferred, unless there is clear evidence in favour of Dwnty. It might here be noted that at Denderah the epithet Wnty is assigned to Horus as 'lord of Busiris..... who overthrows the foe of Onnophris', D. II, 157, 13. Wnty is here written  . The Wnty we have been discussing can have no connection with the demon  of P. Bremner-Rhind, 22, 22, for a note on whom see Faulkner, JE A XXXII, 176.

18. Other similar writings of  occur in     E. III, 28, 12; 257, 15;    E. IV, 212, 7; and     E. IV, 59, 9. An example of the full writing is    E. VI, 217, 5.

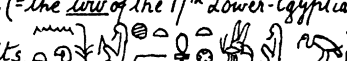

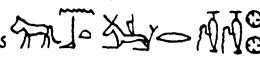
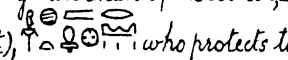
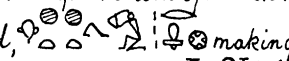
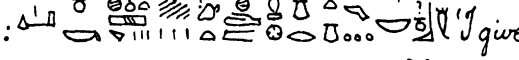
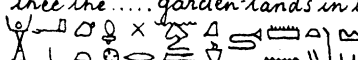
19. Restore  before imyw-mw (cf. snd n-k Nbd in the next line), or perhaps , and then translate 'fear of him is in those who are in the water' (cf. E. VI, 238, 11). The context suggests that 'those who are in the water' are in this case hippopotami; see  in E. IV, 214, 6; also VII, 202, 8; 292, 11. As a rule, however, imyw-mw seems to be a term for crocodiles and generally has the crocodile-determinative; see E. III, 4, 1; IV, 74, 7, 15-16; 211, 10-11; 230, 8; VI, 79, 10; 81, 2; VII, 32, 9. In E. VI, 229, 5, and D. IV, 24, 8, it means both crocodiles and hippopotami and has the corresponding determinatives. In E. VI, 238, 11, imyw-mw has no determinative and is written ; see also E. III, 4, 3; IV, 212, 6.

20. Htm 'the Fortress' occurs frequently in the Edfu texts as a topographical term, as the following citat-

ions shew. 1. Horus of Mesen is 'the great Lion residing in Hwt-hwt,  who protects the Fortress from the northern hill-countries', E.V, 214, 7-8. 2. The god of Edfu is 'the Lion who maketh Seth withdraw unto the Asiatics (qu. n. 14),  protecting the Fortress in the northern region. The god who is within it (the great girdle-wall of Edfu temple) is the lord of the Two Mesens (cf. E.VI, 8, 8; 16, 13; 75, 6; 91, 8-9), the bulwark of Egypt (Swrt) in the South and North', E.VI, 16, 13-14.

3. Horus as 'the Great Falcon (drtj) pre-eminent in Pe and Mesen, the Lion of great strength pre-eminent in Khant-Iebt (the 14<sup>th</sup> Lower-Egyptian nome)' is ; 'he who guards the Fortress against the lands of the Phoenicians', E.VII, 102, 2-3. 4. Horus, as 'the Lion of great strength, pre-eminent in Khant-Iebt, who drives Seth into the desert-countries (dšrw)', says to the king:  'I give thee the Fortress sealed with thy seal, I protect Egypt (sc. ḫt) from Asia (Št)', E.III, 188, 13.



It will be observed that in all these passages Horus appears in the rôle of a fierce lion and as protector of the Fortress' against the Asiatics, and, moreover, that in ex. 3 and 4 he is definitely associated with the fourteenth Lower-Egyptian nome. Since Horus is known to have been worshipped as a lion-god at Sile (Šrw), a frontier-town of strategical importance as well as the capital of the above-mentioned nome, it is tempting to identify that town with the Fortress', as actually do both Gauthier and Brugsch, the latter maintaining that Šrw is Janis.













Other references to Htm that we have collected are: 5. 'He (the king) brings to thee (the god of Edfu) the Northern City (= the sw of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lower-Egyptian nome) with its orchard and all its sweet (see Wb. II, 495, 5) and pleasant fruits.  Thou art the king of the Fortress, sovereign of the desert country', E.V, 24, 8-9. 6. The god of Edfu is 'the Falcon, lord of falcons, in Pe of Re',  who preserves these his young ones in the Fortress', E.V, 320, 8. 7. Horus of Mesen is  'he who scares away (šn) Nbd from the Two Outpourings, the goodly watchman of the Fortress', E.VI, 68, 3. 8. Horus of Behdet is 'the valiant guardian who guards all Egypt (Swrt)',  who protects the Fortress from the foreigners (ḫ'styw)', E.VII, 54, 6. 9. 'The lord of Mesen.... is victorious in Hwt-Hr-nht, turning up his foe, slaughtering the disaffected,  making the enemies to retreat from the Fortress', E.IV, 371, 10. 10. Thoth says to the officiating king:  'I give thee the.... garden-lands in the Fortress bearing all manner of pleasant fruits', E.VII, 179, 3. 11. The king is  of high authority in the Fortress, most majestic among the Mrtjw', E.I, 559, 2-3. In these last seven passages, it must be confessed, 'the Fortress' might well be one of those terms for Egypt such as B'kt, Swrt, Isty, etc., which are so common in Ptolemaic texts. Thus in ex. 5 'king (nsr) of the




















a). See Sethe, Urgeschichte, 3162; also E.III, 188, 14; 232, 15; VI, 71, 11; 75, 5-6; 127, 84f.; VII, 255, 4; D.II, 92, 7-8.




















b). See Gauthier, Dict. géogr., IV, 190.

'Fortress' is contrasted with 'sovereign (*lbtj*) of the desert-country (*dšrt*), as is 'lord of Egypt (*Kmt*)' with 'ruler of desert-countries (*dšrw*)' in *E.VIII*, 168, 8-9, and 'king (*nsr*) of Egypt (*Snwt*)' with 'sovereign, ruler (*hk*) of the desert-countries (*dšrw*)' in *E.VIII*, 165, 12. 'Egypt' (*Kmt, Snwt*) is similarly contrasted with the desert, 'desert-countries' (*dšrt, dšrw*) in *E.VI*, 75, 6; *VIII*, 193, 11; and *I*, 38, 7. In ex. 11 *Htm* is contrasted with *Mntyw*, while in ex. 7 it is in parallelism with *Hbwy*, a well-known designation of Upper and Lower Egypt, as it is also in ex. 8 with *Snwt*. That in exx. 6, 9, 10 and 11 *Htm* = Egypt can hardly be disputed. In the light of this evidence, therefore, Gauthier's and Brugsch's identification of *Htm* 'the Fortress' with *Tjrw* becomes more than doubtful, especially as 'the Fortress' meaning 'Egypt' suits the contexts in exx. 1-4 no less well than it does when equated with *Tjrw*. The occurrence in the exx. cited by us of references to the lion-god of *Tjrw* and to the north-eastern countries and peoples, *dšrt, Stt, Mntyw, h'sstjw, h'sswt, Fnhw*, is to be explained by the fact that the most vulnerable point in the defences of 'the Fortress' = Egypt was always considered to be the north-eastern frontier, where *Tjrw* (Sile) occupied a key-position. Possibly passages like exx. 1-4 are reminiscent of the Hyksos invasion, or, as is more likely, of the later invasions of the Assyrians and Persians.

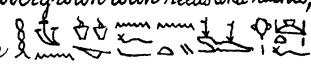
*Htm* = Egypt finds a close parallel in the use of *ht-mn*, which signifies both 'Egypt' and 'the world', *h's k's* replacing it in demotic (see *Wb.* III, 353, 8-9). For *ht-mn* employed exactly like *Htm* in exx. 5 and 10, i.e., meaning Egypt, see *E.VIII*, 170, 8; *M.*, 77, 1; see also *E.VI*, 277, 6. *Htm* seems to mean rather 'the earth', 'the world', in *D.II*, 18, 2; 79, 14; *E.VI*, 9, 2. It should here be noted that *Wb.* III, loc. cit., transcribes  and its variants *htn* (*ht-mn*?), though neither under that entry nor under  (352, 6-10) does it appear to cite such uses of the latter word as occur in our exx., especially in 5-10.



21. Reading        'My horn assaulteth him who cometh against thee in fury', *E.VI*, 178, 15, where *hkm*, not cited by *Wb.*, seems to be a variant of *hkt*. For the confusion of *h* with *m* see the latter part of n. 41 and cf. *wšm* (*E.VI*, 68, 8; 178, 8) and *wšh* (*E.VI*, 178, 13). *Wb.* does not record this verb under the form *wšh*, though it cites (*I*, 373, 4) the obviously related noun *wšh* 'Kampf-stier'. For another example of *hkt* see      'who assaulteth him who attacketh him', *E.IV*, 66, 6; see also *V*, 48, 2.

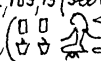
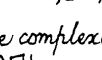
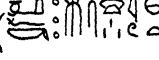
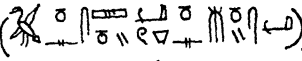

22. See also *E.VI*, 178, 1, and cf., perhaps, Schäfer, *ZAS* XLIII, 75. For  = *hmw* 'dust' see *Wb.* III, 277, 15. Does                   *E.IV*, 51, 9, mean 'thou hast stirred up (lit. 'hacked up') the dust'?

23. Probably  is due to confusion between *h'w* and *h'* and the correct reading is that of *E.IV*, 213, 14-214, 1,                   'who casts (his harpoon) upon the mound of the Savage Beast'. For 'h' fighter' as a name of the hippopotamus see also *Wb.* I, 217, 6. As Gardiner has remarked to us, *lbt* in most places un-

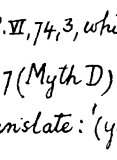
a) Cf. *nswn Kmt hk' Fnhw* 'king of Egypt, ruler of the Phoenicians', *E.III*, 241, 15; and *nswn Tjkt hk' Fnhw*, *D.III*, 120, 16-17.




doubtedly means 'mound', Arabic 'telli', here, probably, a low, muddy mound, overgrown with reeds and rushes, rising out of the swamps. Such a 'mound' was also haunted by the crocodile; see  'he slays the crocodile upon its mound', E.VI, 239, 4.

24. The Fen-goddess frequently figures in the processions of so-called Nile-gods which are so conspicuous a feature in the wall-decoration of Graeco-Roman Egyptian temples. The goddess bears on her head the sign  and carries in her hands the products of her domain, which in E.III, 142, 7-8, are designated  'the good gifts of the Fen-goddess'. According to E.II, 163, 11-12, she is 'lady of the catch (*hbt*), mistress of *hbs*-birds (see E.VI, 74, 7), who created fish and fowl (*rsf*), who made the *hdw*-birds, mother of the *grw*-birds, queen of the ro-geese, who cares for the nestlings (*hrpt*, *t3yw*)'. E.VII, 124, 13, states that the wild fowl are her children (*msw Sht*), while E.IV, 199, 9-10, calls her 'mother of the wild fowl' (*mwt ʿfdw*). Other references are E.II, 164, 3; III, 142, 11; VI, 256, 11 (where the king is said to be suckled by this goddess); VII, 81, 13-14; 82, 2 (where the king appears as her offspring, *ms-n Sht*). See also Sethe ap. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sakhur-ne*, II, 88, 101, 119; Gardiner, *Personification (Egyptian)*, 9, (j), 3, in *Hastings*, ERE IX, 792.

25. The goddess of spinning and weaving and the maker and provider of various ceremonial garments and bandages; see *Sinuhe*, B192, and Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 69; *Personification (Egyptian)*, 9, (g), 5, in *Hastings*, ERE IX, 791. According to a text at Edfu, which equates her with *Wt-hk3w*, E.II, 30, 3, her father is *Rē*, while another text of similar origin, E.II, 163, 15 (see also D.IV, 125, 5-6), identifies her with Isis and makes her daughter of Nut. We are told that she was born () in Denderah, D.II, 225, 6, and she seems to have had some special connection with the chapel called *pr-nw*, which lay just to the south-west of the sanctuary in Hathōr's great temple there, D.II, 225, 6; 227, 7. Both at Edfu and Denderah Hedjhotpe, the god of weaving and clothing, was evidently regarded as her consort, E.II, 177, 1; III, 140, 16; 286, 17; VII, 307, 5; D.II, 102, 8; 120, 9; 227, 11; III, 119, 6-7; IV, 36, 15-16; 23, 10; 106, 11-12; 120, 6-7. She is of 'pale complexion' () we are informed, and 'more turquoise-bright than the Ennead' () D.IV, 126, 4-5. Tait, says a text at Denderah, is 'mother of the gods, mistress of the goddesses, who arrays the images (*shmw*) in her handiwork, gives sweetness to their flesh, clothes their bodies and gives health to their frames', D.IV, 101, 12-13; see also 179, 10-14; 265, 13-14. Another Denderah text states that it is she 'who purifies the goddesses, who did spin of old and was the first to weave' () who made the *dr*-garment and fashioned the *nty*-cloth, D.IV, 125, 5-6; see also E.II, 163, 15-16. The 'white cloth' (*hdt*), in which Hathōr is clad, is made by her (*kt n Tyt*), D.IV, 113, 9-11; the 'red-cloth' (*idmi*), too, is her handiwork, D.IV, 29, 3-4; as are also the wrappings in which 'the *swnsw*-gods of the Seat of *Rē*' are arrayed, D.IV, 144, 5-7. Furthermore, she is 'mistress of the *x*-bandages' and, identified with Hathōr, is 'lady of the fillet' () who fashioned the *nty*-clothing (see also D.II, 120, 4-5) for her pleasure', D.IV, 104, 11-12. The ceremonial wrappings of the cultus

images in the temples are called 'the great adornments' (𓆎𓆏𓆐) of Tjaty, D. IV, 106, 3-4, while 'the beautiful clothes' which are 'to beautify the body' of Khnum have been woven by the goddess herself (𓄁𓄂𓄃𓄄𓄅𓄆𓄇), E. V, 190, 7-8; see also VIII, 158, 7. Two texts at Denderah, D. IV, 179, 10-14; 265, 13-14, represent Tjaty as personally arraying Hathor in her ceremonial clothing. In D. IV, 179, 11, it might be noted, the making of the white cloth, ascribed elsewhere, as we have just seen, to our goddess, is spoken of as the 'excellent handiwork' of Isis and Nephthys (rhty). Finally it should be remarked that the king, when presenting divinities with the various ceremonial cloths, is designated 'the express image' (𓆎𓆏) of Tjaty, D. II, 119, 11; IV, 56, 15-16, or her son, E. III, 149, 16 or, again, he is said to have been 'engendered' (wt) by her, E. III, 286, 17; D. II, 102, 8, III, 12, 7-8; 119, 6-7, or, yet again, to be the child 'whom she nursed while yet in his swaddling-clothes' (𓄁𓄂𓄃𓄄𓄅𓄆𓄇) D. IV, 111, 5 (see also D. II, 120, 9; 227, 11; IV, 23, 10; 120, 6-7; E. II, 177, 17), or whom 'she dandled on her knees' (𓄁𓄂𓄃𓄄𓄅𓄆𓄇) E. VII, 307, 5. For Tjaty in a procession of Nile-gods see Dixon, *Medamoud*, 1925, *Inscriptions*, p. 60

26. This ejaculation occurs again in E. VII, 79, 7; cf.  Kenmet and Desdes cry aloud!' *lurk*. VI, 15, 20. Kenmet is the oasis of Khargah, see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, V, 204, f. For Seth's connection with Kenmet see Roeder in Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. u. römisch. Mythologie*, IV, 732; see also E. I, 469, 2, and *lurk*. VI, loc. cit. In E. IV, 125, 7, Seth appears in connection with Šfyt, a district which, according to Gauthier, *op. cit.*, V, 133, formed part of the oasis of Desdes (Bahriyah).

27. Practically the same sentence occurs again in E. VII, 74, 3, while the words of Isis, 'the boat is light and he who is in it is a child' are also to be found in E. VI, 217, 7 (Myth D). We were inclined at first to regard ndr Hr ndr in both these passages as a parenthesis and translate: '(yet) you Caitiff who is in thy rope-hold fast, Horus, hold fast—the sixth (eighth) harpoon is stuck fast in his ribs (hindquarters)'. But since ndr Hr ndr, apart from these two apparent exceptions, always rounds off a section, we now suspect that both here and in E. VII, 74, 3, a verb has fallen away, and that in the light of E. VII, 69, 10, the verb in question is hr. Note also that our original translation left the sixth and eighth, unlike the other harpoons, without specific introduction, yet both  and  head a new line as though starting a new section. We now, therefore, propose to read: hnty pty nty m nrh-k (<hr>, hr being 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. masc. of the Old Perfective. Cf. with these two passages that in E. IV, 213, 9-10, and that in Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, III, 19, where Horus is described as 'valiant in the fray,  who laid low the Hippopotamus with his rope, wounding him (sc. hr fdk.f) with the harpoon. He bringeth thee his foreleg to Busiris'.

28. The verb inty appears not infrequently at Edfu with the meaning 'repel', e.g., E. I, 570, 18; III, 136, 1; VII, 19, 11.

a) Also E. VII, 86, 13, but with Knst substituted for Khmt. For the geographical position of Knst see Junker, *op. cit.*, 78ff.



## Egypt Exploration Society

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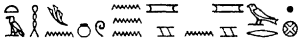
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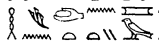
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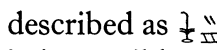
## THE NAME OF LAKE MOERIS

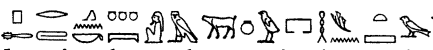
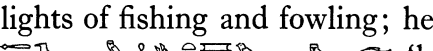

(1) by ALAN H. GARDINER; (2) by H. I. BELL

WHEN Herodotus (II, 149) referred to the sea-like expanse of water that once occupied the greater part of the Fayyūm as 'the so-called Lake of Moeris' (ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη), he might possibly have been using an expression current only among his compatriots and unknown in this form to the indigenous Egyptians. If, as the Berlin Dictionary still maintains (II, 97, 13),  *Mr-wr* (Mi-wēr), the acknowledged prototype of *Μοίρις*, were really itself the name of the lake, then the Greek who employed the term 'Lake of Moeris' must have seemed to a native as ridiculous a tautologist as the German Bürgermeister who once spoke of *Louis-Quinze der Fünfzehnte*. But it is, indeed, more than doubtful whether *Mr-wr* ever signified 'Great Lake', the meaning obviously lying at the base of that identification. The present article will give a very different account of *Mr-wr* and one which offers no obstacle to the view of ἡ *Μοίριος λίμνη* as an exact Greek rendering of  *t3 hn(t) n Mr-wr* now forthcoming as early as Ramesside times.


Brugsch, whose two papers<sup>1</sup> on the Egyptian names of Lake Moeris and various Fayyūm sites are still of value, though written nearly fifty years ago, himself knew the expression just mentioned from the late and cryptic Fayyūm papyrus published by Mariette as Pap. Boulaq No. 2.<sup>2</sup> There the writing is  *hnt nty Mr-wr*, which Brugsch translated 'Kanal des Möris-Sees'<sup>3</sup> and took to mean that branch of the Baḥr Yūsuf which turns north-westwards between the modern village of El-Lāhūn and the ruined town of Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb ('Gurob') to enter the oasis of the Fayyūm some ten kilometres farther on. Since Brugsch's time the expression *t3 hny n Mr-wr* has come to light not only in various demotic documents, references to which I owe mostly to the kindness of Gunn, but also, in the form above quoted, in the great Wilbour papyrus of the reign of Ramesses V which I am editing on behalf of the Brooklyn Museum. The *verso* of that papyrus contains a list of royal lands in the charge of various officials and priests. Foremost in the paragraph enumerating the fields under the authority of a prophet Amenemuia who was assisted by another known to have been attached to the temple of Suchus of Shedē, presumably at Crocodilopolis (Medīnet el-Fayyūm), we find mentioned 'the region of the pool (*brkt*) south of the *hōnē* of Mi-wēr' (B 21, 8). My first contention will be that *hn(t)*, in this article vocalized *hōnē* like its Coptic descendant, corresponds exactly to the Greek *λίμνη*. Now in the preceding paragraph, where a third prophet of the same deity is the responsible official, the list of lands begins with 'the region of the pool south of the *hōnē*', omitting the words 'of Mi-wēr' (B 20, 24). This reminds one of the use of *Λίμνη* or *ὁ Λιμνίτης* [*νόμος*] in the Revenue Laws of

<sup>1</sup> *ZÄS* xxx, 65 ff.; xxxi, 17 ff.<sup>2</sup> Also more completely by Lanzone, *Les Papyrus du lac Moeris*, Turin, 1896.<sup>3</sup> *ZÄS* xxx, 69.

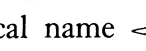
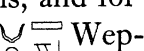
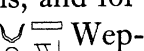
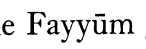
Ptolemy Philadelphus (ed. Grenfell) for what was subsequently known as the Arsinoite nome, and the abbreviation may indeed be directly derived from the earlier Egyptian use. As far back as the Twelfth Dynasty we find certain buildings topographically described as  *rsy ḥnt* 'south of (the) ḥōnē' (*P. Kahun* 18, 39), and though it is impossible to affirm with certainty that 'the ḥōnē of Mi-wēr' was here meant, it is equally impossible to deny it.<sup>1</sup> To return to the Wilbour papyrus, the *recto* contains two further examples of the word ḥōnē, both of them in indications of places where fields were measured for purposes of tax-assessment. In A 18, 20, where we read 'in the riparian land (*īdb*) south of the ḥōnē', various considerations that cannot here be set forth make it likely that the ḥōnē of Mi-wēr was meant, but in A 63, 21 another ḥōnē may be in question. There the indication is 'in the ḥōnē east of Spermeru'. Spermeru is a town of importance that has often been identified with Oxyrhynchus, but probably lay on the desert edge a good deal farther north; even so it seems practically impossible that the southernmost portion of Lake Moeris can be meant, and we do better to assume a different ḥōnē, naturally of much smaller size.

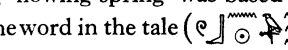
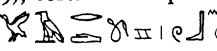
It seemed desirable to adduce this new evidence before discussing the word ḥōnē philologically. In this task we are handicapped by the fact that the references to the word as treated in the Berlin Dictionary (III, 105) have not yet been published, or at all events have not yet reached England, but most of the instances thus perforce neglected appear to be of very late date, and the investigation of them would have led us too far afield.<sup>2</sup> Early examples are not common. From the two in the Pyramid Texts (1167, 1174) all that can be learnt is that a *ḥnt* was a piece of water on which one can fare by boat. The Middle Kingdom adds to the example in the Kahun papyri quoted above another in an unpublished hymn to Suchus belonging to that extensive collection of documents known as the Ramesseum papyri. Here (ll. 73-4) it is said of Suchus:  'thou hast encompassed the Nu within the great ḥōnē', where the particular verb used and the reference to Nu, here apparently a poetic word for a considerable expanse of water, certainly favour the view that ḥōnē signifies 'lake' rather than 'canal'. Less significant is a likewise unpublished instance in a papyrus (beginning of Dyn. XIX?) formerly belonging to Golénischeff and describing the delights of fishing and fowling; here Suchus receives the epithets  'lord of the Lake-country, son of the Two Brothers, great one, overseer of the ḥōnē, rich in fishes'. In *Sallier I*, 1, 8; 2, 5  'the ḥōnē of hippopotami' the noise of which was so mendaciously declared a

<sup>1</sup> Other examples of the abbreviation are found in the above-mentioned Fayyūm papyri.

<sup>2</sup> Of particular interest is the example accorded a separate entry in *Wb.* III, 105, 7, and there explained as 'Bezeichnung der Grenzgebiete Ägyptens mit Bezug auf ihre Bewässerung'. The reference is clearly to the inscription published Chassinat, *Temple d'Edfou*, VI, 194 ff., where eight  *ḥnt* of Egypt are presented by King Ptolemy to Horus; see *ZÄS* III, 26, 64 for discussions by Brugsch and Lepsius; Sethe, who deals with the continuation *op. cit.*, LVI, 48 ff., does not touch upon this point. The eight *ḥnt* here referred to 'bring the Nile to the sea' and extend 'from the land of Libya (*Tmḥ*) in the West to the waters (*nw*) in the East' and are artificially brought into relation with the Nine Bows, which they ward off from Egypt. Lepsius's interpretation as 'Wasserdistrikte' is obviously not far wide of the mark, and I am inclined to think that the author of the passage was thinking mainly of the various lakes, including Mareotis and Menzalah, protecting Egypt on its northern frontier.


source of annoyance to the Hyksos ruler far away in the Delta, is more easily conceived of as a hippopotamus pool than as a hippopotamus canal; the whole point of the tale is to throw the blame on the Theban prince Seḫnenrē, and this could be done only if the *hōnē* were a pool definitely located at Thebes,<sup>1</sup> whereas a canal would necessarily have stretched away into the distance. The mention in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (I, 8) after *hnw* 'wave' and before š 'lake', 'pond', 'river-channel' admits of no conclusions.

The meanings given by the Berlin Dictionary are *Gewässer*, *Kanal*, the former rendering eluding criticism by its vagueness, while the latter I believe to be definitely wrong. If the rendering 'canal' has obtained wider currency than others, it is doubtless because of the geographical name  Rē-ḥōnē, known to be the origin of El-Lāhūn, the modern name of a village of which the position was described above.<sup>2</sup> The common translation 'Canal's Mouth' would in any case be somewhat inaccurate inasmuch as the Baḥr Yūsuf is a real branch of the Nile, and no artificial watercourse, and accordingly 'Channel's Mouth' might have to be substituted, if this view held good otherwise; since, however, the Greeks (e.g. Strabo, xvii, 1, 37) use for this selfsame channel a word (διῶρυξ) which definitely means a 'trench' or 'canal', it seems unnecessary to try and improve upon them. To return to the name El-Lāhūn, as some scholars have vaguely perceived,<sup>3</sup> 'Lake's Mouth' would suit hardly less well as an etymology of this, and for that meaning we have indeed a close analogon in the topographical name  Wep-she<sup>4</sup> closely associated with Rē-ḥōnē on the stela of Piankhi. The sentence in question (l. 77) reads: 'His Majesty sailed downstream to Wep-she beside Rē-ḥōnē, and found Pi-sekhemkheperre<sup>5</sup> with its walls lifted (i.e. heightened?) and its fortress closed. . . .' Wep-she, which occurs also a few times in the Wilbour papyrus, has usually been taken to mean 'Lake's Beginning', and in view of the connexions of  She with the Fayyūm generally (cf.  To-She = 'Lake Country', etc.) that interpretation seems nearly certain, though Brugsch has shown<sup>6</sup> that the word š

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the tale see my *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 85 ff., and for a translation by Gunn and myself see *JEA* v, 40 ff., where the rendering 'hippopotamus-pool' was adopted already. The following words were translated by us 'which is in the flowing spring of the City'. The rendering 'flowing spring' was based on the meaning of *wbn* in the Dakhlah stela, and it is indeed true that the spelling of the word in the tale () has the determinatives of water. But 'flowing spring' makes no sense, and I am now inclined to delete the said determinatives and to render 'in the east of the city'. The meaning 'east' for *wbn*, cf. Latin *oriens*, is recorded by the Berlin Dictionary (*Wb.* I, 294, 8, 9), certain examples being Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. 12, 30; *Anast. II*, I, 5 = IV, 6, 4, to which may be added  *p: rd wbn* 'the Eastern Tract', *P. Wilbour*, B 7, 24.





<sup>2</sup> A good collection of references for Rē-ḥōnē is given by Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 124, to which add *P. Wilbour*, A 15, 25 and an example in the above-mentioned unpublished hymn to Suchus (l. 16). In *ZÄS* LIX, 51 ff. Scharff sought to show that the original form of the name was *R-n-ḥnwy*, in which case the name El-Lāhūn would have nothing to do with the feminine *hōnē*. But only a few months afterwards Kees disposed of a substantial part of Scharff's argument (op. cit. LIX, 154 ff.), leaving *R-n-ḥnwy* completely isolated. The later spellings and the vocalization of the Coptic form leave no doubt that *hōnē* is really a component of the name, in spite of the fact that the first discoverer of the etymology, namely Brugsch, himself subsequently abandoned it, op. cit. xxx, 70.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gauthier, loc. cit., '(la porte) du canal ou du lac, comme on a traduit généralement'.  
<sup>4</sup> It will be noticed that in offering a hypothetical vocalization of this name I ignore the feminine ending *t* of the first element. The reason is given *JEA* xxvii, 44, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Further references to this foundation of Osorkon I in the shortened form  are given by Gauthier, *Ann. Serv.* xxxvii, 20, n. 3, but he has overlooked Loat, *Gurob*, pls. 18, 19.

<sup>6</sup> *ZÄS* xxx, 19.

sometimes designates a branch of the Nile, e.g. in Shi-Hōr.<sup>1</sup> Since then 'Lake's Beginning', whatever place Wep-She may actually indicate, was quite close to Rě-ḥōnē (El-Lāhūn), there is no cogent reason to prevent Rě-ḥōnē similarly meaning 'Lake's Mouth'. *She* and *ḥōnē* may be very nearly synonymous.

The commonly accepted view with regard to El-Lāhūn is no doubt responsible for the meaning 'canal' attributed to ⲩⲟⲛⲉ in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*, 690; apart from ⲗⲉⲩⲟⲛⲉ (El-Lāhūn) and another place-name ⲑⲟⲛⲉ the only example of the word there cited is in reference to a place where horses were washed. I have reserved to the last a relatively early instance of *hnt* (*ḥōnē*) which in my opinion is practically decisive for 'lake', 'basin' as against the accepted 'canal'. In the Heliopolitan section of the Harris papyrus, the list of festival offerings includes (37, a, 1)  *twf*, *hnt* *ct* 'papyrus-reeds, large basins', 6,900 in number distributed over twenty-three years. The Berlin Dictionary (III, 105, 5) has seen the necessity of here rendering *Kübel*, *Becken für Papyrus*, but without noticing that this extended or metaphorical employment implicitly excludes 'canal' as the general meaning of the word. A transferred meaning vindicates its birthright only if the object it designates shows a close resemblance to the general signification. The use of *hnt* in this passage of the Harris papyrus would be impossible if the general signification of *hnt* were 'canal', i.e. an extended watercourse the ends of which pass out of the field of vision. One may perhaps draw yet another conclusion from the passage in question, in combination with the 'hippopotamus pool' mentioned in the tale of Seknenrē<sup>c</sup>; possibly *ḥōnē* was applied only to pieces of water where papyrus grew in abundance and where there was much cover for wild animals and birds—pieces of water bordered by marsh or fen. It may be asked whether the word is not ultimately identical with  *hnwt* (*Wb.* III, 106, 18–22), a word for 'dish' or 'cup', cf. also the related masculine  *hnw*; similarly too the English 'basin'. Lastly, the sign  often used in the writing of *ḥōnē* in Graeco-Roman times certainly favours the meaning 'lake', 'pool' far better than 'canal', 'channel'. Whatever the object here held in the hollow of a hand, it is self-contained and of oval shape, and such too, roughly speaking, must have been Lake Moeris, the λίμνη to which I believe *ḥōnē* to correspond in the expression 'the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr'.

The decisive evidence that this expression refers to Lake Moeris—modern scholars have thus deformed what the ancients knew as 'the lake of Moeris'—is found, however, in the demotic papyri, in connexion with which, as already mentioned, Gunn's help has been invaluable. Spiegelberg long ago quoted *P. Strassburg* 32, edited by himself; this records the sale of a house said to be 'in the eastern quarter of the village of Suchus, the Island [of Suchus, the Lord of Pai, the] great god,<sup>2</sup> on the north shore<sup>3</sup> of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr [in the Division of Heraclides] in the nome of Arsinoe' (ll. 8–10). The restorations here, based on Σοκνοπαίου Νήσωι τῆς Ἡρακλείδου [μερίδος] of the accompanying Greek text, are confirmed by two papyri, Nos. 44, 45 in the Rylands collection, likewise

<sup>1</sup> The Biblical Shihōr, in which we have to recognize the lower reaches of the Pelusiac Nile-arm, *JEA* v, 252.

<sup>2</sup> Gunn points out that Spiegelberg wrongly omitted the words '[the] great god'.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 299, n. 6, says that the word *ct* used here is that opposed to *ym* 'sea' in Rosettana, 12 and in the corresponding text thereto translated ἡπειρος. But it is also rendered μέρος 'part', *Canopus* A 14 = B 52. My 'shore' seems roughly adequate as a rendering.

from Dimē and likewise of Roman date, see Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 168 ff., 299 ff.; unfortunately the Greek text in these deeds of sale gives no equivalent for the words 'on the north shore of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr'<sup>1</sup> common to all three. Spiegelberg pointed out in his commentary, however, that a partial equivalent occurs in a papyrus published by Wessely,<sup>2</sup> where we find τῆς κώμης [Σοκνοπαίω]υ Νήσου τῆς Ἡρακ[λείδ]ου μερίδο[ς] πρὸς Μοῖρι τῆι πρὸς Πτολεμαῖδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινοῦτου νομοῦ. Spiegelberg had rendered τῆ *ḥny* *Mi-wr* (so the demotic) as 'des Kanales des grossen Sees oder (namens) Grosser See', and this influenced Grenfell and Hunt adversely in their discussion of Ptolemais Euergetis in *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, 410–11. Rejecting Wessely's interpretation of Μοῖρι in his papyrus as meaning Lake Moeris, and putting together the various facts then known to them, they identified Ptolemais Euergetis with Ptolemais Harbour (Πτολεμαῖς Ὀρμος),<sup>3</sup> the port of the Fayyūm near El-Lāhūn, and with regard to the 'canal Moeris' remarked that 'the ancient channel, now called the Baḥr Wardān, which supplied water to Socnopaei Nesus and whose course along the edge of the desert is still traceable, started from a point in the immediate vicinity of the modern Illahūn'. Socnopaei Nesus, the modern Dimē, be it observed, is to the extreme north of the Fayyūm Oasis, beyond Birket el-Ḳurūn, the relatively small lake which is all that now remains of the ancient 'Lake of Moeris'.

The Berlin papyri 7057, 7058, 6857, also from Dimē and also edited by the indefatigable Spiegelberg, similarly mention the village called Socnopaei Nesus as lying on the northern shore of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr. These four last words occur also in papyri from other sites in the south of the Fayyūm, but there it is the southern, not the northern, shore of the *ḥōnē* that is named. Thus *P. Cairo 30612, 30617a* (ed. Spiegelberg in *CCG*), both from Tebtunis, speak of 'the village of Soknebtynis, which is in the Division of Polemon and which is on the south shore of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr'. Further, in a Ptolemaic papyrus at Lille edited by Sottas (*P. Lille 29, 2*) we read of 'the village of Suchus Pisai, in the Division of Themistes, on the south shore [of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-]wēr in the nome of Arsinoe', while another (2, *script. exter. 4*) contents itself with the words 'on the south shore', omitting 'of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr' as apparently too obvious to be mentioned; these papyri come from Medīnet Ghorān, some distance to the north-west of Tebtunis, but the village of Pisai in the first of the two has been conjectured<sup>4</sup> to be the modern Ibshwai farther north in the direction of the Birket el-Ḳurūn, though the conjecture rests on nothing better than a resemblance between the names. Lastly, *P. Loeb 64+65, 3*, in Spiegelberg's posthumous publication, mentions a village of which the name is lost, 'in the Division of Themistes, on the southern (?) shore of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr'; the editors suggest 'northern' doubtfully, but the facsimile (pl. 35) appears rather to favour 'southern' as written several times elsewhere in the same text.

If we now betake ourselves to the map of the Arsinoite nome given by Grenfell and Hunt

<sup>1</sup> The demotic writing with initial *m* confirms the reading as *Mi-wr* (from earlier *Mr-wr*) and the identification with Μοῖρις.

<sup>2</sup> *Papyrorum scripturae graecae specimina isagogica*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> I am informed by Bell that Skeat has established this as the true form of the name, whereas others had previously given it as Πτολεμαῖς Ὀρμου.

<sup>4</sup> *Tebtunis Papyri*, II, 354.

in their *Tebtunis Papyri*, II, pl. 3, the conclusion to be drawn from the above data is apparent at a glance. The data comprise references to villages in all three Divisions (μερίδες) of the nome, and those places that lie to the south of the Birket el-Ḳurūn are described (with the one highly dubious exception in the *P. Loeb*) as 'on the south shore of the ḥōnē of Mi-wēr', while the papyri from Dimē, the sole place mentioned to the north of the Birkah, always speak of the 'north shore' of the ḥōnē. It would be hardly possible to imagine clearer evidence that the ḥōnē of Mi-wēr is simply the Egyptian name of the Lake of Moeris, and the hypothesis that it signifies the Baḥr Wardān or any other canal is clearly untenable.<sup>1</sup>

The recognition that ἡ Μοίριος λίμνη is a mere translation of an earlier Egyptian topographical term leaves the problem of Μοίρις still open, and with this problem we enter upon the second half of our investigation. The writing  $\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{R}}$  Mi-wēr with the town-determinative in the Wilbour papyrus, the oldest example of 'the ḥōnē of Mi-wēr', puts out of court Herodotus's implied suggestion (II, 101) that the lake owed its name to the Pharaoh who dug it. This etymology has long been recognized as due to a confusion of Μοίρις with the prenomen of the Twelfth Dynasty king Ammenemes III, the builder of the pyramid at Hawwārah; the prenomen *N-mꜣrt-Rꜥ*, perhaps originally pronounced Nemaꜣrē, has survived in Greek under several forms,<sup>3</sup> in Manetho Λαβάρης, Λάμαρις, etc., but in the common parlance Μάρης, Μάρρης, whence this king came to be worshipped throughout the Fayyūm as Premarres 'Pharaoh Marres'. Spiegelberg,<sup>4</sup> who shared with Rubensohn and Sethe<sup>5</sup> the honour of establishing these facts, remained a partisan of the view that Μοίρις in the name of the lake, while derived from  $\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{R}}$  *Mr-wr* with the town-determinative, none the less signifies 'Great Lake'. Brugsch, however, had many years before clearly recognized that a town called Mi-wēr existed, and had even identified it as Hawwārah at the western end of the channel leading to the Fayyūm.<sup>6</sup> The first half of this contention is undoubtedly right, and the writing in the Wilbour papyrus shows that the name of the lake incorporated the name of the town in question, unless indeed, as is possible but unproven, the town-determinative in this Ramesside writing is meaningless and Mi-wēr here means the piece of water which gave its name to the town. Accordingly we have three tasks before us: (1) to prove that  $\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{R}}$  *Mr-wr* Mi-wēr is really the name of a town, (2) to identify that town, and (3) to study the etymology of its name, in case by any chance that etymology should indicate for 'the Lake (ḥōnē) of Mi-wēr' a derivation other than from the name of the town itself.

(1) That  $\overline{\text{M}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{W}} \overline{\text{R}}$  is the name of a town is beyond dispute. In the Golénischeff Onomasticon, the town-list of which, except in its mention of the three branches of the Nile near the end, deals only in towns, Mi-wēr is placed at two removes from Heracleo-

<sup>1</sup> Few, I think, will assent to Preisigke's conjecture, quoted by Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, II, p. 41, n. 2, that the supposed 'Moeris canal' designates the main network of canals of the Fayyūm, i.e. the Baḥr Yūsuf, the Baḥr Wardān, and the Baḥr Gharāk regarded as a unity. Such a conjecture could not have arisen except through the obsession that the Egyptian word ḥōnē signifies 'canal'.

<sup>2</sup> The  $\overline{\text{M}}$  above  $\overline{\text{I}}$  is, of course, completely without significance.

<sup>3</sup> A complete enumeration will be found in Waddell, *Manetho* (Loeb edition), p. 224, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *ZÄS* XLIII, 84 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* XLII, 111 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* xxx, 68 ff.

polis, i.e. to the north of this latter (5, 7). It occurs also in a late religious text published by Brugsch (*Dict. géogr.*, 1063) into which is woven a list of towns in geographical order. So, too, in an enumeration of gods with the nome-capitals in which they were worshipped, likewise of late date (op. cit., 1069). Many mayors of Mi-wēr are recorded, and in Rameside times mayors (𓆎𓆏 *hsty-r*) are regularly associated with particular towns. Mi-wēr also possessed a Harem of Pharaoh, like the town of Memphis. Chapter and verse for these facts will be given in my commentary on the Wilbour papyrus, where the town is often mentioned. Most important of all, we there read (A § 37, heading) of 'the Landing-place of Pharaoh which is (in) Mi-wēr'. Not only are the two other landing-places in the same papyrus associated with names of towns (Ḥardai, Keep of 'Onayna), but it is clear that this name corresponds very closely to the above-mentioned Πτολεμαῖς Ὀρμος, Ptolemais Harbour, which may indeed be a deliberate translation of it.

(2) As regards the location of Mi-wēr, it would be very strange were it not situated at or near Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, better known to Egyptologists as Gurob. This much excavated town lies immediately to the south-west of the place where the Baḥr Yūsuf turns north-westwards in the direction of the Fayyūm, just opposite the village of El-Lāhūn on the other bank. Gurob has yielded numerous inscriptions and papyri naming 𓆎𓆏, so many in fact that it would seem paradoxical to suggest any other site.<sup>1</sup> Many of these records have come to light since Brugsch's day, and the full weight of evidence was therefore unknown to him. It is true that Mi-wēr is mentioned among the titles of some persons of whom monuments have been found at Hawwārah,<sup>2</sup> but they appear to be very few, and such mention is not surprising in view of the proximity of Hawwārah to Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb—the distance is little more than 9 km. Moreover, Hawwārah possessed, at all events as early as Graeco-Roman times, the same name *Ḥwt-wryt* 'Great Mansion' that has survived down to the present day.<sup>3</sup> Brugsch attempts to draw topographical conclusions from the mysterious late Fayyūm papyrus published by Mariette, Pleyte, and Lanzzone, but to my mind they are far too obscure to render any service.

(3) While Spiegelberg, in harmony with the view of the Berlin Dictionary, renders 𓆎𓆏 as 'Grosser See', Griffith, though not venturing to identify the entity so called with Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, clearly recognizes it as the name of a town or district, and says that the name was 'due to the canal upon which the town or district lay, either the main canal leading from the Nile valley to Lake Moeris or a branch of it'.<sup>4</sup> In other words, he takes the name of the town to mean etymologically 'Great Channel' or 'Great

<sup>1</sup> I do not attempt an enumeration here, but will mention only the further documents concerned with the Harem of Mi-wēr found at Gurob and published in my *Rameside Administrative Documents*. Those who wish to verify my assertion can consult Porter and Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.* IV, 112-15. Most of the references given by the Berlin Dictionary for Mi-wēr as 'Grosser See' refer to the town.

<sup>2</sup> See Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, pls. 3, 4; Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes (CCG)*, p. 157, No. 23235.

<sup>3</sup> See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 59; Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 220, n. 14; Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, pl. 24, with p. 22, inscriptions in demotic on mummy bandages; Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler (CCG)*, III, 82 ff., a long series of papyri from Hawwārah. The last-named papyri often name *Nblw* together with *Ḥwt-wryt* and seem to desiderate a revision of Grenfell and Hunt's views in connexion with *Αὐῆρις* and *Νάβλα*, see *Tebtunis Papyri*, II, 371, 390.

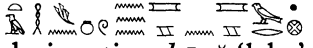
<sup>4</sup> Griffith, op. cit. III, 299, n. 7.

Canal', not 'Great Lake'. For the correctness of Griffith's contention no better witness could have been found than the Berlin Dictionary itself (II, 97, 3-8), which for  $\overline{\text{mr}}$ , varr.  $\overline{\text{m}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{m}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{m}}$ , quotes numerous examples with the meaning 'channel', 'canal', many too with the meaning 'garden pool' or 'pond', but none suggesting a large expanse of water such as could be described as a 'lake' or even as a 'sea', cf. the later designation of the Fayyūm as  $\overline{\text{pr}}\overline{\text{w}}$ , incorporating the Hebrew word  $\overline{\text{pr}}$  'sea'. Egyptologists will remember the five  $\overline{\text{m}}$  'canals' or 'channels' which Weni was sent to dig in Upper Egypt, and the 'channels' ( $\overline{\text{m}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{m}}$ ) at the first Cataract which were reopened by Tuthmosis I and III after they had become blocked with stones. It is true that the meaning 'garden pool' does not square very well with that of 'channel' or 'canal', but for the former sense the narrowness of pools in gardens may have been responsible. From this second sense is obviously derived the meaning 'basin' or 'table of offerings in the form of a basin' (II, 97, 9) found in a few places, so that no objection can be raised on this score to my argument concerning  $\overline{\text{hōnē}}$  as a basin for papyrus. In an Old Kingdom decree (Urk. I, 212, 5)  $\overline{\text{mrw}}$  and  $\overline{\text{šw}}$  are placed side by side in evident contrast to one another, and in this connexion we recall the already mentioned fact that the Fayyūm was often called  $\overline{\text{tš}}$  'Lake Country'.

Thus a survey of the available material makes it highly probable, to say the least, that the name of the town of  $\overline{\text{Mr-wr}}$ , Mi-wēr, was derived from the neighbouring stretch of the Baḥr Yūsuf leading into the Fayyūm, just as the Yorkshire town of Kingston-upon-Hull owes its better-known name to the stream at whose mouth it lies. Rio Grande provides a further parallel. Now as we have seen, the Wilbour papyrus writes the expression 'the  $\overline{\text{hōnē}}$  of Mi-wēr' as though Mi-wēr were the name of the town so called, but such was the fecklessness of Late Egyptian scribes that the town-determinative might well have been retained even if that expression referred, not to the town, but to the channel after which the town was called. We have to ask, therefore, what grounds there are for thinking that the channel at the eastern end of which stood Mi-wēr (Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb) was itself called Mi-wēr 'Great Canal'—for 'canal' rather than the strictly more accurate 'channel' see above p. 39. No conclusion can be drawn from *Anast. IV*, 15, 7, which mentions  $\overline{\text{šn}}$ -fish of Mi-wēr', since Mi-wēr here can just as well be the town where this kind of fish was marketed as the river-arm out of which it was fished. The only really convincing testimony that I have encountered for Mi-wēr as the name of the few miles of water leading into the Fayyūm is an inscription on the walls of the temple of Edfu where the areas of the fields and waters of Egypt are given (Chassinat, *Edfou*, VI, 200). Here we read  $\overline{\text{Mr-wr pw hn hn(t)·f}}$ , which we shall now render, not with Brugsch (*ZAS* xxx, 72) 'That is the Lake Moiris, together with its canal' ( $\overline{\text{hōnē}}$ ), but in the light of the foregoing investigation 'That is (the canal) Moiris, together with its lake'.

To sum up. It is quite certain that  $\overline{\text{Mr-wr}}$  is not, as the Berlin Dictionary would have it, the name of the Lake of Moeris in the Fayyūm. In most of its occurrences it is the name of a town, in all probability Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb ('Gurob') within the bend where the Baḥr Yūsuf turns north-westward to enter the Fayyūm. Sometimes also, and most probably if the town-determinative is absent, it may be the



stretch of water thence onward, i.e. the channel which gave its name 'Great Canal' (Rio Grande) to the town. The Egyptian name of the Lake of Moeris (ἡ Μοίριος λίμνη) was  t: ḥnw n Mr-wr 'the Lake (ḥōnē) of Mi-wēr', in which designation ḥōnē 'lake' corresponds to λίμνη and Mi-wēr may be either the aforesaid town or else the channel or canal at the mouth of which the town lay.

With these conclusions I should perhaps have done wisely to terminate my article, leaving it to the papyrologists to unravel for themselves the knotty problems concerning *Μοίρις* as a topographical name. It seems more courageous, however, to make some reference to those difficulties as I see them, and I take this course the less reluctantly, since my friend H. I. Bell has kindly consented to look through these pages, and has added to them some pages of comments which accept the general trend of my argument. In the words *πρὸς Μοῖρι τῆι πρὸς Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινοῖτου νομοῦ* (above, p. 41) with which Wessely's papyrus provided some sort of equivalent for 'the ḥōnē of Mi-wēr' in the parallel demotic papyri, *Μοῖρι* must undoubtedly stand for τῆι Μοίριος λιμνῆ, and what follows, though apparently superfluous, must refer to the metropolis of the Fayyūm or Arsinoite nome and so define the nature of the *Μοῖρις* here meant. That Ptolemais Euergetis was in fact the metropolis is definitely stated in *P. Tebtunis* I, 92, late second century B.C., where this city is again mentioned in association with *Μοῖρις*. The passage deals with the procedure to be adopted in transporting corn from the village of Kerkeosiris at some distance to the west of Tebtunis, and explains that donkeys have to be used for the first part of the journey, since the nearest port is far away. This last fact is elaborated in the words *Κερκεοσίρεως . . . . . ἀπεχ[ούσης δ' εἰς] Πτολεμαίδα Εὐεργέτου τὴν μητρόπολιν τοῦ νομοῦ στάδια ρξ εἰς δὲ Μοῖρ[ι]ν [τῆν] σύνεγγυς φρουρουμένην στ[άδ]ι[α] ρνθ* 'Kerkeosiris which is . . . distant 160 stades from Ptolemais of Euergetes the metropolis of the nome and 159 stades from Moeris, where there is a guarded place close by'. So Grenfell and Hunt translated the passage,<sup>1</sup> explaining its topography in the manner already set forth (p. 41). Later, however, they produced very serious reasons for rejecting their previous identification of Ptolemais Euergetis with Ptolemais Harbour, which they continued to place near El-Lāhūn, while regarding Ptolemais Euergetis as another name for *Κροκοδείλων πόλις*, later called Ἀρσινοῖτων πόλις, i.e. Medīnet el-Fayyūm. They now wrote (*Tebtunis Papyri*, II, 399): 'Nor does the evidence regarding the relation of Ptolemais Euergetis and the canal of Moeris present any serious difficulty to the new theory. Kerkeosiris (which was in the neighbourhood of Gharaq; cf. map) was, according to 92, 4-7, 160 stades (about eighteen miles) from *Πτολ. Εὐεργ.* and 159 stades from *Μοῖρις ἢ σύνεγγυς φρουρουμένης*; and the first part of this description would suit Crocodilopolis, if identical with *Πτολ. Εὐεργ.*, as well as Illahūn or Hawāra, all three places being about the same distance from Gharaq. If *Μοῖρις* there means the suburb of the metropolis (cf. p. 389, *s.v.* *Μεῦρις*), the circumstance that it was 1 stade nearer than *Πτολ. Εὐεργ.* to Kerkeosiris is easily intelligible. . . . ' I halt my quotation there, since the view of *Μοῖρις* suggested by the continuation re-

<sup>1</sup> The rendering 'where there is a guarded place close by' is not clear. If (see below) *σύνεγγυς* means 'near Ptolemais', perhaps 'the guarded place which is close by' would be a better paraphrase. But there is one serious reason, as we shall see, for not taking *σύνεγγυς* to mean near Ptolemais.

poses upon the faulty view of 'the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr' for which the Egyptologists had been responsible. In the light of the conclusions reached above, it would be a most astonishing coincidence if there existed, not only a town Mi-wēr (= *Μοῖρις*) quite close to Ptolemais Harbour (= El-Lāhūn), but also a suburb *Μοῖρις* quite close to Ptolemais Euergetis (= Medīnet el-Fayyūm).<sup>1</sup> In *P. Tebt.* I, 92 *Μοῖρις* can clearly not mean the Lake of Moeris, since that would hardly have presented a suitable place of embarkation for corn to be transported from Kerkeosiris to Alexandria. Nor is it likely that it means the channel from El-Lāhūn to Hawwārah, since both the exact distance mentioned and the mention of the guarded place make it probable that a definite locality, not a stretch of water, was intended. Can then *Μοῖρις* here mean Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, which has been seen to be the probable site of Mi-wēr? That view would practically exclude the possibility that *σύνεγγυς* signifies 'near to Ptolemais Euergetis', if this is equated with Medīnet el-Fayyūm, since Medīnet el-Fayyūm is full 17 km. away from Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb. There is one consideration which seems to favour the identification of *Μοῖρις* in *P. Tebt.* I, 92 with Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb. Would the writer have given the distances to two places unless they had been alternative places of embarkation? A suburb would hardly have been an alternative to the metropolis itself, whereas Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb was near the natural exit from the Fayyūm, as Grenfell and Hunt made clear in their discussion of *Πτολεμαῖς Ὀρμος, Fayūm Towns*, pp. 12 ff.

## COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING

By H. I. BELL

Dr. Gardiner has kindly shown me the foregoing article and invited my opinion on the views expressed in it. I have read his discussion with great interest and submitted it also to my colleague, Mr. T. C. Skeat, unfortunately without advancing the solution of the problem. We both feel, indeed, that the evidence in Greek papyri, so far as it is known to us, is too ambiguous to be of much relevance. It may, however, be of some service to record my own impression of Dr. Gardiner's arguments and to set down the evidence which, in the course of my study, I have collected.

Not being an Egyptologist, I am quite unqualified to judge the question as to the meaning of *ḥōnē*. I can only say that to me, as an outsider, Gardiner's argument seems almost, if not quite, conclusive. It may be worth while to remark in this connexion that, as Skeat has pointed out to me, the use of *ḥōnē* is in some respects curiously parallel to that of the Greek *δρυμός*, for which see Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 64; Calderini, *Aegyptus*, I, 56 ff.; J. Schérier in *P. Fouad I*, pp. 32-3; and particularly N. Lewis, *L'Industrie du papyrus* (refs. in French index *s.v.* 'marais', Greek index *s.v.* *δρυμός*). The word *δρυμός* was applied to a marshy tract, which often contained papyrus plants, in which fishing and hunting were carried on, and which might also be reclaimed and used

<sup>1</sup> I leave this sentence as I originally wrote it, though it will be found effectively countered by Bell's comments below.

for agriculture. It is a noteworthy coincidence, but probably nothing more, that it is found only in the Fayyūm (Calderini, *Aegyptus*, I, 56), where the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr was situated.

The only evidence for the absolute use of *Μοίρις* as the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr is in the Wessely papyrus cited above by Gardiner, which is now more conveniently referred to as SB. 5247. It is significant that this, like the one to be mentioned directly, is a translation from the demotic; and it must be said at once that the method of stating the position of Socnopaei Nesus is without parallel in any Greek text. It is in fact so curious as to excite a suspicion that the translator has muddled his job. If *Μοίρις* means, as it surely must mean (there can hardly be a question of any canal *πρός* which the village stood) the lake, then *πρός Μοίρι* in the sense of 'close to Moiris' is an appropriate description of Socnopaei Nesus, but it seems extraordinary to give a further identification of the lake and especially to describe it as *τῆ πρὸς Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου νομοῦ*, which, if we identify it with Medīnet el-Fayyūm, is some fourteen miles away from the present south shore of the Birket el-Ḳurūn. It may be that this strange addition was due to a desire to distinguish the lake from the town: *Μοίρι* being used absolutely of the *λίμνη*, the scribe felt that confusion might be caused.

I have said that *Μοίρι* here can hardly be anything but the lake; but there is another papyrus, also published by Wessely in his *Specimina* but now most conveniently referred to as SB. 5246, which does seem to mention a canal. The relevant passage was thus given by Wilcken (*Arch.* II, 146 f.), whose reading was taken over by Preisigke: *κώμης Σούχου Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου θεοῦ μεγάλου, ἣ ἐστίν [ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρους τῆς Μοίριος διώ]ρυγος τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου νομοῦ*. Though there is here no mention of Ptolemais Euergetis, the analogy to SB. 5247 is obvious. Wilcken's supplement is of course due to the idea, derived from the Egyptologists but now seen to be erroneous, that *ḥōnē* meant a canal, and *Μοίριος* must be regarded with great suspicion, but the word [διώ]ρυγος is very intractable. [It is true that the letters *διω* are now lost and that the *ρ* and still more the *ο*, to judge from Wessely's hand-copy (never so satisfactory as a good photograph), are not beyond doubt, but I am quite unable to suggest any alternative reading which is at all plausible.] It does look therefore as if the position of Socnopaei Nesus were here indicated with reference to some canal, which is certainly strange and must be counted as a slight offset to the arguments for taking *Μοίρι* in SB. 5247 as the lake. On the other hand, if *Μοίρι* is there a canal the addition *τῆ πρὸς Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι* becomes even less comprehensible than before.

I come now to the instances in Greek papyri of *Μοίρις* and cognate forms as a town or village. That there was a suburb of Arsinoe so called is undoubted, and editors have shown a tendency to take all instances of the name as applying to this suburb. First, however, it may be well to justify the identification of Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis with Ptolemais Euergetis. As is well known, Grenfell and Hunt at first proposed to identify the latter with *Πτολεμαῖς Ὀρμος*, but in *P. Tebt.* II, pp. 398-400, put forward the view that it was another name for Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis. Their arguments were generally taken as conclusive, and not only has no evidence come to light which invalidates their conclusion, but a papyrus published long after *P. Tebt.* II seems to

offer conclusive proof of its correctness. This is *BGU* VII, 1588 (A.D. 222), a tax-receipt issued by *Πτολεμαίων Ἀρσινοειτῶν* [πόλεως] ἄρχοντ[ες] βουλή.

I. It is unnecessary to establish the fact that there was a suburb of Arsinoe called (in the usual spelling) *Μοῆρις*. It is sufficient, *exempli gratia*, to quote *BGU* II 15, ii, 5 f. [ἐπ' ἀμφό]δου *Μοῆρεως* (A.D. 189), and 57, 3 f. ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) [*Μο*]ῆρεως (A.D. 160–1), both of them documents from Arsinoe.

II. Among the occurrences of this or similar names the following may probably be taken as the suburb: (1) *P. Petrie*, III, 124 (a), i, 3 f. ζυτηρᾶς *Κροκοδιλῶν πό(λεως)* [κ]αὶ *Μεῦρεως* (20th year of Ptolemy III Euergetes). Since the tax-return lumps together Crocodilopolis and Meuris the latter seems likely to be the suburb. (2) *Ibid.* (b), ii, 1 *Μεῦρεως*. Crocodilopolis is not mentioned here, but this is a part of the previous roll. (3) *BGU* II, 572, 16 ἐν *Μοῆρει ἀμπ(ελώνων)* (early 3rd century A.D.). This is a register of landed property belonging to municipal officials, who, as the papyrus comes from the Fayyūm, must be residents of Arsinoe. Hence *Μοῆρις* here seems likely to be the suburb, but see under (11) below.

III. The following are more doubtful: (4) *P. Tebt.* I, 92, 4–7, referred to by Gardiner above, p. 45 f.: ἀπεχ[ούσης δ' εἰς] *Πτολεμαῖδα Ἐνεργέτου τὴν μητρόπολιν τοῦ νομοῦ στάδια ρξ εἰς δὲ Μοῖρ[ι]ν [τὴν] σύνεγυς φρουρουμένην στ[άδ]ι[α] ρηθ*. I agree with Gardiner in thinking (a) that *σύνεγυς* has reference, as Grenfell and Hunt assumed, to Moiris, not to Ptolemais Euergetis, i.e. that the words mean, not 'Moiris near by, which is guarded', but 'Moiris which has a guard-post near by', and (b) that there is no strong reason for supposing it to be the suburb and a better case for the supposition that it is at some distance from Ptolemais Euergetis but almost equidistant with it from Kerkeosiris. As he says, it is not very probable that alternative points of embarkation only a stade distant from one another would be indicated and the distances in each case noted; it is far more likely that if a choice was given there would be some distance between the places. This gives an added point to the statement of the distances from Kerkeosiris: these being practically the same, the choice of embarkation point could be left to the convenience of the local authorities. The word *φρουρουμένην* is perhaps significant. Ptolemais was the capital of the nome: hence, we may infer, there was a sufficient military force there to safeguard the corn; but it was unnecessary to send it there if Moiris was more convenient, *for that also had a military post close by*. Were Moiris the suburb, this information would hardly be needed. (5) *P. Tebt.* III, i, 781, 2 f. τοῦ πρόσταντος τοῦ ἐμ *Μοῆρει* [Ἀμμωνιείου τ]ῶν (τεσσαρακονταπενταρούρων) (c. 164 B.C.). Hunt remarks that 'the probable identity of the Ptolemaic villages *Μνήρις* and *Μεῦρις* and what in the Roman Period was the ἀμφοδον *Μοῆρεως* of the metropolis . . . may be regarded as confirmed by the occurrence of the later spelling in the present passage. . . .' That the names are to be regarded as identical seems likely, but I see no reason to identify the places unless we have reason to believe that the name occurred only once in the nome, and as we shall see, this assumption is hazardous. (6) *P. Petrie*, III, 84, [δός] εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Σούχ[ου] ιη, εἰς τὸ ἐν *Μνήρει* Ἀμμωνιέον σησ(αμίνου) ς (3rd cent. B.C.). The same as (5). There is nothing here to indicate locality. (7) *P. Tebt.* III, i, 701, 13–15, [σύν]ταξον μετρησαι *Παούμι Στοτορήτ[ος]* [εἰς τὴν πε]ρὶ *Μνήριν* ὀλ(ύρας) ι, ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι [ἐγ νέων] ἡμίολιον ἀκίνδυνον

(235 B.C.). This is a register of official letters. There is nothing to indicate locality, but 'the known villages mentioned . . . belonged to the Division of Heracleides, except *Τέπτυς*, which seems . . . to have been in Polemon, even if it was not the same as Tebtunis; a district in proximity to the lake suits the frequent references to the fishing industry'. (8) *BGU* VI, 1303, 8-10 γίνωσκε ὅτι δεξι σε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ κορκοδιλοτάφω (sic) τὸ ἐν Μοίρει καὶ ὀμόσαι κτλ. (end of Ptolemaic period). There is nothing to indicate locality except that the papyrus is from the Fayyūm. The Moiris in question may well be the suburb, but may equally well be some other place. The mention of a cemetery of crocodiles may connect it with (5) and (6), where there was an Ἀμμωνιεῖον, apparently near to a ἱερὸν τοῦ Σούχου. (9) *P. Petrie*, II, 28, vii, 18, Μνήρεως Ο . . σως Πάιτος (3rd cent. B.C.). This is a taxing list, in which it is impossible to discover any scheme of arrangement, persons from villages in all three Divisions and from the metropolis (πόλις) being jumbled together in the most higgledy-piggledy fashion. Hence no help is given as to the situation of Μνήρις.

IV. The following point to a place different from the suburb: (10) *P. Flor.* III, 322, 44-5, ἐποικιῶται λβ διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Μύρεως; 157, ἐποικιῶται Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Μυρῶ (A.D. 258?). This is a farm account presented to Aur. Apianus by the manager of his estates at Euhemeria in the western part of the Division of Themistes. A hamlet (ἐποίκιον) near Euhemeria is obviously indicated. Unfortunately the uncertainty of reading and the difference of form (*Μύρις* as against *Μοίρις*, *Μνήρις*, *Μοήρις*, *Μεῦρις*) make it doubtful whether the same name is in question. (11) *BGU* IX, 1898 (A.D. 172). This is a tax account from Theadelphia (Themistes), with many additions and marginal notes, often very difficult to interpret, as such brief memoranda are apt to be. The following references to *Μοήρις* occur: l. 289 (interlinear addition) διὰ Ἀπίωνος υἱοῦ ἐν Μοήρει (i.e. a payment through the taxpayer's son); l. 311 (marginal note), πρὸ(ς) Ἀκουσαν εἰς Πυρρείαν (a village in Themistes, probably near the boundary with Polemon; see *P. Tebt.* III, i, 716, 4 n.) ἐν Μοήρει γείτον(ος?) τοῦ ἀμφοδάρχου κώ(μης) Μακεδόνων; l. 358 (marginal note), ουσ: τούτου καμηλι: ἐν Μοήρει Ἄρσ . . . . . (καμηλι: is probably the (οὐσία) Καμηλιανή). Kortenbeutel comments on l. 289, on *Μοήρις*, 'Der Ort wird nur noch in *BGU* 572, 16 (202-12) genannt [see (3) above]. Er scheint nahe bei Theadelphia zu liegen. Vielleicht ist auch das ἀμφοδον Μοήρεως in Arsinoe gemeint'; on l. 311, 'Eine κώμη Μακεδόνων war bisher nicht bekannt. . . Die Erwähnung des ἀμφοδάρχης scheint auf den ἀμφοδον Μακεδόνων in Arsinoe zu führen.' It is thus not quite clear whether *Μοήρις* here is the suburb or a place near Theadelphia. A taxpayer in the latter *might* pay through a son living at the suburb. On the other hand residents of Arsinoe often had estates in even remote villages of the nome, and κώμη Μακεδόνων is a curious way of describing the suburb (in any case an amphodarch of the suburb might have lands near Theadelphia). The mention of *Πυρρεία* in l. 311 apparently in close connexion with *Μοήρις* (or have we here two separate notes in the same hand?) makes against the neighbourhood of Arsinoe.

It will be seen that the only place bearing the name under consideration, in any of its forms, which can be definitely located from Greek papyri is the ἀμφοδον Μοήρεως at Arsinoe. My own conclusions from all this evidence are:

(1) There was a *Μοήρις*, no doubt the same name as *Μοίρις*, *Μεῦρις*, *Μνήρις*, which

in the Roman period, but not earlier, occurs as an *ἄμφοδον*, quarter or suburb, of Arsinoe.

- (2) This was probably not the only place of the name in the Arsinoite nome, though no other can be quite definitely located.
- (3) Another *Μοῆρις* may very likely have occurred in the Division of Themistes, not far from Theadelphia, but cannot be regarded as certainly attested.
- (4) The *Μοῖρις* of *P. Tebt.* I, 92 is probably best distinguished from the *Μοῆρις* near Arsinoe. It was almost the same distance from Kerkeosiris, on a navigable river or canal, and had a guard-post near it, facts which suit a position on the Baḥr Yūsuf in the neighbourhood of Ghurāb.

That there was more than one place of the name is rendered, if not certain, at least practically so, by *P. Tebt.* III, 781 (5), *if*, with Hunt, we take τῶν (*τεσσαρακονταπενταρούρων*) with *Μοῆρει*, not with *Ἀμμωνιείου*; for an epithet is not as a rule attached to a place-name except to prevent confusion with the same name applied to another place. I am not sure, however, that the words should not be connected with *Ἀμμωνιείου*, this being in that case a shrine built or frequented by the 45-aroura-holders of Moeris. Here, too, then we find ambiguity.

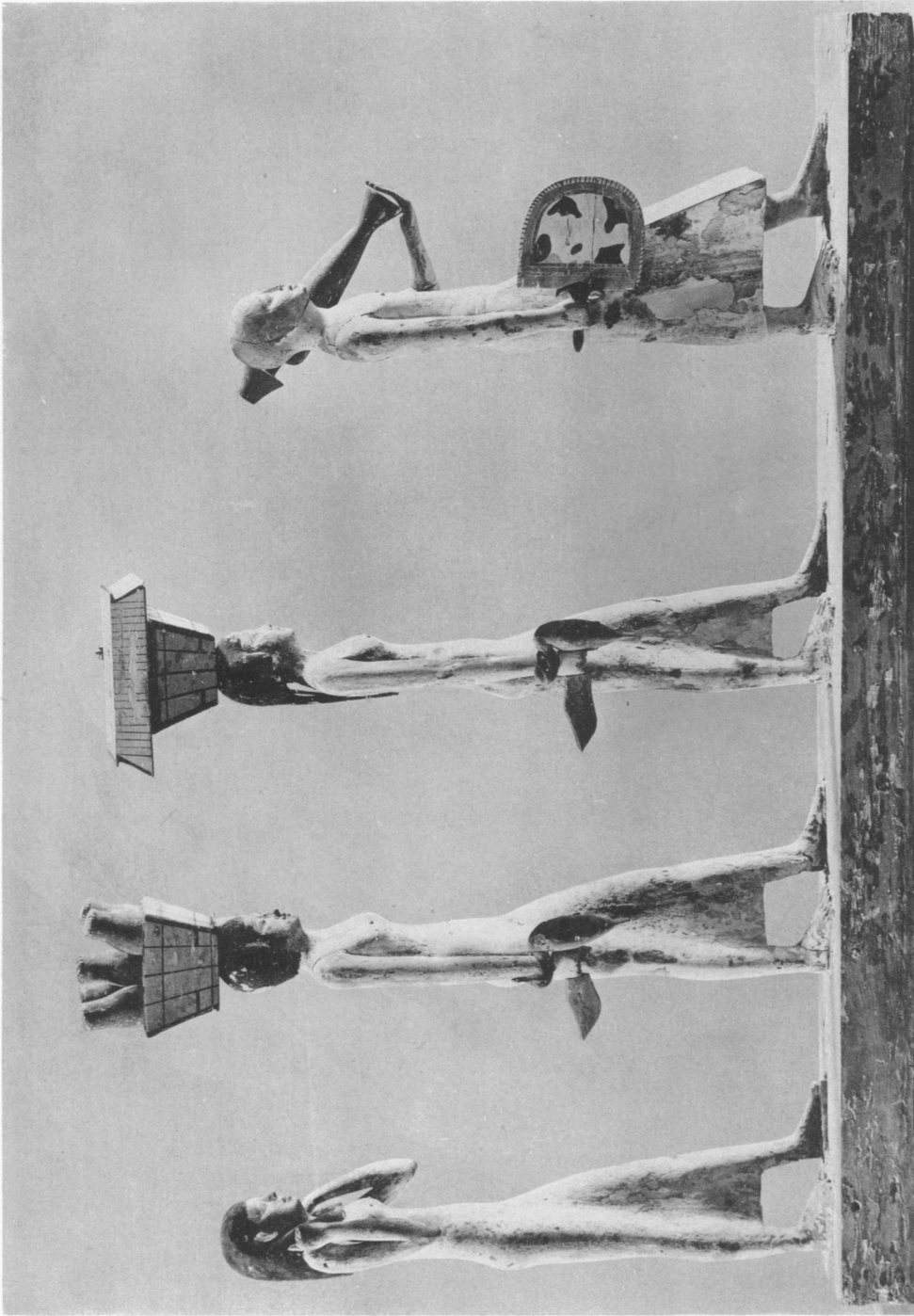
No difficulty need be felt in supposing a duplication of names, for such duplication was common enough; e.g. in the Arsinoite nome there were at least two villages (besides the metropolis) called *Ἀρσινόη*; two called *Ἀφροδίτης πόλις*; two called *Βερενικίς*; two, if not three, called *Ἰβίων* (one bears the distinguishing epithet *Ἐικοσιπενταρούρων*; cf. (5) above); two called *Ἰερὰ Νῆσος*. Since *Mi-wēr* was the name of the *ḥōnē*, *Μοῖρις* was a name very likely to be duplicated.

I fear that the help of Greek papyrology towards the settlement of the problem is but feeble; but the present discussion and collection of evidence may at least have some value as bringing together all that Greek papyri have to contribute.

#### CORRIGENDUM TO *JEA* XXVIII

By an aberration for which it is easier to apologize than to account, in a foot-note (1) on p. 44 of *JEA* XXVIII, I stated the rates of poll-tax in the Arsinoite nome as 48 and 24 dr. respectively. They should of course have been given as 40 and 20; 48 occurs as a high rate of *συντάξιμον*, i.e. probably poll-tax *plus* certain minor capitation taxes. The true figures are so well known that I hope my absurd slip has not misled anybody.

H. I. BELL.



**PAINTED WOODEN MODEL OF OFFERING-BEARERS**  
Middle Kingdom, from El-Bersheh, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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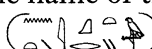
H. I. BELL.



## QUEEN NITOCRIS OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY

By PERCY E. NEWBERRY

NITOCRIS, the famous queen of Egypt, is mentioned by Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes,<sup>2</sup> and Manetho;<sup>3</sup> at the time of the Roman Emperors she appears as one of the old heroines of the country.<sup>4</sup> Placed by Manetho at the end of his Sixth Dynasty, she is described by him as of fair complexion and the bravest and most beautiful woman of her time. He adds that she was said to have built the Third Pyramid and reigned twelve years. Eratosthenes gives the length of her reign as six years and remarks that her name means Ἀθηνᾶ νικηφόρος, 'Athena the victorious'. Herodotus records that 'after Menes came 330 kings whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these generations were eighteen Ethiopian kings and one queen, a native of the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess Nitocris.'<sup>5</sup> The Greek historian continues: 'To avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) she put many Egyptians to death by guile. She built a spacious underground chamber; then, with the pretence of handselling it, but with far other intent in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting those Egyptians whom she knew to have been most concerned in her brother's murder; and, while they feasted, she let the river in upon them by a great secret channel. This was all that the priests told of her, save that when she had done this, she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes, thereby to escape vengeance.' In the light of our present knowledge it is not possible to say whether there is any truth in these details of the queen's life, but it is remarkable that some modern historians have declared Nitocris to be a king<sup>6</sup> and that others have regarded her as an entirely mythical personage.<sup>7</sup>

The earliest authority for the name of this Sixth Dynasty queen is the Royal Papyrus of Turin, where it is written  Nitkri.<sup>8</sup> Hincks,<sup>9</sup> in 1846, had suspected

<sup>1</sup> II, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Waddell, *Manetho* (Loeb Classical Series), London, 1940, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 54-7.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Cassius, LXII, 6: Julian, *Orat.*, pp. 126-7.

<sup>5</sup> The Babylonian princess was Nitocris (Hdt., I, 185-8), probably a daughter of a Saite king. Hdt., III, 1 also mentions a daughter of Apries named Nitetis ('Neith is come'), 'a very tall and fair damsel', sent by Amasis to Cambyses.

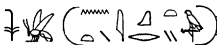


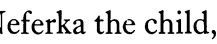

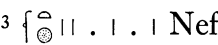


<sup>6</sup> Stern, *ZÄS*, XXIII, 92.

<sup>7</sup> H. R. Hall (*JHS* xxiv [1904], 213) wrote: 'it seems to me that we must abolish the Nitocris of the VIth Dynasty, who is a mere theory of Manetho's'. Cf. the same writer in *CAH* I (1925), 296, where he says 'the successors of Pepi II were entirely ephemeral and are only interesting because one of them, Neterkere, appears, though a man, to be the original of the Nitocris of Herodotus: Manetho accepts the identification and speaks of a queen in this place. Neterkere was followed by Menkere and the similarity of his name to that of Menkaure led to the association of Neterkere (confused with the Saite queen's name Neitakrit, i.e. "Nitocris") with the Third Pyramid of Gizeh.'

<sup>8</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 1935, p. 181, gives no example of the name of earlier date than Dyn. XXVI, but Petrie found a statuette of a Queen Nitocris dated to the reign of Ammenemes III (Gardiner-Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 29, No. 98). The name suggests a Saite origin. It was a princess Nitocris who, as daughter of Psammetichus I, was sent from the palace at Sais to Thebes, where she was installed as High Priestess and wife of the god Amūn. In earlier times the queens of Menes and Djēt (both of Dyn. I) bore names compounded with Neith: Nithetp and Mertneith respectively; these queens were certainly princesses of the north-western Delta.

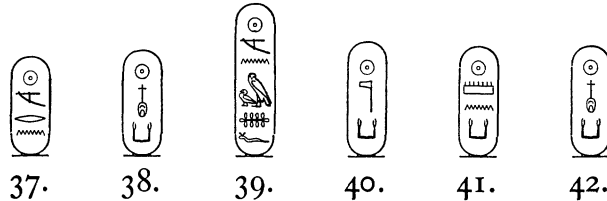
<sup>9</sup> *Trans. Royal Soc. of Literature*, Second Series, III (1850), 129 ff. Hincks's paper was read 12 March 1846.


that Fragment 43 of the papyrus on which the name appears should be attached to Frag. 59, and placed nearly where Frag. 53 stands in Wilkinson's facsimile of the papyrus,<sup>1</sup> for he had recognized that although the names of the kings are destroyed in the uppermost part of Col. V, the lengths of their reigns are preserved, and that as the last two numbers read 'ninety years' and 'one year', they must apply to those of King Phiops and Menthesuphis, which, in the lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes, have that marked difference of duration. In the recent reconstruction of the papyrus made by Dr. Ibscher,<sup>2</sup> Frag. 43 is placed two lines lower down in Col. V than in Wilkinson's facsimile, and gives room for three names, now destroyed, between Menthesuphis and Nitocris. Adding the years on Frag. 61, the entries on Frag. 43 now read:

- (1)  { ̄ | | . | . | Nitocris, 2 years, 1 month, 1 day.
- (2)    *sic* | Neferka the child, 4 years, 2 months, 1 day.
- (3)   | Nefer, 2 years, 1 month, 1 day.
- (4)   | 'Ib, 1 year, 8 days.

This list was followed by a summary of the number of kings comprising Manetho's Sixth Dynasty and the sum total of years (181) of the Dynasty. If Ibscher's reconstruction is correct, the number of kings will have been thirteen.



The Abydos List of Kings gives as the immediate successors of Pepy I the following:



The Şakḫārah List records only four names of Sixth Dynasty kings, Teti, Pepy I, Merenrē, and Neferkarē (Pepy II). Of the three royal names after Nitocris in the Turin List, the first, Neferka 'the child', perhaps corresponds to the Neferkarē of the Abydos List placed after Menkarē near the last of the names included in the Sixth Dynasty. The second, Nefer, may be a scribal error for  Nefersaḥor, who is known from an inscription at Hetnub<sup>4</sup> and from graffiti at Tomas<sup>5</sup> in Nubia. The last name is 'Ib whose pyramid has been discovered by the Swiss Egyptologist Jéquier<sup>6</sup> among the Pepy II group at Şakḫārah. 'Ib's pyramid is situated near that of Neith,<sup>7</sup> a queen of Pepy II, and although she bears only the simple name of the Saite goddess in

<sup>1</sup> Sir Gardner Wilkinson, *The Fragments of the Hieratic Papyrus at Turin containing the names of Egyptian Kings*, London, 1851, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> G. Farina, *Il Papiro dei Re*, Rome, 1938, pl. 4, with p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Gardiner has kindly told me that in his transcription made many years ago the supposed | in Wilkinson's facsimile is really  and so is either | or .

<sup>4</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, 1828, pl. 4, with p. 13. Nearby in the quarry are graffiti of Pepy I, Merenrē, and Pepy II.




<sup>5</sup> Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Oxford, 1907, pls. 56 and 58. There is also a block of alabaster with the king's name in University College, London (figured in Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 1923 [revised], p. 125, fig. 77).

<sup>6</sup> G. Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Aba*, Cairo, 1935.


<sup>7</sup> Id., *Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit*, Cairo, 1933.

all the inscriptions of her tomb, she is, I suggest, the original of the famous Nitocris 'Neith is excellent'. Some sixty years ago Petrie<sup>1</sup> touched on the problem of the Third Pyramid and Nitocris. 'The evidence of Manetho', he wrote, 'is not quite certain in the mere extracts that we possess; he only mentions that Nitocris built "the Third Pyramid" without saying where it was; and it is only a presumption that it refers to the same group as "the largest pyramid", which he mentions twenty reigns earlier. It might have referred in the full original text to one of the Sakkara groups, where we should naturally look for works of the sixth dynasty.' It may be noted here that Diodorus Siculus,<sup>2</sup> though fully aware that the three pyramids at Gīzah were erected by Chemmis (Cheops), Chephren, and Mycerinus, reports a story current in his time that they were built by Armaeus,<sup>3</sup> Amasis, and Inaros;<sup>4</sup> there is some doubt as to who the first king was, but Amasis and Inaros were definitely Saite kings and it is known that the sovereigns of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty were buried within the precincts of the temple of Neith at Sais.<sup>5</sup> It follows, therefore, that this story given by Diodorus must refer, not to the Gīzah pyramids, but to a series of royal tombs at Sais.

Among the titles of Queen Neith are the following:

- (1)  Eldest King's-Daughter of Meryrē<sup>c</sup> of the Mennefer pyramid.
- (2)  Hereditary Princess . . . of Merenrē<sup>c</sup> of the Kha<sup>c</sup>nefer pyramid.
- (3)  Hereditary Princess, King's-Wife of Neferkarē<sup>c</sup> of the Men<sup>c</sup>ankh pyramid.

Nitocris was therefore the eldest daughter of Pepy I, and accordingly sister or half-sister of Merenrē<sup>c</sup> and Pepy II. She had probably married Merenrē<sup>c</sup><sup>6</sup> and, after his decease, the infant Pepy II, when she would have become the virtual ruler of Egypt. This would agree with the statement of Herodotus that the brother of Nitocris (Merenrē<sup>c</sup>) was king of Egypt, and her marriage to the infant Pepy II<sup>7</sup> would have given her great power in the country and thus enabled her to avenge the murder of her brother Merenrē<sup>c</sup>.

A portrait of Queen Neith is preserved among the sculptures found by Jéquier at Şakḳārah, see the figure on p. 54. Above it are four vertical lines of hieroglyphs giving her name and titles; in front of her face is a partly erased cartouche, with, to the right of it, the name Neith. If this group of hieroglyphs is closely scrutinized it will be noticed that it does not appear to have been cut by the same hand as the hieroglyphs in the vertical column above. The sign  is differently shaped and is



<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, London, 1883, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> I, 63, 64.

<sup>3</sup> According to the epitome of Eusebius the first king of Dyn. 26 was Ammeris, Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

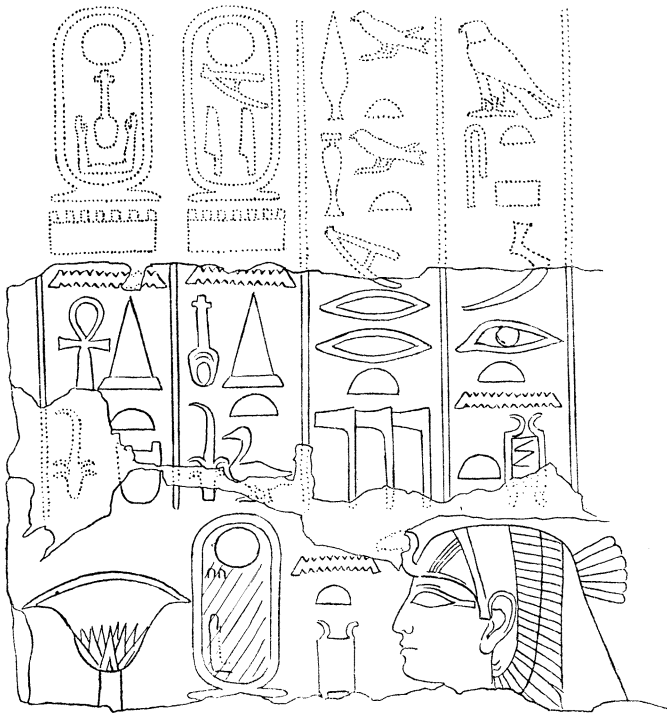
<sup>4</sup> Inaros was a son of Psammetichus, a chief of some Libyan tribes to the west of Egypt, cf. Hdt. III, 12 and 15; Thuc. I, 104.




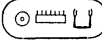
<sup>5</sup> Hdt. II, 169.



<sup>6</sup> She was  under Merenrē<sup>c</sup>, but the title 'King's-Wife', if it existed, is not preserved. Dr. Gardiner has drawn my attention to a fragmentary stela found near Neit's pyramid naming a King's eldest son  (Jéquier, *op. cit.* 55, fig. 32) which I had overlooked. I suggest that this monument must have been sculptured before he came to the throne, for the nomen is not in a cartouche.



<sup>7</sup> It is known that Pepy II was an infant when he came to the throne. The Turin Papyrus gives him 90+? years; Manetho (Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 53) says Phiops (Pepy II) began to reign at the age of six and continued till his hundredth year.

without the details of the cord binding the two bows, as will be seen from the figure below. It is, moreover, remarkable that the queen's name is given twice in the same



scene, first above her head and then again in front of her face. The cartouche appears to be cut on a slightly lower surface of the wall than the vertical columns above; it has been partly defaced but  is clearly recognizable. In the photograph reproduced in pl. 5 of Jéquier's book (which is much better than the outline drawing in pl. 4) I think that I can see traces of the upper corner of a -sign below the . If these slight traces could be confirmed by an inspection of the slab, the cartouche would read <sup>1</sup> Menkarē, which is No. 41 of the Abydos List and follows the otherwise unknown Neterkarē. If the cartouche had been Neferkarē, why should it have been partially

defaced? If the inscription had given the title of the queen it would have been written with the king's prenomen followed by the name of his pyramid and  'King's-Wife', for this was the customary way of writing the title in the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty. In my view it is much more probable that the partly erased cartouche and the duplication of the queen's name were carved when Neith became virtual ruler of Egypt at the time of Pepy II's infancy, and that the cartouche was mutilated at some later period by a priest who regarded her as an illegitimate sovereign. I do not think that the absence of the title  'Daughter of Rē' above the cartouche, or the fact that Neith's name is not enclosed in a cartouche, militates against the view that Menkarē was the prenomen of the queen, for it is not until the end of the Twelfth Dynasty that we find a royal woman's nomen written in a cartouche. If Neith's prenomen was Menkarē, this may have been the reason for her having been confused with Menkaurē (Mycerinus), the builder of the Third Pyramid at Gīzah, as Lieblein (*Recherches sur la Chronologie Égyptienne*, 1873, 40) and Petrie (*Hist.* 1, 1894, 195) suggested.

<sup>1</sup> In the cartouches of the Old Kingdom no  is written under  on any contemporary monument.

## NOTES ON THE NAUKRATIS STELA

By BATTISCOMBE GUNN

## I

IN respect of its writing the beautifully cut stela of Nektanebos II discovered at Naukratis and acquired by the Cairo Museum in 1899<sup>1</sup> is one of the most curious of Egyptian texts; for it contains a large number of words in which the traditional orthography is replaced by uniliteral ('alphabetic') signs only.<sup>2</sup> Erman attributed this peculiarity to the scribe's endeavour to write in as archaic a style as possible, and instanced such groups as for , for . It need hardly be mentioned, however, that no early inscriptions contain writings at all like these, nor such (to take a few more examples from the stela) as for , for (in the Old Kingdom ), for ; and no educated scribe could have supposed such writings to be archaic.<sup>3</sup> Maspero stated that these writings were probably due to the scribe's familiarity with the Greeks of Naukratis, that is to say with their alphabetic script; this view was flatly rejected by Piehl, who, rightly pointing out that writings similar to those of the Naukratis Stela are found in other inscriptions, contemporary or going back to the Saïte Period,<sup>4</sup> concluded from this fact that the spellings of the stela are 'absolutely Egyptian'. His conclusion is not logically sound, since the writings in question are found occurring over a comparatively short period;<sup>5</sup> all that he proves is they are more widespread than Maspero's words imply. It is, I think, not without significance that they are first found at the time when or shortly after Egypt first came into direct contact with Greek culture,<sup>6</sup> especially when we recall the favour with which that culture was regarded at the court—does not Diodorus tell us (I, 67, 9) that Psammētichus I 'was so great an admirer of the Hellenes that he gave his sons a Greek education'?

<sup>1</sup> Bibliography: Maspero in *C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.*, 1900, 793 ff.; Erman in *ZÄS* xxxviii, 127 ff. (with text); Maspero in *Musée ég.* 1, 40 ff. (good photograph); Sethe in *ZÄS* xxxix, 121 ff.; Piehl in *Sphinx* vi, 89 ff.; Kuentz in *Bull. Inst. fr.* xxviii, 103 ff.; Posener in *Ann. Serv.* xxxiv, 141 ff. References below to these articles are by authors' names only (of Maspero only the *Musée ég.* article is referred to).

<sup>2</sup> Note that the scribe reduced some words to pure alphabetic form merely by suppressing determinatives, e.g. (ht), (stn), (dšr). No tall his abnormal writings are alphabetic; cf. such abbreviations as *inb*, *kbh*, further such sportive writings as *b'k*, *hr* (preposition, see below on l. 13), a kind of neography much favoured later.

It is worth noting that nearly all the abnormal writings occur in only two parts of the inscription: the conventional adulation of the king (Erman's §§ B-E), and the penultimate clause of the king's edict (H), which has little practical bearing. The really important part (G), concerning the taxes, is in quite normal orthography, likewise the opening royal titulary (to tamper with which would doubtless have been unseemly), and the concluding section (J) containing the king's instructions to record the decree on a stela, and the official final formula &c.

<sup>3</sup> For an example of real archaizing in the Saïte Period cf. the Mitrāhīna stela of Apries, *Ann. Serv.* xxvii, 211 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A systematic collection and study of them would probably yield interesting results.

<sup>5</sup> I leave out of account the alphabetic but disguised writings found in the enigmatic or cryptographic texts of earlier times; they are a complication of the traditional writing, not a simplification.

<sup>6</sup> Is it mere chance that Dyn. XXVI also saw the beginning of another movement towards the simplification of writing, but along quite different lines, and triumphant in its sphere: demotic?

I am inclined to think that a generalization of Maspero's statement would be correct: that the writings I am discussing were indeed a result of Greek influence. The following hypothesis is, I submit, worthy of consideration. In the Saïte Period certain Egyptians were impressed by what must have seemed to them the marvellously simple script of the gifted and sympathetic foreigners; as a consequence the alphabetic principle was introduced occasionally into hieroglyphic texts, tentatively perhaps, then and for some time afterwards;<sup>1</sup> and at the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty it was abandoned for one or more of three reasons: the weight of millennial tradition; a nationalistic reaction against Greek ways due to the conquest and domination of the country by Hellenistic rulers; the consideration that writing Egyptian with only an alphabet of consonants sacrificed legibility to simplicity, and thus did more harm than good. This last consideration, whether operative or not, would, I think, be well founded; the complexity of normal Egyptian writing, with its determinatives and word-signs, its traditional differences in orthography for different words having the same consonants (𓂏, 𓂐; 𓂑, 𓂒; 𓂓, 𓂔), renders it much more easily readable than single consonants in an unbroken succession (for the Greeks, from whom on the hypothesis the alphabetic idea came to the Egyptians, did not yet divide their words)—witness the difficulties in reading the Naukratis stela!<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is now time to stop chiding the Egyptians for not 'taking the step which seems to us so obvious', and discarding all but their uniliteral signs, availing themselves, as it is often expressed, of the alphabet which they had all ready to hand. The Coptic alphabet, with its ample representation of vowel-sounds, is a very different matter.

## II

The scholars whose articles are cited on p. 37, n. 1 above have among them cleared up most of the graphic difficulties of the stela. Certain groups seem, however, to have been wrongly interpreted; the following are suggestions with regard to them.

L. 2: 𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒𓂓𓂔. Maspero 'elle lui livre le cœur des croyants'; Erman: 'sie . . . ihm die Herzen der Menschen'; Piehl 'elle enlève pour lui le cœur des êtres *rexī*'. 𓂏 is equated by Maspero with 𓂏<sup>x</sup>, by Piehl with 𓂏<sup>+</sup>, the same verb differently written, and meaning, in its transitive use, 'to remove', usually upwards, which ill suits the context. I suggest that 𓂏 = *bik* for *bʹk* 'make subservient', 'enslave', cf. *Wb.* I, 427 (12); in *Urk.* IV, 83, 5 we have *bʹk* construed with the dative, as here. I therefore render this sentence 'she (Neïth) subjects to him the hearts of the plebs'. The verb *bʹk* (used intransitively) occurs normally written 𓂏 in l. 6—perhaps an example of the principle of *dissimulation graphique*<sup>3</sup> interestingly discussed by Posener, loc. cit.

<sup>1</sup> Maspero's statement may well be correct within its limits: it is very likely no mere coincidence that the stela contains many more of these writings than any other inscription known to us, and that it comes from the city where Greek culture was much more strongly focused than anywhere else in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> 'L'exemple de ce monument montre quelles difficultés de déchiffrement l'égyptien aurait présentées, si, comme le phénicien ou le grec, il avait employé un système purement alphabétique'—Maspero.

<sup>3</sup> I may mention, in connexion with Posener's suggestion in n. 5 on p. 142 of his article, that the idea of a deliberate variation in the writing of words, analogous to the 'elegant variation' of synonyms exercised for stylistic purposes, occurred to me many years ago when indexing a large part of the Pyramid Texts. The differing spellings of the same words occurring in the same pyramid, and often quite close together, seem to admit no other interpretation unless we assume the scribes to have been utterly irresponsible and careless, which seems less likely.



necessary to indicate which interpretations are due to whom; the curious can identify them in the articles referred to in n. 1 of p. 37 above.

Regnal-year 1, month 12, day 13 of the Majesty of Horus 'Mighty-handed'; King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Two Ladies 'Who benefits the Two Lands'; Horus-on-the-Ombite<sup>1</sup> 'Who does what the gods desire'; Kheperkarē, Son of Rē, Nektanebus, ever-living,<sup>2</sup> beloved of Neith  
2 mistress of Saïs, the good god, symbol of Rē, beneficent<sup>1</sup> heir of Neith—she chose His Majesty out of the Two Banks, she made him ruler over the Two Lands, she placed her uraeus upon his head; she captures<sup>3</sup> for him the hearts of the patricians, subjects to him the hearts of the plebs, and abolishes all his enemies.

3 A strong king, protecting Egypt, a wall of bronze on<sup>1</sup> both sides of Egypt, very mighty, acting with his hands, a master of the scimitar who plunges into the host, furious when he sees<sup>4</sup> his enemies; one who cuts out the hearts of the disaffected, but confers benefits on him who is loyal to him, so that they (sic) sleep until daylight, trusting in his admirable qualities, without stray-  
4 ing<sup>1</sup> from their paths; one who makes green all lands when he rises,<sup>5</sup> and keeps (men) healthy with his abundance(?);<sup>6</sup> all eyes are dazzled by the sight of him like Rē when he rises from the horizon. The love of him blooms in everybody; he has given life to (men's) bodies.<sup>7</sup> One at  
5 whom the gods rejoice<sup>1</sup> when they see him; vigilant in seeking out benefits for their shrines; who calls in their prophets in order to consult them in all concerns of the temple, and who acts in accordance with their utterance, not turning a deaf ear to their words; of just heart upon the  
6 path of God,<sup>8</sup> building their (the gods') mansions, putting up<sup>1</sup> their walls, abundantly supplying the offering-tablet, multiplying the sacred vessels, creating offerings of all kinds.

The sole god, of many marvels, to whom the sun's light renders tribute, to whom the mountains declare what is in them, and to whom the ocean offers its waters; foreign countries bring him<sup>1</sup>  
7 their plenty, and he gladdens their hearts in their valleys.

His Majesty rose<sup>9</sup> in the palace of Saïs, and set<sup>9</sup> in the temple of Neith. The king was in-  
8 ducted<sup>9</sup> into the Mansion of Neith. He appeared<sup>9</sup> in the Red Crown beside his (divine) Mother, when he had presented a libation to his Father, the Lord of Eternity, in the Mansion of Neith.

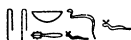

And His Majesty said: 'Let there be given

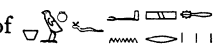
- 9 (a) the tithe of the gold and of the silver, of the timber and of<sup>1</sup> the worked wood, and of everything which comes from the Greek Sea, and of all goods(?)<sup>10</sup> which are reckoned to the King's Domain<sup>11</sup> in the city called Hēnwe;<sup>12</sup> and  
10 (b) the tithe of the gold and of the silver<sup>1</sup> and of all things which are produced in Pi-emrōye, called (Nau)kratis, on the bank of the 'Anu,<sup>13</sup> and which are reckoned to the King's Domain,<sup>11</sup>


<sup>1</sup> Whatever the title may have meant in early times, this stela is only 150 years older than the Rosetta Stone, on which the rendering ἀντιπάλων ὑπέρερος occurs.

<sup>2</sup> Following, for this late period, the Rosettana's ἀωνόβιος. <sup>3</sup> *Rth*; hardly, with *Wb.*, 'to intimidate'.

<sup>4</sup> This text uses throughout the form *m'n* of *m'v* 'see'. <sup>5</sup> As the sun rises.

<sup>6</sup> , which I read, though doubtfully, *ssnb hr df.f*. Maspero's translation is not tenable; Erman: 'der . . . gesund macht den, der seine Speise hat (?)', reading  as *hri*, which seems unlikely; Piehl wishes to emend.

<sup>7</sup> Maspero's interpretation of  as *di(w)n.f nh r hwt* is preferable to Erman's 'seine Schönheit ist Leben für (?) die Leiber', for no word *nhw* 'beauty' is known to *Wb.*, and 'für' is not *r* but *n*.

<sup>8</sup> ; 'Neith' less likely.

<sup>9</sup> Actually infinitives, in the timeless 'record style'. The king's exit from the palace and subsequent entry into the temple are expressed in terms of the rising and setting of the sun, as often.

<sup>10</sup> , hardly a mere graphic variant of . Maspero 'taxe de douane'; *Wb.* 'Handelswaren? Zölle?'

<sup>11</sup> I.e. on which the king's taxes are levied.

<sup>12</sup> *Hnwt*, not with Erman *Hnwt-hnt*; exact position unknown.

<sup>13</sup> Apparently the Canopic Branch; cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, sub voc.



11 to be a temple-endowment of my mother Neïth for all time, <sup>1</sup> in excess of what has existed  
 formerly. And let them be converted into one portion<sup>1</sup> of an ox, one fat *ro*-goose and five  
 12 measures (*mnw*) of wine, as a continual daily offering, <sup>1</sup> the delivery of them to be at the treasury  
 of my mother Neïth; for she is the mistress of the ocean, and it is she who bestows its bounty.<sup>2</sup>

‘My Majesty has commanded that the temple-endowments of my mother Neïth be protected  
 13 and reserved, <sup>1</sup> and that everything that they of former time have done be perpetuated, in order  
 that what I have done may be perpetuated for those who are yet to be during an aeon of years.’

And His Majesty ordered that this should be recorded upon this stela, which should be placed  
 14 in Naukratis on the bank of the ‘Anu; <sup>1</sup> thus would his goodness be remembered to the end of  
 eternity.<sup>3</sup>

On behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkarē, Son of Rē Nektanebus, ever-living, that he may be given all life, all perdurance and felicity, all health and all joy like Rē for ever!

I offer no comment on the content of this inscription, for which the articles of Erman and of Wilcken (following Erman’s) should especially be consulted.

<sup>1</sup> *H*, some particular portion.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. it is she who bestows upon Egypt the bounty brought over the sea.

<sup>3</sup> In the original all this is in the first person, with ‘this stela’ coming in oddly but probably quite idiomatically: ‘Let this be recorded upon this stela, which shall be placed . . .; then shall my goodness. . . .’

## NOTES ON COPPER-BRONZE IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

By DOWS DUNHAM

IN September 1941 Professor Georg Steindorff asked me whether there was any specific information in the records of the Boston Museum as to the occurrence of true bronze at Kerma, the site at the head of the Third Cataract published by Professor George A. Reisner in *Harvard African Studies*, v-vi (1923). We lacked such information, but it occurred to me that we could readily supply it by analysing some of the objects from that site which are preserved in Boston. Accordingly I asked Mr. William J. Young, the Museum's analyst, to examine a number of specimens from this site, ranging in date from the reign of Sesostris II to the early part of the Second Intermediate period. To these specimens, 11 in number, we added 8 more which came to us from excavations of Middle Kingdom date in Egypt proper.

The purpose of the analysis was to determine whether these objects were of copper or bronze. The spectrographic method was used, the objects being made the lower electrode in a 13,000-volt spark gap, while the upper electrode was of pure copper. Those objects containing less than 2 per cent. of tin have been termed 'copper', while those with 2 per cent. or more were called 'bronze'. In agreement with Lucas<sup>1</sup> a tin content of less than 2 per cent. has been taken to be the result of accidental impurity and not an intentionally produced alloy.

Below is the pertinent information about each object examined, with references to photographic reproductions of the spectrograms made by Mr. Young (Pl. III).

MFA refers to the Boston Museum registration number.

Exp. refers to the Harvard-Boston Expedition field number.

Prov. refers to the provenance, site, tomb, etc.

A, 1. Pure copper control spectrum.

A, 2 (and B, 2 below). *Bronze beaker from Kerma*. (Cu 93%, Sn 4.5%, Pb 2.5%.)

MFA 20.1689. Exp. 14-2-692. Prov.: Kerma, K 334/32.

Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 171/32; IV-V, p. 203 (1), 1.

Date: XIIth Dyn., Sesostris II. Subsidiary grave in tumulus of Ḥepdjefa of Asyūt.

A, 3. *Copper mirror disk, Kerma*. (Cu 99.2%, Sn 0.8%.)

MFA 20.1792. Exp. 14-2-788. Prov.: Kerma, K 325/16.

Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 163/16; IV-V, p. 179/5; pl. 48, 1, bottom, right.

Date: XIIth Dyn., Sesostris II. Subsidiary grave in tumulus of Ḥepdjefa of Asyūt.

A, 4. *Copper handle of above*. (Cu 100%, Sn slight tr., Pb tr.)

References same as for A, 3.

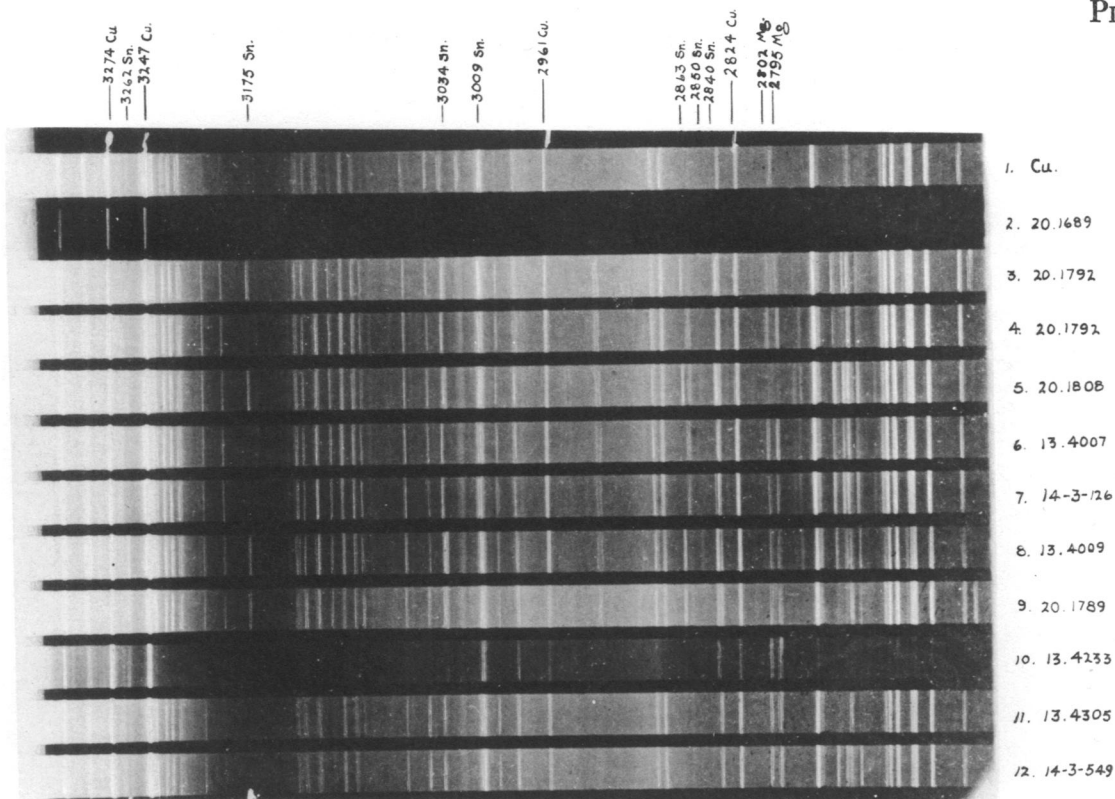
A, 5. *Bronze tweezers, Kerma*. (Cu 96.6%, Sn 2.3%, Pb 1.1%.)

MFA 20.1808. Exp. 14-2-879. Prov.: Kerma, K 338/5.

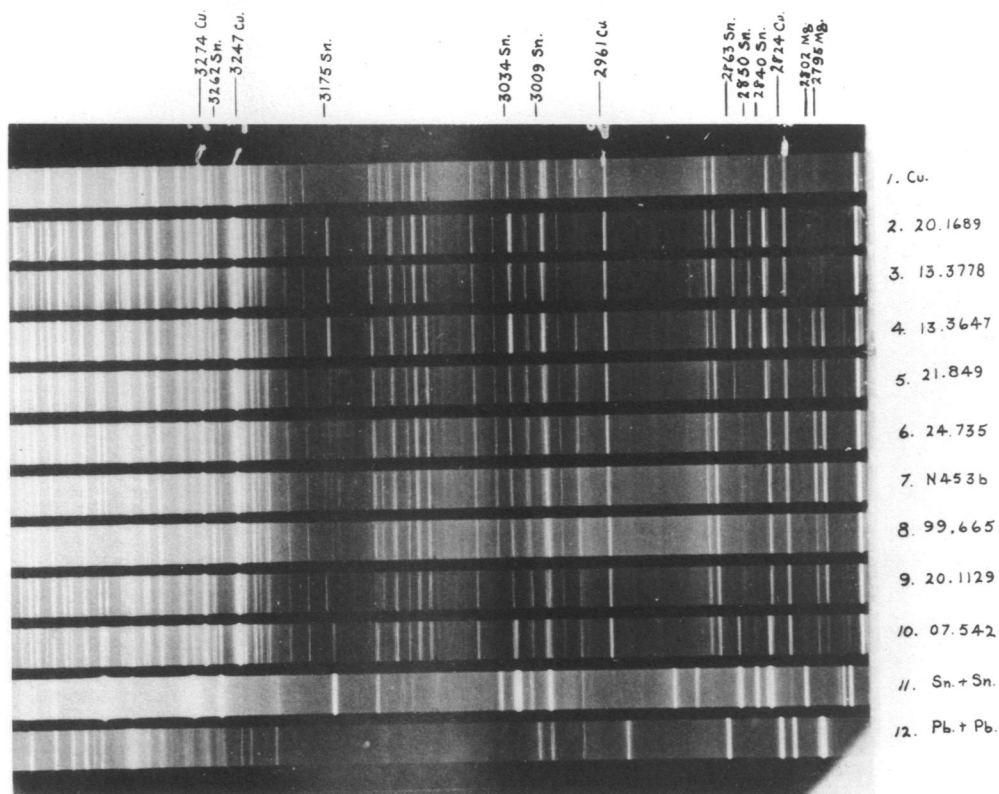
Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 175/5; IV-V, p. 187/6; pl. 49, 1, bottom row, 5.

Date: XIIth Dyn. Sesostris II. Subsidiary grave in tumulus of Ḥepdjefa of Asyūt.

<sup>1</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, p. 174.



A



B

SPECTROGRAMS OF METAL OBJECTS FROM NUBIA AND ELSEWHERE

*N.B. For the magnesium lines visible in the photographs see the note, p. 76.*

- A, 6. *Copper knife from Kerma*. (Cu 100%, Sn slight tr., Pb tr.)  
MFA 13.4007. Exp. Su 747. Prov.: Kerma, K 1036/13.  
Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 328/13; IV-V, p. 198/8.  
Date: XIIIth Dyn.? Subsidiary burial in tumulus K X.
- A, 7. *Copper dagger from Kerma*. (Cu 100%, Sn slight tr., Pb tr.)  
MFA —. Exp. 14-3-126. Prov.: Kerma, K IV B/65.  
Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 201, body IB/65; IV-V, p. 191/19.  
Date: XIIth Dyn., Ammenemes IV. Sacrificial burial in tumulus K IV.
- A, 8. *Bronze razor from Kerma*. (Cu 98%, Sn 2%, Pb tr.)  
MFA 13.4009. Exp. Su 968. Prov.: Kerma, K 1060/iii.  
Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 348/iii; IV-V, p. 183/17.  
Date: XIIIth Dyn.? Subsidiary burial in tumulus K X.
- A, 9. *Copper mirror-disk, Kerma*. (Cu 99%, Sn 1%, Pb tr.)  
MFA 20.1789. Exp. 13-12-663. Prov.: Kerma, K 309/31.  
Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 150/31; IV-V, p. 179/3.  
Date: XIIth Dyn., Sesostri II. Subsidiary grave in tumulus of Hepdjefa of Asyūt.
- A, 10. *Copper drill or awl, Kerma*. (Cu 98.4%, Sn 0.8%, Pb 0.4%.)  
MFA 13.4233. Exp. Su 497. Prov.: Kerma, K I, débris, west side.  
Pub.: *Kerma*, IV-V, p. 202/2.  
Date: XIIth Dyn. or later? K I is the fort built under Sesostri I.
- A, 11. *Copper ear of statue, Kerma*. (Cu 99.5%, Sn 0.5%.)  
MFA 13.4305. Exp. Su 1130. Prov.: Kerma, K XI B, lower débris.  
Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 268, b; IV-V, p. 205/3.  
Date: XIIIth Dyn. or later? K XI is the chapel attached to K X and was built subsequently to it.
- A, 12. *Copper dagger from Kerma*. (Cu 100%, Sn tr., Pb tr.)  
MFA —. Exp. 14-3-549. Prov.: Kerma, K X B/370.  
Pub.: *Kerma*, I-III, p. 303, Body PJ/370; IV-V, p. 192/46.  
Date: XIIIth Dyn.? Sacrificial burial in K X.
- B, 1. Pure copper control.
- B, 2. Repeated spectrum of A, 2 above.
- B, 3. *Copper dagger from Sheikh Farag (Nagc-ed-Dēr)*. (Cu 99%, Sn 1%, Pb tr.)  
MFA 13.3778. Exp. 13-3-280. Prov.: S. F. 168.  
*Unpublished*. These tombs at Sheikh Farag were excavated by the Harvard-Boston Expedition but have not yet been published. Prof. Reisner dates them to the Middle Kingdom. This dagger has its blade doubled over similarly to those published by Guy, *Megiddo Tombs*, pl. 149, 6 and 7, perhaps instances of 'ceremonial killing'.  
Date: Middle Kingdom.
- B, 4. *Bronze dagger from Sheikh Farag (Nagc-ed-Dēr)*. (Cu 93%, Sn 6.2%, Pb 0.8%.)  
MFA 13.3647. Exp. 13-3-136. Prov.: S. F. 113.  
*Unpublished*. See previous item.  
Date: Middle Kingdom.
- B, 5. *Copper axe-head from El-Bersheh*. (Cu 99.3%, Sn 0.7%, Pb tr.)  
MFA 21.849. Exp. 15-3-503. Prov.: El-Bersheh, debris in front of tomb of Neḥery.  
*Unpublished*.  
Date: XIIth Dyn.
- B, 6. *Copper mirror-disk from Sheikh Farag (Nagc-ed-Dēr)*. (Cu 100%, Sn tr.)  
MFA 24.735. Exp. 23-11-378. Prov.: S. F. 5063.  
*Unpublished*.  
Date: Middle Kingdom.
- B, 7. *Copper tang rivetted to copper mirror, Nagc-ed-Dēr*. (Cu 100%, Sn. tr.)

MFA 21.10559. Exp. —. Prov.: N 453 b.

Pub.: Boston, *MFA Bull.* xxxix (Dec. 1941), p. 94, fig. 1; p. 97, fig. 8; p. 98.

Date: Middle Kingdom.

B, 8. *Copper model axe-head from Hu.* (Cu 100%, Sn slight tr.)

MFA 99.665. Prov.: Hu, Tomb Y 174.

Pub.: Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xxxii, 13.

Date: XIIth Dyn. or later?

B, 9. *Copper model hs-vase, El-Bersheh.* (Cu 99.3%, Pb 0.7%.)

MFA 20.1129. Exp. 15-5-767. Prov.: El-Bersheh, 10 B, chamber.

*Unpublished.*

Date: XIIth Dyn.

B, 10. *Copper dagger from Rifeh.* (Cu 99%, Sn 1%.)

MFA 07.542. Prov.: Rifeh (no tomb given).

Pub.: Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 14 (32), pl. XII, lower right, centre.

Date: XIIth Dyn.

B, 11. Pure tin control.

B, 12. Pure lead control.

These analyses cover 11 samples from Kerma (above the Third Cataract) and 8 from Middle Egypt. The number of specimens dealt with is too small to warrant the drawing of very definite conclusions, but they do give certain tentative indications. Of these 19 pieces 15 are copper and only 4 bronze, and the alloy was a little more frequent at Kerma than in Egypt itself. It would be natural to assume that the greater strength and hardness of bronze would have caused it to be favoured as a material for tools and weapons, but the evidence does not lead to any definite indication that this was actually the case, for out of 10 objects of this class 3 were of bronze and 7 of copper. It seems almost as if the two metals were used indiscriminately regardless of their suitability for the function to be performed.

The following tabulation summarizes the findings:

<i>Miscellaneous objects</i>				<i>Tools and Weapons</i>			
<i>Kerma</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Cu</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Kerma</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Cu</i>	<i>Br</i>
Beaker	..	..	×	Tweezers	..	..	×
Mirror	..	×	..	Knife	..	×	..
Handle	..	×	..	Dagger	..	×	..
Mirror	..	×	..	Razor	..	..	×
Ear	..	×	..	Drill	..	×	..
				Dagger	..	×	..
<b>Kerma</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
..	Mirror SF	×	..	..	Dagger SF	×	..
..	Tang N	×	..	..	Dagger SF	..	×
..	Model Hu	×	..	..	Axe Bersheh	×	..
..	Vase Bersheh	×	..	..	Dagger Rifeh	×	..
<b>Egypt</b>	..	<b>4</b>	..	..	..	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Totals</b>	..	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>		..	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>

Total copper 15; total bronze 4.

## PICTORIAL COIN-TYPES AT THE ROMAN MINT OF ALEXANDRIA

By J. G. MILNE

THE coins struck at Alexandria during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire are not, from an artistic point of view, particularly interesting: there is, over the greater part of the period, a limited range of types and a low level of design and execution.<sup>1</sup> For about half a century, however, under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, a higher standard was evidently sought, which reached its peak in the fourth year of Antoninus, in a group of types which merits special examination. Most of the types in this group are derived from the adventures of Heracles: all the 'labours' are represented, with two scenes outside the canon. The coins are not common, except for the issues of year 10, and it is probable that some additions to the list may come to light: the types and the years in which they were struck known at present are as follows.<sup>2</sup>

In year 4 the adventures figured are those with the Stymphalian birds, the Erymanthian boar, the giantess Echidna, the Cretan bull, and the Cerynian stag: these all recur in year 5, with the addition of the Nemean lion, the garden of the Hesperides, the stables of Augeas, Antaeus, Cerberus, Diomedes, the Amazons, Geryones, and the centaur Pholus, making the fullest list: nine are known for year 6, those missing being the first, second, eighth, twelfth, and thirteenth named: in year 10 all are found except Antaeus and Pholus. After this year none of the types seem to have been used, except for a solitary appearance of Antaeus in year 24, and one of the Cretan bull in year 17 of Marcus Aurelius: the Antaeus group is also repeated on a small bronze of Geta in the eleventh year of Severus.

Outside the Heracles cycle, a few other scenes from legend occurred at the same period, presumably under the same inspiration: in years 5 and 7 are found the judgement of Paris and Orpheus charming the beasts: in year 18 the madness of the Thracian Lycurgus: in year 24 Perseus and Andromeda, and, in an uncertain year, Chiron and Achilles. With these should probably be associated a series of astronomical types, struck in year 8, which give the Sun and Moon and the five planets, the latter first in one order and then reversed, each figured with a sign of the Zodiac: also, in year 8, heads of Sarapis and Isis surrounded by Zodiacal circles. Possibly astronomical also are the types of the ploughman and of the reaper which appear in year 5, and, more doubtfully, that of the vine-dresser in year 8.<sup>3</sup> These, like the mythological types, show little connexion with Egypt either in subject or in treatment.

<sup>1</sup> The choice of types for coins at the mint of Alexandria is discussed at length in the Introduction to the *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, pp. xxxv-xl, and a chronological list of types is given on pp. xlix-lxiv.

<sup>2</sup> This list is compiled from the *British Museum Catalogue*, Dattari's *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, Feuarent's *Collections Giovanni di Demetrio*, Mionnet, and the Ashmolean collection, with one addition from New York.

<sup>3</sup> This type is described in the B.M.C. (p. 123, no. 1055) as Heracles cutting down the vines of Syleus. But there is nothing in the figure of the man to suggest an identification with Heracles, and it is more probably a generic scene of a man dressing vines.



PICTORIAL COIN-TYPES

ALEXANDRIAN TYPES. 1-8 Labours of Heracles: (1) Echidna—year 4; (2) Nemean lion, and (3) garden of Hesperides—year 6; (4) Diomedes, (5) Stables of Augeas, (6) Nemean lion, and (7) garden of Hesperides—year 10; (8) Antaeus—year 24. 9. Judgement of Paris—year 7. 10. Lycurgus—year 18. 11. Perseus and Andromeda—year 24. IONIAN TYPES. 12. Heracles and Iole. 13. Demeter.

As regards the subjects, representations of the labours of Heracles are found amongst the coin-types of several other centres in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, though nowhere, so far as known, was there so full a series as at Alexandria. In most of these, however, some sort of local interest in Heracles could be claimed: the legendary relations of Heracles with Egypt were slight, and not quite of a character to arouse admiration for him amongst the Egyptian natives. A single instance of a scene which might be considered local does occur, in the first portrayal of Heracles on an Alexandrian coin, in the reign of Domitian, when he is represented amongst the Pygmies;<sup>1</sup> but this was never repeated. He had been given a place in the Alexandrian gathering of hybrid deities by his identification with Harpocrates, in virtue of which he was for Greek purposes regarded as the eponym of the Heracleopolite nome, and in this connexion figured on coins holding a griffin, a type balanced on the Egyptian side by one of Harpocrates holding a club. The purely Greek figure of Heracles does not appear—if the coin of Domitian mentioned be left out of account—until the seventh year of Trajan, when there is a representation of a statue of him standing on a basis: this may relate to the erection of a statue at Alexandria, and so rank with the types of local buildings which began to be frequent about the same time. After this a bust or full-length figure of Greek type is found under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, and recurs under Septimius Severus: then it vanishes until the latest years of the Alexandrian coinage, when it was, not unnaturally, revived for Maximianus Hercules. But the series of 'labours' on the coinage of Antoninus stands apart from these types in the elaborate and pictorial treatment of the scenes. The same pictorial tendency is evident in the other types derived from Greek legend which are found about the same time, and which have no more local relationship with Egypt than Heracles and his labours.

The exceptional character of the coins belonging to this series is emphasized by their artistic qualities. During the first century of Roman rule in Egypt the output of the Alexandrian mint had been distinctly poor both in design and execution, and fell far below what might have been expected from a city with the traditions of Alexandria: it was not till the tenth year of Domitian that any dies showing Greek influence were produced, and the improvement was short-lived: under Trajan mediocrity prevailed again, and though there was somewhat better execution in the middle of the reign of Hadrian, the design was still poor. The artist responsible for the Heracles types of the fourth year of Antoninus was of a class above any who had hitherto been employed by the Roman authorities at Alexandria: the coins figured on Plate IV show the general character of his work, which is in strong contrast to the formalized treatment of the types under the earliest Emperors, and much freer than the grouping of the figures on the reverses of Trajan and Hadrian: the first might be described as degraded Graeco-Egyptian, the second as provincial Roman: this series is definitely Greek, of the Asiatic school, and comparison with the medallions struck approximately at the same time for the Koinon of the thirteen cities of Ionia suggests that the Alexandrian coins are due, if not to the same man, at any rate to a member of the same group. But this

<sup>1</sup> Dattari, pl. xxvi, 500.



artist appears to have been employed for a brief period and for a restricted sphere of work: it is only in the fourth to sixth years that the dies of the Heracles coins show his hand, and there is no sign of it in the dies of the base silver tetradrachms and smaller bronze coins of the same years: the Heracles types are found on the large bronze drachmas only. The later issues of drachmas also, though the Greek legendary types continued for some years, are by a weaker artist: where the subjects recur, as in the case of the Heracles types, the planning and execution of the scenes are definitely of a lower grade, as can be seen by a comparison of the 'labours' coins of the tenth year with those of the fourth and fifth. After the tenth year the interest in Greek legend ceases almost entirely: only two scenes are recorded in year 24 of Antoninus and one in year 17 of Aurelius, and two of these are inferior copies of the earlier designs of the Heracles group.

The appearance in the Alexandrian series of this unusual and seemingly exotic set of types raises the question as to what purpose, if any, underlay their choice. The Roman coinage for Egypt was in most respects quite unlike the Ptolemaic: that had been from its inception definitely commercial in its character, and, as was usually the practice in Greek commercial coinages, the types of the standard denominations when once fixed tended to remain from one issue to another with practically no change. From early in the third century B.C. till the Roman conquest, the constant types of the silver tetradrachm were the head of Ptolemy Soter on the obverse and an eagle on the reverse: the eagle also monopolized the reverse of the copper, though the obverse varied according to the denomination between heads of Ammon, Isis, and Alexandria. The reason for this fixity of type was to secure that the face-value of the coins should be at once recognized both in Egypt and abroad—the copper of the Ptolemies circulated all round the Mediterranean—and any material alteration in the design of a coin might cause some hesitation in its acceptance. But the economic standing of the coinage of Alexandria was altered under the Romans: its circulation was confined to Egypt, which in matters of currency as in other respects was made into a watertight compartment of the Empire by Augustus; and the number of Alexandrian coins found outside Egypt, before the general breakdown of Roman currency in the middle of the third century A.D., is negligible. There was no longer any need to adhere to particular types in order to facilitate the acceptance of the coins; and this gave an opportunity to the mint-authorities to follow the practice of the Roman mint in regard to the use of types.

The western parts of the Greek world, Italy and Sicily, had throughout the history of their coinage been much freer in the choice of types than the cities of the mother country, and had shown a constantly increasing tendency to a medallion treatment which in some cases suggests a sort of advertisement. When the Romans in 217 B.C. forsook the Italian tradition of coinage and made the silver denarius their unit, they followed and extended the practice of their Greek neighbours: in the course of the next century the reverse, and often the obverse, types of the denarii were changed with every set of triumvirs of the mint, and were not only personal and topical but seem to have been used for party purposes. This practice continued under the Empire, and the same tendency can be traced in many of the provincial coinages. But in Egypt, where the

mint-masters were in an exceptional position as the personal servants of the Emperor, and so might have been expected to announce his policy, there is little evidence of the use of the coinage for this purpose. The reverse types, especially towards the end of the first century A.D., were constantly varied, and in the case of the large bronze drachmas became more medalllic in character; but it is difficult to find in them any attempt to secure the interest of the Egyptians, though to some extent local subjects of the Graeco-Egyptian class take a larger part in the selection. Greek deities do figure, but not in scenes like those of the labours of Heracles, and the treatment of them is more Graeco-Egyptian than pure Greek.

The reason for the appearance of this series of types is probably not to be sought in anything that was happening in Egypt or in Alexandria: it is true that an isolated case of interest in Egyptian history had been shown shortly before, by the adoption in the last year of Hadrian of a type foreshadowing the completion of a Sothic cycle, a figure labelled as Pronoia holding a phoenix, which was followed in the next year, the second of Antoninus, by the phoenix itself with the title Aiôn: the mint-masters, however, do not seem to have appreciated the significance of the type, as they repeated it without change, except in date, four years later. There is no obvious connexion between this commemoration of the Sothic cycle and the scenes from Greek mythology under discussion; and none of these scenes, as already noted, can be related to Egypt.

A clue to the solution of the problem may probably be found in the issue from the mint at Rome of the remarkable series of medallions to which Miss J. M. C. Toynbee has lately called attention:<sup>1</sup> these seem to indicate an attempt to revive the interest of the Romans in their archaeology and antiquities by representations of historical or mythological scenes or of objects of art. The officials in charge of the mint at Alexandria might be inspired to follow the lead of the capital in this respect, and to fall into line with what they understood to be the wishes of the Emperor by adopting any mythological types that occurred to them without regard to their appropriateness to Egypt; so they imported a special artist to design the types in the first instance, though when the types were repeated the work was entrusted to men of the local school. A parallel may be traced in the series of medallions struck about the same time for the Ionian Koinon, to which reference has already been made: of the five known types in this series, only one, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, has a local association, and the three most pictorial, Heracles and Iole, the rape of Persephone, and the Eleusinian Demeter, are not distinctively Ionian or Asiatic. This group was struck at the instance of M. Claudius Fronto, the Asiarch and High Priest of the Koinon, who may have been moved to copy the example of Rome in the same way as the Alexandrian mint-masters. In both cases the Roman officials would not appear to have understood the people whom they governed.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Toynbee's paper is to be published in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xcix (for 1942).

WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt.,  
F.R.S., F.B.A.

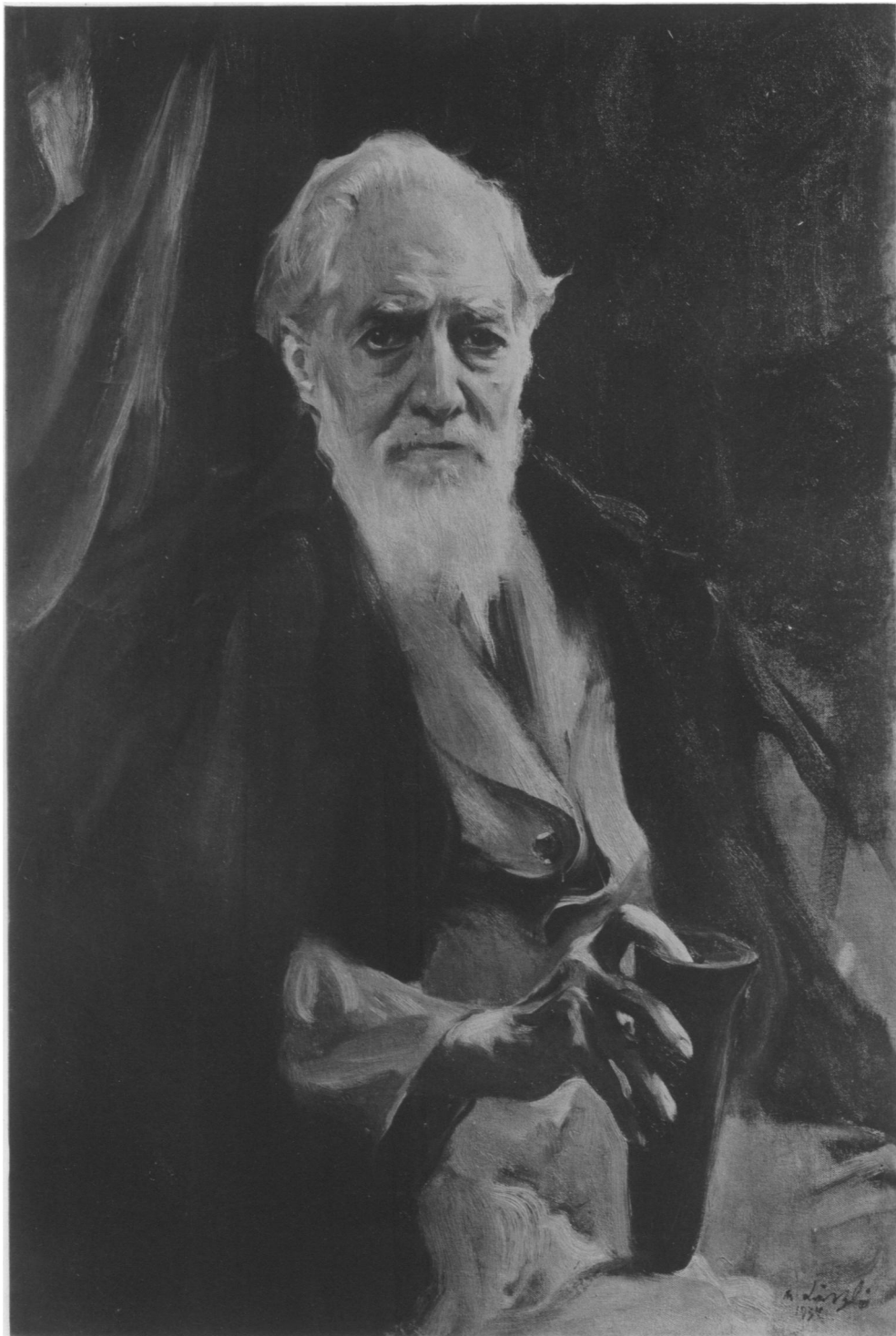
By PERCY E. NEWBERRY

THROUGH the death of Sir Flinders Petrie at Jerusalem on 28 July 1942, at the age of eighty-nine, we have lost our foremost Egyptian archaeologist and the first Englishman who was commissioned by our Society to excavate an ancient site in Egypt. He was the founder of archaeological scientific method as now practised in the Nile Valley, being the first excavator to insist on recording the stratigraphical position of every object found and then studying it typologically. It was by this means that he worked out his system of Sequence Dating for prehistoric remains, one of his most important contributions to the study of Egyptian archaeology. A man of great physical and intellectual energy, he possessed a remarkably quick brain and extraordinarily retentive visual memory. Sir Francis Galton<sup>1</sup> recorded of him (in 1883) that he habitually worked out sums by aid of an imaginary sliding scale which he set in the desired way and read off mentally, remarking that 'this is one of the most striking cases of accurate visualizing power it is possible to imagine'. During his long career he published more than a hundred volumes as well as a large number of papers on scientific and other subjects in journals and magazines; in this way, and in the lectures he gave all over the country, he did more to popularize Egyptology than any of his contemporaries. It is impossible here to trace in any detail the various incidents of Sir Flinders's long and distinguished life; indeed this is unnecessary, for near the end of his active career he wrote his autobiography in *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (1931), which permits us, under his own guidance, to follow it step by step; to this book those readers who are interested in his personality should refer. Here only the most salient points can be touched on.

Flinders Petrie had no school or university training. His mother was the only child of Captain Matthew Flinders, a naval officer who served under Bligh of *The Bounty*, and later explored and surveyed much of the coast of Australia. This lady taught her son the rudiments of knowledge and imbued him at an early age with the love of collecting and studying Greek and Roman coins. In the autobiography we are told the story of Flinders, at the age of thirteen, meeting the man who taught him 'more of the world than anyone else'. The boy was walking with his mother along a street at Blackheath in Kent when they noticed in a second-hand shop window a tray of Greek coins at twopence apiece. Entering the shop to examine them they talked to the proprietor (named Riley) for a few minutes and then he emptied the tray of coins into a bag and told his visitors to take them home, look over them at leisure, and select the specimens they wanted. For some years after this incident young Flinders walked

<sup>1</sup> *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, 1883, 95.

PLATE V



SIR W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, F.R.S.  
from the painting by P. A. de Laszlo

over to Riley's shop once a week to talk with him. 'His influence on all who knew him', wrote Sir Flinders, 'was remarkable. Above all, he taught one human nature, in a rather Socratic manner, with wits sharpened by all the shady practices of life in dealing and cheating, of which he had a withering contempt; he was the most absolutely honest and straight man I ever met.' Twenty years later and until his death in 1895 Riley acted as door-keeper at all Petrie's annual exhibitions in London; the present writer well remembers this old man and often had long talks with him, hearing many stories about Flinders's early boyhood.

In the same year that Flinders met Riley the precocious child bought at one of Smith's bookstalls a copy of Piazzi Smyth's *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid* (1864); this he showed his father, William Petrie, a civil engineer. The views propounded in it, together with the fact that Smyth was an old friend of the family, strongly attracted William Petrie, who decided that his son should be trained as a surveyor with the ultimate object of going out to Egypt and carrying on the work Piazzi Smyth had begun. William Petrie began by interesting his son in measuring objects of all kinds, especially old furniture in Riley's shop; one of the results of this careful training was *Inductive Metrology* (1875), a remarkably erudite and suggestive book. As a preliminary canter at accurate surveying in the field Flinders's father took him to Stonehenge in 1872, where they measured and planned the earthworks. These plans were shown at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute in 1875, and there Flinders first met Flaxman Spurrell, a young doctor, geologist, and palaeontologist, from whom he learnt much. It was Spurrell who demonstrated to his young friend the importance of stratigraphical technique in excavating ancient sites and the imperative necessity of carefully recording the relative positions of every object discovered. Of Spurrell Petrie says that 'he was almost the only man with whom I was ever familiar, and I owe him more than I can tell'.

After reading and making notes of all that had been written about the pyramid field at Gizeh, Flinders was sent out by his father to Egypt in 1880, there to begin the survey of the Great Pyramid. This was a bold undertaking, for Piazzi Smyth had reckoned that a thorough investigation and survey of that great monument would cost at least £12,000; Flinders succeeded in accomplishing all the results Smyth wanted for the total cost of £300! These results were published in *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* (1883) with the assistance of a grant of £100 from the Royal Society.

I have already referred to Flinders, when a mere child of thirteen, collecting and studying Greek and Roman coins. His devotion to this branch of study had an important bearing on his later career, for it brought him into contact with Reginald Stuart Poole, of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum. When at the age of fifteen the lad was given an introduction to the Keeper of that Department he was passed on to Poole, then Assistant Keeper, and from that time (1868) for several years, whenever there was a doubt about the identification of a coin he went to Poole for help. It was in Poole's study at the Museum that he first met Miss Amelia B. Edwards, the novelist, who had travelled in Egypt in the winter of 1873-4 and written *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (1876). At that time R. S. Poole probably knew Egypt

and its monuments better than any other Englishman: he had gone out to Cairo with his widowed mother to join his uncle, Edward W. Lane, the Arabic scholar and author of *The Modern Egyptians*, and lived in Egypt from 1842 to 1849. Lane and his nephew twice journeyed up the Nile as far as Aswān to study the ancient monuments, and during the last two years of Reginald's residence in Cairo he wrote a series of papers on the antiquities of Egypt which were printed in the *Literary Gazette*, and later collected, revised, and republished in *Horae Aegyptiacae* (1851). R. S. Poole, Miss Amelia B. Edwards, and Flinders Petrie often met at the British Museum and discussed Egyptian subjects; it was in Poole's room that the present writer was first introduced to Petrie in 1884 and thus began our lifelong friendship. The first two were mainly instrumental in founding the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1883 and were its first joint Honorary Secretaries. In 1884 the Committee of the Fund commissioned Petrie to excavate at Tanis. This was his first experience of digging an Egyptian town site. The following year, still under the auspices of the E.E.F., he explored the western side of the Delta and discovered the site of Naucratis. In the autumn of 1886, he left the E.E.F., but being tied by the acceptance of a small grant from the British Association to undertake the work of making casts of racial types on the monuments at Thebes, he spent the winter of 1887-8 with F. Ll. Griffith in a tour of the Nile Valley (*A Season in Egypt*, 1887). Private resources were then placed at his disposal for the costs of excavations, and the next eight years were devoted to work in the Fayyūm, at Maidūm, Tell el-ʿAmarnah, Coptus, Thebes, and Naḳādah. It was in the Fayyūm that he discovered the hieratic papyri of the Middle Kingdom published in Griffith's *Kahun Papyri*, 1898, and the Greek papyri edited by Mahaffy (1891, 'Cunningham Memoirs'). In 1892 Howard Carter received his training in excavating when he became assistant to Petrie at El-ʿAmarnah.

In 1893 Miss A. B. Edwards died, leaving her small fortune to found a Chair of Egyptology in the University of London; to this Chair Flinders Petrie was elected in 1894. The same year he started the Egyptian Research Account which was later called the British School of Archaeology in Egypt (1906). During the years that followed his appointment to the Edwards' Chair he trained many students in the work of exploring ancient sites in the Nile Valley; among them were J. E. Quibell, A. C. Mace, J. Garstang, E. Mackay, G. Wainwright, R. Engelbach, Guy Brunton, J. Starkey, Battiscombe Gunn, and Miss M. A. Murray, the last-named being later appointed Assistant Professor of Egyptology in the University of London; for many years this lady had charge of the department during the Professor's absence from England.

In 1896 Flinders Petrie rejoined the E.E.F. and excavated at Deshashah. In the subsequent ten years that he remained with our Society he dug at Denderah, Diospolis Parva, Abydus, and Ehnāsiyah. It was during this time that some of his most important work was carried out, that at Abydus being the most remarkable, for the royal cemetery there had been previously ransacked by the French expedition under Amélineau. From 1906 to the outbreak of the Great War he was every winter in Egypt digging sites of historical importance, and publishing the results each year in one or more volumes. This rapid publication of results was a golden principle of Petrie's, for though it had

certain disadvantages from the author's point of view, it supplied at the earliest possible moment a mass of new material for the assimilation of scholars who might accept or not the way in which they were interpreted.

When the Great War broke out Flinders Petrie had perforce to discontinue excavating in Egypt, so he at once turned to cataloguing the collections he himself had formed at University College. Many volumes of these typological catalogues have been published and they are indispensable to every student of Egyptology. When peace was signed he was sixty-five years of age, but he at once returned to the Nile Valley and excavated at Lahūn, Sedment, Abydos, and Kāw. Later he abandoned Egypt and worked in Palestine, where he resided till his death last year.

Sir Flinders was a man of many interests, and in the intervals of his explorations in the Near East wrote on many subjects besides archaeology. Among the honours bestowed on him were Hon. D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Ph.D., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), Member of the Royal Irish Academy, Member of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute, Corresponding Member of the Society of Anthropology, Berlin, Member of the Italian Society of Anthropology, Member of the Society of Northern Antiquities, and Member of the American Philosophical Society. In 1901 he was elected F.R.S.; in 1904 F.B.A., and in 1923 he received the honour of Knighthood. There is an interesting picture, in private possession, portraying him at work in the Pyramid field, by Henry Wallis, one of the earliest of the Pre-Raphaelite group of English Artists. G. F. Watts and P. A. Laszlo also painted Sir Flinders's portrait (that by the latter reproduced here), and in the Edwards' Library at University College is a small one by Mrs. Guy Brunton.

In 1897 he married Hilda, daughter of Denny Umlin of Rustington Grange, Sussex, by whom he had two children, John and Ann, the former now a prisoner of war in Germany. To Lady Petrie, 'on whose toil most of my work depended', he dedicated his *Seventy Years in Archaeology*.

## A SIDELIGHT ON DIOCLETIAN'S REVIVAL OF AGRICULTURE

By NAPHTALI LEWIS

IN *P. Cairo Boak* 9, a land declaration of the 16th year of Diocletian (A.D. 299), a parcel of land is described as *ιδιωτικῆς γῆς σπαρίσης ἰδ' (ἔτους) καὶ ιγ' (ἔτους) καὶ ε' (ἔτους)* (lines 10, 14). The editor comments, 'I have been unable to find other instances of the use of the term *σπαρίση* (= *σπαρείση*), but it is obviously used in the sense of the more usual *ἐσπαρμένη*. Thus we should translate "private land sown in the fourteenth year", etc. As the declaration was drawn up in the 16th year of Diocletian, we are left to infer that the land in question was not sown in the intervening 15th year, although no explanation of this is given. The land could not have been uninundated, as it would have been classed as *ἄβροχος*.<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that Boak has translated the phrase in question correctly. I agree, further, that the land in question was not *ἄβροχος*.<sup>2</sup> But the inference that the land remained unsown in the 15th year after having been sown in the 14th seems unsatisfactory, particularly when we recall the strenuous efforts of the Diocletianic administration to restore to cultivation land which had been abandoned during the anarchy of the third century. I believe that the land here in question was sown in the 15th year as it was in the 14th, and that there is no mention of the 15th year because the phrase *γῆ, σπαρείση ἰδ' ἔτους* means 'land *first* sown (i.e. restored to cultivation) in the 14th year. I shall attempt, in the discussion that follows, to show that the available evidence leads us to this conclusion, and to indicate the significance of this conclusion for the study of Diocletian's attempts to revive the impaired productivity of the Empire.

As Boak saw,<sup>3</sup> the phrase under discussion must be a verbal variant of the more common *γῆ σπορᾶς κ' ἔτους*, which occurs in several papyri of this period. The table on p. 72 contains all the pertinent instances known to me.

Certain significant facts emerge from the tabulation therein. First, on Boak's interpretation parcels Nos. 2, 3, and 5 would have lain idle for two years, the 14th and 15th, after having been sown in the 13th;<sup>4</sup> similarly, parcels 7, 8, and 11 would have remained untilled for at least two years, and parcel 9 for at least three; and in No. 12 we should be faced with cultivation in the 13th year followed by idleness for four years—or even five, since there would be nothing to indicate that the land was actually sown in year 18.

<sup>1</sup> *Études de Papyrologie*, III (1936), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> I do not agree, however, with Boak's reasoning on this point. The fact that the land is here not designated as *ἄβροχος* means that it was flooded in the 16th year, but proves nothing about its condition in the preceding year. My reasons for rejecting the assumption that the land was uninundated in the 15th year will appear in the course of the discussion that follows.

<sup>3</sup> *P. Cairo Boak* 11. 9 n. (*Études de Papyrologie*, III [1936], p. 17).

<sup>4</sup> *P. Théad.* 54 is dated Tybi 18, which is after the normal sowing season: cf. Schnebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–57. On Boak's interpretation it would therefore probably be necessary to assume that parcels 4 and 5 were not cultivated in the 16th year either, but lay idle for at least two and three years respectively.



Secondly, not only private, but also royal land is involved in the category under discussion; and in view of the government's well-known practice of assigning for cultivation state lands that were not voluntarily rented (*ἐπιβολή*), it seems hardly likely that the local administration would have allowed these parcels to remain untilled for two, three, four, and perhaps five years after they had once been cultivated.

No.	Document <sup>1</sup>	Date of Document		Text
		Year of Diocletian	= A.D.	
1	P. Cairo Boak 9. 10, 14	16	299	ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπαρίσης ἰδS' καὶ γS' καὶ εS'
2	„ „ 11. 9	„	„	βασιλικῆς γῆς σπο[rās] γS' καὶ ἰβS' καὶ εS'
3	„ „ 11. 11	„	„	ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορās γS' καὶ ἰβS' καὶ εS'
4	P. Théad. 54. 10-11, 17	„	300	βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορās ἰδ'S καὶ γ'S καὶ ε'S
5	„ 54. 12-13, 18	„	„	„ „ „ γ'S καὶ ἰβ'S καὶ ε'S
6	„ 55. 6, 14	[„]	[„]	„ „ ἰδ'S καὶ γ'S καὶ ε'S
7	P. Col. Inv. No. 181 (11). 4	16 or later	299/300 or later	β(ασιλικῆς) σπορ(ās) γS'
8	„ „ „ 6	„	„	ἰδιω(τικῆς) σ(πορās) γS'
9	„ „ „ 11	„	„	„ σπο(rās) φου(ικῶνος) <sup>2</sup> ἰβS'
10	„ „ „ 24	„	„	„ σπορās ἰδS'
11	„ „ „ 37	„	„	β(ασι)λικῆς σπορās γS'
12	P. NYU Inv. No. xv (26). 9	18	302	βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορās γS' καὶ ἰβS' καὶ εS'

Unless we are prepared to assume that they *could* not be cultivated in these years because they were left *ἄβροχοι* by a succession of low Niles—an extremely hazardous assumption in the total absence of supporting evidence<sup>3</sup>—the logical inference from these considerations is that the parcels of land under discussion continued in regular cultivation after the year specified. However, we do not have to be content with mere inference, for confirmation is at hand. *P. NYU* records a cession of land in which the royal land of parcel No. 12 is transferred along with some private land, to which, obviously, it had been attached through the *ἐπιβολή*.<sup>4</sup> In *P. Théad.* 54 and 55 each of our parcels is specifically described as τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ (or μοι) μέρος βασιλικῆς γῆς. Thus it is clear that these parcels at least (and presumably also the other parcels of royal land with which we are concerned) had in fact been assigned for compulsory cultivation on a permanent and hereditary basis; and the year 'of sowing' indicated for each parcel is, it seems logical to suppose, the year in which the land was saddled upon and first cultivated by its assignee. Finally, it is significant that while in *P. Cairo Boak* 11 γῆ σπορίμη and γῆ σπορās x ἔτους are totalled separately, in *P. Col.* they are totalled together as γῆ σπορίμη. The designation σπορās x ἔτους, in other words, was not retained for very

<sup>1</sup> The Columbia and New York University papyri are unpublished pieces from the same Karanis archive as the Cairo papyri published by Boak. They will hereafter be referred to simply as *P. Col.* and *P. NYU*. Revised texts of *P. Théad.* 54 and 55 are appended to *P. Cairo Boak* 11 (*Études de Papyrologie*, III [1936], pp. 18-24).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten*, pp. 295-6.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, *P. Col.* contains a bit of evidence which renders this assumption all but impossible. Right near parcel No. 9—in the same τόπος of the same σφραγίς of the village of Karanis, and bordering on the same irrigation-channel (ὕδραγωγός)—lay a field described as σπορίμη. On the above assumption this would mean that in at least three successive years parcel No. 9 did not receive the flood waters, while a neighbouring, perhaps adjacent, field did—a conceivable occurrence perhaps, but a most improbable one.

<sup>4</sup> *P. NYU* thus affords a parallel to the document published by Bell, *Recueil Champollion*, pp. 261-71.

long, and the reason is apparent: such land became regularly sown ('seed') land, and was soon termed such, *γη σπορίμνη*. However, the fact that the expression was used at all probably means that for a time at least the lands so designated formed a separate category of some sort; perhaps they were formerly derelict (royal) or neglected (private) lands on which an exemption or reduction of rental or tax was granted for the first few years after their restoration to cultivation.<sup>1</sup>

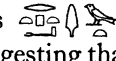

In any case, it is apparent that the lands in question continued to be cultivated after the year specified in the phrase *σπορᾶς κ' ἔτους*. What, then, does this phrase mean? For my part, I do not see what else it can indicate but the year in which the land so designated was *first* sown—i.e. first restored to cultivation. This year, it will have been noticed from the table, was in one case the 12th and in all the rest the 13th or 14th (= A.D. 295/6–297/8). This can hardly be a mere coincidence. It indicates, rather, that in the years immediately preceding the famous census of A.D. 297,<sup>2</sup> the administration, employing (as we have seen) its customary methods of compulsion tempered perhaps with certain concessions, made a concerted effort to increase agricultural production and, thereby, the revenues of the state. The census itself was an integral part, or a continuation, of this effort, for the government officials who checked the census returns saw to it that the maximum possible area was registered in the category of 'seed' land, which, being the most productive, was subject to the highest rate of tax or rental. We know from *P. Corn.* 20 that during the next census (A.D. 302), after the preliminary declarations had been submitted by the landholders, survey parties were sent out to see how much of the land declared as 'dry' or 'ownerless' (i.e. derelict) could be re-classed as 'seed' land. *P. Cairo Boak* 8–11 and *P. Théad.* 54 and 55 testify to the activity of similar survey parties in connexion with the census of 297.





<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that a similar inducement was resorted to in A.D. 302 in order to restore abandoned lands to cultivation is made by the editors of *P. Corn.* (p. 111; but cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, VIII, p. 296). The history of such inducements in the Roman Empire is almost as long as the history of the Empire itself. Aurelian, for example, had ordered the *decuriones* of the towns to cultivate the abandoned lands within their territories, and in return had granted them a three-years' exemption from taxes on these lands (cf. Seeck, *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI, col. 30). Nearly a century earlier Pertinax had granted ten years' exemption from all taxes and outright title of ownership to those who undertook to cultivate derelict lands, whether private or imperial (Herodian, 2. 4. 6); and Pertinax' measure was but an extension of similar measures instituted by the Flavians and Hadrian (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Rom. Emp.*, pp. 321–2, 374).

<sup>2</sup> This was the initial census of the new five-year cycle established by Diocletian. The census was presumably decreed in 297 in connexion with the new system of taxation instituted in that year (*P. Cairo Boak* 1; cf. 2, Introd.); but the actual taking of the census apparently did not begin until year 15 (298/9), and the verification of the preliminary declarations continued, in the Fayyūm at least, well into the following year (299/300): cf. *P. Corn.* 19, *P. Flor.* 32 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 228), *P. Cairo Boak* 2 and 8–11, *P. Théad.* 54 and 55.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

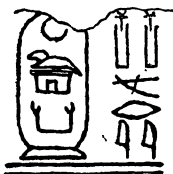
## Co-regencies of Ammenemes III, IV and Sebknofru

PROFESSOR EDGERTON (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, I [1942], 307-14) has recently raised the subject of co-regencies in the Twelfth Dynasty. For that of Ammenemes III and IV he cites Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte*, I, 328, with n. 3, as well as *Ann. Serv.* xxiv, 65-8. Additional evidence is found in two scarabs, one in the Louvre (Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 9, 36), the other in University College, London (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 14, without number); in both the prenominal of Ammenemes III precedes the Horus name and nomen of Ammenemes IV. Further evidence is given by a cylinder-seal formerly in the MacGregor collection (Newberry, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, 19) and a plaque in the British Museum (*Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* [1922], 144, glazed No. 22879). The cylinder-seal has the prenominal and nomen of Ammenemes III together with the nomen Ameny; here Ammenemes is preceded by *ntr nfr nb tswy*. The plaque also bears the nomen Ammenemes preceded by *ntr nfr nb tswy*, with, to the right, the prenominal of Ammenemes IV and, to the left, *st Rc n ht-f* Ameny. In both these small objects Ameny is employed as a shortened form of Ammenemes; on this point, see Griffith, *PSBA* xiv, 39. It is not definitely known who was the wife of Ammenemes IV, but she was probably Ptaḥnofru, the first princess whose name is enclosed in a cartouche, if we exclude the *Ntikrti* (Nitocris) of the Turin Papyrus compiled in the Ramesside period. That Ptaḥnofru was a daughter of Ammenemes III is proved by the inscription on a small granite sphinx published by me in 1903 (*PSBA* xxv, 359, cf. Legrain, *Ann. Serv.* iv, 133); that she was his eldest daughter may be inferred from her title *rprt* 'Hereditary Princess', which is given on this and other of her monuments. A letter (Griffith, *Kah. Pap.*, pl. 35) naming the 'King's-Daughter Ptaḥnofru' was found sealed with a large and much injured seal of Ammenemes III (Petrie, *Kahun*, pl. 10, 21); this connects her with the lifetime of the king (Griffith, *op. cit.*, Text, 80). On one monument (*Rec. Trav.* x, 142) she has the title *šnt-ntr* 'sister of the god' (i.e. the king), while on her statue found at Elephantine (Weigall, *Ann. Serv.* viii, 48) she is described as  'Hereditary Princess, Great of favour, Great of praise', the second and third titles suggesting that she was married to a king or co-regent;  following her cartouche (*Rec. Trav.* x, 142) is also significant in this connexion.

Edgerton's statement that there is no evidence of a co-regency of Ammenemes IV and Sebknofru is, of course, true, but there is definite evidence that she was a co-regent of Ammenemes III in an inscription found at Hawwārah (Petrie, *Kahun*, pl. 11, 1); here the cartouche of the queen is preceded by *st Rc* 'daughter of Rē' and has on either side of it the prenominal of Ammenemes III. With reference to the name Sebknofru (Manethonian *Σκεμιόφρις*) used by Breasted, Ed. Meyer, and other historians, it should be pointed out that there is no contemporary evidence for the final -rē; on all her monuments it is written Sebknofru or Sebksheḏtinofru.<sup>1</sup> On blocks from Hawwārah (Leps., *Dkm.* II, 140, e and f) the cartouche is ; here *st Rc* is enclosed in the cartouche and this form doubtless gave rise to the scribal errors  and  of the Karnak and Turin Lists. That the queen's prenominal was  Sebkkarē is clear from an inscription

<sup>1</sup> The headless granite sphinx found by Naville at Tell el-Birkah (*Goshen*, pl. 9, cf. p. 21) cannot be used as evidence, for he says he is 'not certain' that his reading is correct.






found at Kōm el-'Aḳārib (*Ann. Serv.* xvii, 34) where the ☉ is broken off but may be restored from a contemporary cylinder-seal seen and copied by me some years ago in a dealer's shop in Cairo (figure annexed).<sup>1</sup> The Ṣaḳḳārah List also has this prenomens entered in its right position at the end of the names of the Twelfth Dynasty monarchs, which have been copied by the Ramesside sculptor in their *reverse* order. The Abydos List omits Sebknofru's name.

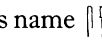




The reign of Ammenemes III was a long one; the highest date at present known is 'year 46'; during this period he may well have had two co-regents, one having died or been deposed before the second was appointed. In the light of what has been said above, I think it is highly probable that Ammenemes IV never reigned alone but was only co-regent of his father Ammenemes III.

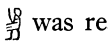
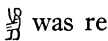
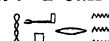
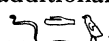
P. E. NEWBERRY

### The God Semseru

SPIEGELBERG, in his clever and readable essay *On the Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt*, pp. 20 ff., cites a number of cases where a legend has been evoked by some notable and familiar monument. The following notes may perhaps convince my readers that there is one Egyptian monument which has not merely evoked a legend, but has actually created a god. In the Story of Sinuhe (B 208), among the deities whose blessing the hero calls down upon the Pharaoh to whom he is writing are four whose names are given as 'Sopd, Neferbiu,  Semseru, and Horus the Easterner'. As so often on Egyptian monuments, it is difficult to discern whether we are here dealing with one composite god or four separate ones. The other known examples of Semseru, enumerated in my *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 79-80, 161, are equally hesitant on this point. At all events it seems fair to say that Semseru, though shown by the late representation Nav., *Goshen*, 5, 4 to resemble Sopd with his falcon head and double feathers, is distinguished from him there through the simple hieroglyphic description  *Smsr*. In Mar., *Dend.*, III, 12, on the contrary, we read of  'Sopd the elder (*sms*) who smites Asia', where Sopd and Semseru are virtually identified; that the epithet *sms* 'the elder' really means Semseru is, as we shall see, shown by the further qualification 'who smites Asia'. This qualification assumes a more specific form in an inscription from Abydos of the reign of Ramesses II, de Rougé, *Inscr. Hiér.*, 29 = *Rec. Trav.* XI, 90  'Sopd Semseru of Asia, he seizes the locks of the Mentiu Beduins in Asia'. Lastly, in Gardiner and Peet, *Inscr. of Sinai*, pl. 64, no. 198, Tuthmosis III is said to  '[grasp] the locks of the chiefs of the foreign land like Semseru'. The two last passages, which display the same hesitancy as to the identity or duality of Sopd and Semseru, conjure up the image of one of those familiar monuments upon which the king is seen stunning an enemy with his club.

Now the monument here alluded to is known. It is none other than that earliest of all the sculptures on the rocks of the Wādy Maghārah, Gardiner and Peet, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, no. 1a, where the king, as in the above descriptions, is seen grasping his enemy by the hair. The Horus name  *Smr-hit* is written above the scene. This name is well known to belong to the First Dynasty king whom Manetho called Σεμέμης. This Greek form cannot be derived from the Horus name, and must somehow arise from an interpretation of the strange sign  which on contemporary monuments constitutes the *insibiya* and *nebti* name, and takes a considerably modified and equally incomprehensible shape in the Table of Abydos. Happily the Turin Canon shows the reading  *smsm* from which, by a not too difficult metathesis, Σεμέμης must obviously have been obtained. But *smsm* is one of those reduplications which, as Sethe showed long ago (*Verbum*, I, § 338), regularly

<sup>1</sup> I believe this specimen was bought by Mr. Nash of Margate and is now in his collection. The lower half of a similar cylinder-seal was in the Blanchard Coll.

have as forerunner a half reduplicated form having only the first of the two repeated radical consonants. Hence it seems probable that, at all events earlier than the Story of Sinuhe, the cryptic  was read  *smšw* 'the elder', whether or no this was the original reading. We have seen that in the late Denderah example this word for 'elder' is actually used for the god whom we are seeking to explain. What then of the intrusive *r* of *Šmšrw*? I can offer no explanation, but incontestable analogies exist. The most familiar is the plural  'Nile inundations' and the corresponding singulars *Hpr*, *Hrp* (instead of the more usual *Hcpy*) to which I called attention in *ZÄS* XLV, 140 f. These were subsequently explained as due to change of *ṛ* into *r* after *h*, a change of which Dévaud and Sethe produced additional evidence, *ZÄS* XLVII, 163 f. That explanation fails, however, to account for the name  *Dndrw* (Sethe, *Pyr.* 633), name of a deity or divine boat, which can hardly be separated from the stern *dnd* 'be wrathful'; few will care to accept Sethe's suggestion that the final *r* may be the remains of the word *rw* 'lion' affixed to form a compound, but the valuable note in his *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, III, 173 f. gives further examples of the word.

ALAN H. GARDINER

### Magnesium in Egyptian Copper-bronze Objects

LAST moment checking of the spectrograms in Pl. III above has revealed the definite presence of magnesium lines of varying intensities in all the specimens. So far as I know, no note of the presence of magnesium in Egyptian bronzes has hitherto been published. Was magnesium in ancient Egyptian bronzes an inclusion, is its presence to be regarded as an accidental impurity, or was it intentionally alloyed with copper to increase hardness? This and other questions must remain unanswered pending further study of the problem.

DOWS DUNHAM

### On the Carrying Capacity of Ramesside Grain-ships

IN Dr. Gardiner's account of grain transport on the Nile in the Ramesside period (*JEA*, xxvii, 19 ff.) the carrying capacity of each of two of the largest vessels is stated (p. 47) to have been about 42 tons of corn, or 900 sacks of 2 bushels each.

As I have shown in my article on *The Frameless Boats of the Middle Nile*, published in the *Mariner's Mirror* (vols. xxv and xxvi, 1939 and 1940), the hulls of the cargo nuggars plying on the Nile, south of the Fourth Cataract, agree in all essentials of construction with those of the Dahshūr boats of the Twelfth Dynasty, allowing for minor differences entailed by the substitution of metal nails or spikes for wooden dowels and for the disuse of double dove-tail tenons. In both the ancient and the modern type the hulls are put together entirely without cross framing (ribs), the necessary strength and rigidity being given by the employment of specially thick planking, sometimes as much as 3½ inches in thickness, and by the provision of numerous cross-beams which bind the sides together just below gunwale level; the ends of these beams pass through the uppermost strake on each side to which they are securely nailed.

No true keel is present, its place being taken by a median longitudinal beam of massive dimensions.

The breadth in both the Dahshūr boat and the Sudan nuggar is exceptionally great, whereas the depth is reduced to a minimum in order to facilitate navigation in shallow waters. As a consequence the hull in transverse section appears as almost a perfect arc of a circle, the counterpart of a shallow, rounded arch in architecture; as in the arch this form affords strength to maintain the original curvature when under considerable pressure and gives the hull power to carry heavy loads without suffering the distortion and damage which otherwise would occur owing to the water pressure exerted upon the exterior when deeply laden.

That the employment of frames or ribs in modern Sudanese craft is rendered unnecessary when built on these lines, is shown by the fact that many are of as great burden as were the Ramesside

craft listed in the papyri which have been studied. As the construction agrees basically with that of the only examples of ancient Egyptian craft that have survived the vicissitudes of several millennia—those of Dahshūr—we are justified in considering the modern cargo carriers that ply on the Nile southward of the Fourth Cataract as being their direct lineal descendants, the survival of a constructional design which, in Egypt, has been supplanted by one based upon a radically different technique apparently originated in the Mediterranean and introduced into Egypt through foreign influence.

Granted then that the design of the hulls of these Sudanese vessels is, in essentials, a recapitulation of that employed by the shipwrights who built the Nilotic craft of ancient Egypt, it becomes possible to estimate the dimensions of the Ramesside vessels that were capable of carrying a load of 42 tons of corn.

When in Khartoum in 1939 I was able to obtain details of a considerable number of representative cargo nuggars from the registers kept at the Government dockyard; the dimensions of a few of the largest of these are appended:

<i>Register number</i>	<i>Length overall in metres</i>	<i>Beam Metres</i>	<i>Girth Metres</i>	<i>Burden in ardebs</i>	<i>Crew</i>	<i>Ratio of length to beam</i>
5458	18·80	7·25	9·15	303	6	2·60
5456	17·90	7·20	9·07	284	8	2·49
5452	15·50	6·40	8·15	197	5	2·42
5454	16·35	5·90	7·42	174	7	2·77
5463	14·60	6·00	7·70	164	6	2·43

Considering the largest of these vessels, we note that it has a carrying capacity of 303 standard ardebs, each ardeb being reckoned as equal to 198 litres or about 396 lb. avoirdupois. If, however, the cargo carried be grain, the weight per ardeb will vary with the description according as it be wheat, barley, maize, or durah, &c. If it be of wheat, the ardeb is reckoned to weigh 334 rotl; if of barley, only 267 rotl, while if the cargo be of equal quantities of each, the weight per ardeb works out at an average of 300·5 rotl. Taking the rotl as 0·99 of a pound, the cargo capacity of the largest nuggar listed above is approximately 44·64 tons of wheat, whereas if it consist of equal quantities of wheat and barley, the total weight will be reduced to about 36 tons. In practice, a nuggar is frequently loaded considerably above its registered tonnage.

By far the greater part of the cargo is stowed at and above the deck level, here represented by the cross-beams. When the cargo is bulky, as in the case of grain in sacks, an outrigger frame is often rigged out on each side; this consists of two booms connected by a pole at the outer ends. Upon these booms, projecting outboard on each side of the vessel, is laid a rough flooring of poles or planks to form temporary outboard platforms with a view to increase the stowage area and carrying capacity. When loading is completed quite a considerable quantity of the cargo is carried upon these outrigger platforms.<sup>1</sup>

The inference from all this is that the Ramesside grain boats in question, being roughly of the same burden as the largest of the modern Sudanese nuggars, must have been nearly similar in dimensions—about 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  metres in length by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  metres beam. Owing to the absence of a projecting keel the girth, taken in conjunction with the known breadth, enables us to determine the transverse sectional form of the hull with exactitude; this would be impossible if depth were given in place of girth as is the usual practice in the measurement of European ships in which the transverse hull form varies within very wide limits.

<sup>1</sup> J. Hornell, loc. cit., p. 430, fig. 3, and pl. iv, fig. 2. Also *The Outrigger-Nuggar of the Blue Nile, Antiquity*, Sept. 1938.

The beam of these Nilotic vessels, both ancient and modern, is notably excessive in proportion to the length; as will be seen, the average length is only about two and a half times that of the beam. This explains why the *rais* of such a craft was so often termed 'the master of a broad boat' in the Ramesside documents under reference.

There can be no doubt that much of what was characteristic of the everyday life of the people in Ancient Egypt has lingered on upon the banks of the Nile in Nubia and the northern Sudan, where the conservative habits of the people, aided by the remote and comparative inaccessibility of their inhospitable country, have combined to erect a barrier against the influence of intrusive foreign culture far more effective than has been possible in Egypt itself.

JAMES HORNELL

### Pap. Argent. Gr. 1, verso, Col. I

A REPRODUCTION of this tenant's agricultural account, which was written in the late third or the early fourth century A.D., was published in 1901, and several passages of it were at that time transcribed,<sup>1</sup> but it is a recent revision kindly made by Prof. P. Collomp of the University of Strasbourg for the present author in 1936 which enables him to give a more complete transcript together with many valuable remarks by the distinguished French papyrologist.

- Λόγος λ[ή]μματος [οὐσία]ς Βησοδώρου.  
 Αἶρ[ετό]ν ἀπὸ [Β]η[σοδώ]ρου λινο[κα-]  
 λάμης δέματα [ώ]ς μ[νᾶς] ᾧ ρῆ, [καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕσ-]  
 τατα ἀπενεχ[μέν]ης εἰς τὴν [οὐσί-]  
 5 ἀν Βη[σο]δώρου δ[μ]ο[ί]ο[υ] (?) <ὡς μνῶν>ε̄ σ̄/. Τὰ δὲ λ[οι]π[ά]  
 τνε μ[οι] δέματα, [καθώ]ς τοῦ ἐνὸς [δέ-]  
 ματος μνᾶ [α. 'Ο]μ[ο]ι[ο]ν? νομ[μ]ο[υ] τὰ [(τάλαντα) κ]ε. [Τού-]  
 του (γίνονται) μναῖ ρ[.]. [Ἐκ τ]ούτων δεδ[ω-]  
 κα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τῆ γεούχω μναῖ (sic)  
 10 οβ̄ καὶ ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τοῦ γεού-  
 χου ὥστε Θεῶνι ὀφιλικιαλίω (sic)  
 τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου σίππια λ[ί]τραι κε, ἄ[ρ]μαῖ ις.  
 /Τοῦ λήμματος μναῖ ρμζ̄.  
 'Ανθ' οὐ ἀνηλώθη(σαν) μνα[ι . .]η, λοιπέ (sic)  
 15 παρ' ἐμοὶ σίππια μναῖ[. .]θ. Τούτων  
 ἀνηλώθη ἀπὸ τῆς τ(ιμ)ῆς αὐτῶν  
 φόρετρον τοῖς κτή(νε)σι(ν) ὑπὲρ ὄνων ο̄ε  
 ὡς τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄνου (δρ.) σ̄[ ] (ταλ.) β (δρ.) γ̄,  
 μισθοῦ ἐκτινάξε(ιν) τὰ σ[ί]ππια ὡς τοῦ  
 20 μὲν δημαρίου ἐνὸς (ταλ.) α (ταλ.) β (δρ.) γ̄.

1. C. 'D'une façon générale l'ν final de ou est toujours écrit sous forme horizontale, au dessus de l'ο.'

2. C. 'A paraît certain, ι mutilé, ρ certain. Mais après le ρ il y a un espace de papyrus (environ 1 lettre de large) qui ne porte aucune trace d'écriture. Puis, trou de 3 lettres environ; au bord droit du trou légère trace indistincte. Cette trace peut être un reste du ν et justifier la lecture αἶρ[ετό]ν.'

4. C. 'Après le χ lacune de 3 lettres environ, puis traces qui ne paraissent pas pouvoir appartenir à un ν, mais plutôt à un σ.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Kalbfleisch, *Papyri Argentoratenses Graecae*. Progr. Rostock, *Semestre Aestivum* (1901), 8 and pl. iv. My own remarks in *Symbolae Osloenses*, xiv (1935), 83, n. 3 have now to be corrected. Col. II and III of Pap. Argent. Gr. 1, verso are rather fragmentary parts of the same account.

5. C. 'Βη[σο]δαρου. Puis une lettre mutilée trop arrondie pour δ.'
6. C. 'Le premier caractère n'est pas clair pour moi. Le sigma après la lacune paraît ligaturé à la précédente.'
7. C. 'La lecture ματος paraît un peu courte; μνας possible, mais peu probable.'
9. Read τῶ instead of τῆ, μνάς instead of μναί.
11. C. 'Je lis οφιλικιαλιω.' This is perhaps a contamination of *officialis* with ὀφείλω in popular Egyptian etymology. For the members of the *officium* of the *procurator usiacus* of Egypt and the *officia* of his colleagues in other Roman provinces, cp. E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spätromischen Reiches* (1928), 68 f., 105.
14. C. 'Le η après la lacune très douteux, paraît surchargé.' Read λουπαί.

Our text is of numismatic interest. A. Segrè<sup>1</sup> has recently doubted my assertion that the expressions δραχμή Ἀττική and δηνάριον in many Egyptian documents of the time from Diocletian to Constantine the Great mean the new silver coin issued by these Emperors, and that νούμμιον, in the same texts, means as a rule the imperial gold coin. Ll. 7 and 20 of our papyrus, according to which the δηνάριον was equal to no less than one talent of debased Egyptian drachms and the νούμμιον at least to 5 and probably to 25 talents, give additional proof that Segrè's interpretation cannot be accepted.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

### The Word *hm* in 'His Majesty' and the like

IN *ZÄS* LXXV, 112 ff. J. Spiegel raises afresh the problem of  $\text{𓆎}$ ,  $\text{𓆏}$  *hm·f*, *hm·k*, etc., concluding that  $\text{𓆎}$  was originally a word for 'body' or 'form'. To this theory there are, to my mind, two grave objections: (1) that no example exists with the determinative  $\text{𓆏}$  for 'limb', and (2) that the new hypothesis throws overboard the recognition, implicitly or explicitly entertained by most Egyptologists, that in reference to the king *hm* was intended to avoid direct reference to his sacred person. My purpose here is merely to note that the employment of  $\text{𓆎}$   $\text{𓆏}$   $\text{𓆏}$  *zš·k* 'thy scribe' in place of 'thou' in the O.K. letter edited by P. C. Smither in *JEA* XXVIII, 16 ff. lends a renewed plausibility to the view that  $\text{𓆎}$   $\text{𓆏}$  may originally have meant 'thy servant'.<sup>2</sup> The subsequent developments would, it is true, be very incongruous to our Western modes of thought, and I throw out the suggestion merely for what it is worth.

ALAN H. GARDINER

### Corrections to Brief Communication, vol. XXVIII, p. 69

IN vol. XXVIII, p. 69, note 3, there are two misprints:  $\text{𓆏}$  should be  $\text{𓆏}$  and  $\text{𓆏}$   $\text{𓆏}$ . Further in l. 3 of my article (on the same page)  $\text{𓆏}$  needed no correction:  $\text{𓆏}$  when plural often takes singular  $\text{𓆏}$ -, e.g. *Αποκ.* xvii, 8 *SB* (but cf. Greek), *Phil.* iv, 3 *B* (*S*  $\text{𓆏}$ -), *Elias* 40 *A*, *Ryl.* 268 *S*.

W. E. CRUM

<sup>1</sup> *Byzantion*, xv (1940/1), 250 f., nn. 7 and 11 against F. M. Heichelheim, *Symbolae Osloenses*, xiv (1935), 82 f. and *Pap. Oslo III*, No. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly the examples in reference to private persons quoted Gardiner & Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 16.



## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, vol. iii. Ed. A. C. JOHNSON and S. P. GOODRICH. Princeton, 1942. xii + 124 pp.

With the production of this handsome volume, the last, unfortunately, of its series, I have only one fault to find: it has no photographs. This is a serious lack, for photographs do more than establish confidence between editor and reader; when, as here, the texts edited are fragmentary and of uncertain and varying origin, they help to prove relationship between fragments in different collections. About the method of editing two minor complaints may be made, the first that it is not always clear whether the first line printed was actually the first line of the column (e.g. **176** and **180**), the second, that the editors are inconsistent in their treatment of symbols: sometimes it is impossible to find out from text or index what the symbol used is.

The literary texts call for little comment. We may note a new medical text (I am at a loss to parse *διαφορεῖσαι* in l. 34: incidentally, the list of medical papyri published since 1931 given by the editors is incomplete), a philosophical fragment (? read *ἀνάπ[αυσω]* in l. 4), and fragments of the *Hellenica* and Antiphon's *Antidosis* 16–17 (not 16–18, as the edd.).

To the often difficult fragments that form the bulk of the documents the editors have done well to add notes, even if infrequent, and translations. The latter sometimes need revision; e.g. *ἐκπλέξωμεν αὐτὸ* in **164** means not *let us confound him*, but *let us clear it up* and *κυρία ἐστὶ ἡ γένεσις* in **165** cannot be translated *it is my official birthday*. Among the most interesting texts are **119**, perhaps not a petition so much as the speech for the defence against a *delator* who lays claim to the defendants' lands on the ground that they have not paid their taxes (early 4th Century A.D.); **136**, a land-register of the 4/5th Century A.D. (a very badly documented period in the papyri); **148**, a lease of A.D. 172 in which the lessee stipulates that he shall not be *compelled* to renew the lease on the same terms; **151**, a fourth-century lease of two 'immortal' female slaves, i.e. should they die during the lease, the lessor must replace them; **188**, a fragmentary letter from wife to husband (clearly in financial difficulties) to say that, as ordered, she has exposed her infant (l. 13 read *ἀμ]ελήσητε* and *ἐπέμβασθε*, not *-εσθε*).

A few other points may be noticed. **116**: this is a letter, not a petition (cf. *ὑπέσχου* l.6); **137**, 1: ?[*Εὐ]τόλμιος*, not [*Π*]τολμῖω(ν); **138**, 2: can *υἱο(ῦ)* be read for *ὑπό*? **140**, 1 r.i.8 for *δ(ιὰ) τοῦ Τεκνω( ) Νουνε* read *δ(ιὰ) τῶ(ν) τέκνω(ν) Νουνε* and 2 r.i.7 for *Ἀνδρθου* read *Ἀνδρέου*; **148**, 29 for *Λυ(κό)πολ(ις)* read *Λυ(κο)πολ(ίτης)*; **169**: to the words *ἐραστῆς γεγένημαι τῆς σῆς θ[ ] , θαυμασιότητος* not (as the editors suggest) *θυγατρὸς* should be supplied—it is a begging, not a love, letter; **170**, 5: read *ὀκνολάκκο[ν]*; **180**: this is not a lease of garden-land, but an inventory (cf. *συντιμηθέντα* in l.9) in which some church property is included: hence the reference to the Gospels and (? the Acts of) the Apostles; **181**, 6: read *γέρ]δεις*; **186**, 3: read *διό]τι*.

On some of these texts there is still a lot of work to be done; but for doing the first (always the most difficult) work on them, and for the attractive way in which they have presented it, the editors deserve our thanks.

C. H. ROBERTS

OTHER NEW BOOKS: A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit: Inst. fr. d'arch. or., bibliothèque d'étude*, T. XIII. Cairo, 1942. Small 4to, viii + 135 pp., 9 half-tone plates. Texts from the tomb of Ramesses VI, with translations and comments; a chapter on the enigmatic writing by É. Drioton.

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