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NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND OTHER SUBSCRIBERS TO *JEA*

Owing to the serious curtailment of space it is not proposed to continue the annual Indexes that were customary until Vol. XXVII. For these there may be substituted a quinquennial or decennial Index, which would, indeed, be of far greater utility.

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

AGAIN this year the losses of our Society by death have been very heavy, though we have the consolation that the cutting short of no young lives has to be recorded. On the other hand, the passing of such well-beloved personalities as Dr. W. E. Crum, Sir Herbert Thompson, and Sir Henry Lyons could not be other than a cruel blow. Of these the youngest was Crum at the age of nearly seventy-nine; all had long careers of brilliant achievement behind them, and have left great heritages of permanent gain. Sir Henry Lyons, F.R.S., our most recent loss, was no Egyptologist in the literal sense, but as a scientifically highly gifted administrator, former Director of the Egyptian Survey Department, and author of books on Philae and on the Nile, as well as of articles in this *Journal*, made important indirect contributions to our more special field; for a long time he acted as Chairman of our Committee, and often presided at our lectures; his death on August 10, 1944, occurred too late for inclusion of a memoir in this volume, but the Editor cannot refrain from here giving voice to his own grateful recollection of much encouragement given in former years. Similar debts are owing from himself among many to the two others whose departure we mourn, both of them very eminent scholars. The name of Crum was almost synonymous with Coptic studies, a domain in which he stood forth pre-eminent, though Thompson also could here lay claim to an honourable place. It was, however, mainly as a demotist that Thompson excelled; in this line he was second in our country only to Griffith. Tributes to the memories of Crum and Thompson will be found farther on in these pages.

As the War nears its end, our thoughts cannot fail to be preoccupied with the future of our studies. Will it prove possible to resume these in much the same manner as before, or will such intellectual endeavours go to the wall in face of economic stress? Fortunately there are signs favouring the more optimistic view. The Conference on the Future of Archaeology, held in London in August 1943, revealed much enthusiasm for that subject, and reports from Egypt tell of a like interest among the officers there. How the finances of our Society will stand is very uncertain, but as regards facilities for training young Egyptologists we are far better placed than could have been anticipated a decade ago. The Griffith Institute at Oxford is equipped with a library of almost unrivalled excellence, and London and Liverpool likewise present good opportunities. The Budge Fellowships at our two chief Universities ought to be of great help. And now, just in time for mention here, comes the news of Sir Herbert Thompson's great benefaction to Cambridge 'with the wish that it be applied for the study of Egyptology'. May the coming generation prove itself worthy of such enlightened forethought!

The veil screening France from our sight has at last been lifted, and readers will rejoice that all news of our colleagues there is satisfactory. Nor have we heard of loss from the Louvre, though in this matter details must be awaited.

A RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF ḤAREMḤAB

By JOHN D. COONEY

THE relief illustrated in pls. I, II is a fragment from the famous tomb of Ḥaremḥab at Memphis, purchased in 1932 by the Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum for the Egyptian collection. Previously published,[1] the relief has remained comparatively unknown. A brief republication in a journal of wider distribution seems, accordingly, to be warranted, not only because the relief is a fine example of New Kingdom art, but also because it bears an inscription which seems to date the tomb.

At the time of purchase no information was acquired concerning the recent history of the relief. It appears to have been for some time in a private collection in France, to which country it was probably taken when the reliefs from the tomb were dispersed in the nineteenth century. Some years ago Professor Jean Capart of Brussels, Belgium, remarked to me that the Brooklyn fragment was certainly to be connected with a very similar piece in the Louvre,[2] which shows another part of the same scene; and I agree with his identification. While in the previous publication no basis was given for the identification of the Brooklyn relief, I think there can be no doubt of its connexion with Ḥaremḥab's tomb, in view of the subject, the style, and the relationship to the Louvre fragment.

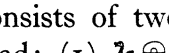
The subject-matter, Ḥaremḥab receiving royal awards in the presence of his troops, is conventional, but the splendid workmanship and the individual treatment of each face, verging on portraiture, make this relief an outstanding example of late Eighteenth Dynasty art. As the illustration is complete and clear there is no necessity to describe the piece in detail; a few remarks will suffice to complete the description.

The relief, of very white, hard limestone, measures 0·418 × 0·366 m. All the bodies retain, to some extent, extensive areas of light orange-red paint. The wigs, now black, were probably originally blue, but the staves, so far as I recall, retain no trace of paint. In the upper right corner of the relief is the upraised and extended right arm of a figure now lost. This, to judge by the position of the arm, was certainly Ḥaremḥab himself, receiving his golden awards. Over the heads are preserved very slight traces of the upper register, suggesting an architectural subject, probably a portion of the palace, from the balcony of which the King was rewarding his general. The Louvre fragment, a continuation of the group of soldiers, is to be replaced at the left end of the Brooklyn relief. To the right and above was the King on his balcony. As these notes are written far from access to books and records, I cannot determine whether the two pieces connect with any other known fragments.

[1] E. L. M. T(aggert), *A Note on the Horemheb Relief*, in *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, XIX (No. 4, October 1932), 147–50, with illustration on cover. Also illustrated without comment in *Annual Report of the Brooklyn Institute*, 1935.

[2] J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, II, pl. 61.

RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF ḤAREMḤAB
NOW IN THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

The inscription is of great interest; and a complete translation of it can now be given to replace the tentative reading which appeared in the first publication. It consists of two short lines, poorly cut and retaining no trace of paint. These lines read: (1)  (2) *ṯzy sryt (n) n pꜣ sꜣ Mrwt-pꜣ-ỉtn Mn-ḫꜥy* 'Standard-bearer of the regiment "Love of the Aten" Minkhaʿy'. The third sign of line one is almost completely effaced, but the diagonal stroke leaves no doubt that it was the red crown. I was unable to fit this letter into my translation until Gardiner very kindly verified my reading, explaining it as a mistake of the scribe. He also verified the reading of the strangely divided group  as *mrwt*, a point that had puzzled me. The inscription identifies the elegant soldier in the threefold wig directly under the inscription as Minkhaʿy, a variant of a well-known name.[1] But the important part of the inscription is the mention of the Aten, and that in the name of a military corps. So far as I recollect no other portion of Ḥaremḥab's tomb contains a reference to the Aten.

While there has never been any doubt of the general period of the tomb, its exact dating has been a matter of much speculation, the most generally accepted date being that given by Winlock,[2] who suggests the reign of Tutʿankhamūn. The inscription on the Brooklyn piece seems to point, however, to a slightly earlier date.

The terminal dates for the use of Aten in the name of a military unit are from the last years of the reign of Amenophis III to the reigns of Akhenaten's immediate successors. Since the ʿAmarnah heresy showed signs of disintegration even previous to Akhenaten's death, it is improbable that a military unit would have received, after that monarch's death, a name connected with a waning cause. The style of the relief, as shown below, precludes a date previous to the founding of ʿAmarnah, and the very name, 'Love of the Aten', has the sentimental tone which permeates the whole ʿAmarnah movement. This reference to the Aten was so obscure that it escaped observation when Ḥaremḥab returned to the orthodox party. Combined with the analysis of style, the inscription seems to me to indicate the reign of Akhenaten as the most probable date of the tomb, or at least of that portion from which this relief comes. Unless other evidence comes to light, accordingly, the date of the tomb must be shifted back to the reign of Akhenaten, probably well into his reign; for the style of the Brooklyn relief shows ʿAmarnah art in its mature stage, minus any of the early exaggerations.

Every detail of the style points to an ʿAmarnah date. The exaggeratedly elegant and elongated hands are commonplace details of the period, found even later, but the composition of the hands of the right end group betrays the ʿAmarnah style. Here the hands break over into the upper register in an arrangement leading up gradually to the highest hand of all, the central figure of Ḥaremḥab. This was a device used at ʿAmarnah to concentrate attention on the central figure, one of the innovations of the period. The timid efforts to unite separate registers by means of overlapping details are also typical of the ʿAmarnah school. The soldiers are divided into groups with a space between each group, while the groups themselves are again divided into pairs of two

[1] H. Ranke, *Die ägyptische Personennamen*, p. 264, no. 8.

[2] H. E. Winlock, *A Statue of Horemhab before his Accession*, in *JEA*, x, 1–5. See also the same author's *Harmhab, commander-in-chief of the Armies of Tutenkhamen*, in *Bull. MMA*, xviii (1923), pt. 2.

soldiers each. This technique replaced the older, conventional massing of groups for the brief span of the ʿAmarnah age. Whether we have portraiture in the faces is debatable, but certainly we have a series of individuals each of whom stands out as a marked physical type. Individuality of so pronounced a type can best be explained by an ʿAmarnah date. Particularly striking evidence of the ʿAmarnah school is found in the division of the interest of this small group of soldiers. The second and third pairs from the right gaze upward at the King, the others at Ḥaremḥab. The introduction of psychological unity in reliefs is an ʿAmarnah contribution and has been very fully commented on by Frankfort.[1] The absence of the exaggerations typical of early ʿAmarnah work precludes a date early in the reign of Akhenaten. The faces show no trace of the conventionalized individuality or of the ugliness so prevalent in early ʿAmarnah work, nor of the distorted bodies that were one of the most noticeable and unfortunate innovations of ʿAmarnah. Only the soldier at the extreme right shows any trace of sagging abdominal muscles, and he is portrayed as an elderly, bald-headed man. It is strange to find so masterly an example of the ʿAmarnah school at distant Memphis. Possibly Akhenaten donated the services of sculptors from the royal workshops at ʿAmarnah.

As Winlock has remarked in the article referred to above, the influence of ʿAmarnah did not disappear overnight. Mere traces of it in the Ḥaremḥab reliefs would, accordingly, be uncertain evidence of the exact date of the tomb. The attributes of the developed ʿAmarnah style are, however, so dominant in the Brooklyn relief that on stylistic grounds alone I cannot see any alternative to a date for this tomb in the latter part of the reign of Akhenaten. Combined with the evidence of the inscription, I think an ʿAmarnah date reasonably certain for Ḥaremḥab's tomb.

[1] *The Mural Painting of El-ʿAmarneh*, p. 9.

POSTSCRIPT. Almost two years after writing the above paper I have found a recent publication of the Brooklyn relief: J. Vandier, *Deux fragments de la tombe Memphite d'Horemheb conservés au Musée du Louvre*, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, Paris, 1939, vol. II, pp. 811–18, with pl. I. Although dated 1939, the volume was not issued until later, since when international conditions have precluded distribution. Vandier interprets the subject of the Louvre-Brooklyn relief as a symbolical homage to Ḥaremḥab, but the photograph furnished him of the Brooklyn relief is so very poor that it does not reveal the king's arm on which the identification of the scene rests, nor does it permit a reading of the inscription. Now that I have available a photograph of the Louvre relief, the only remark I can add is that the figures in the Brooklyn portion represent the officers of the regiment mentioned in the inscription, and those in the Louvre portion the men too. The inscription seems to me to contradict Vandier's late dating of the tomb (post-Akhenaten).

PLATE I

DETAIL OF A
RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF ḤAREMḤAB
NOW IN THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

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
(*Concluded*)

ACT II
THE REJOICING OVER THE VICTORY

SCENE I
EXHORTATION TO HORUS IN HIS WAR-GALLEY AND TO THE HARPOONERS

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. VII; *E.* VI, 78–81; XIII, pls. DVII–DVIII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. A large ship, its sail distended with the wind. In the middle of the vessel stands Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of Mesen, who with his right hand thrusts his harpoon into the snout of a hippopotamus. In his left hand he holds the ends of two ropes which are doubtless attached to the blades already lodged in the animal's body.[a] Isis squatting in the bow holds two similar ropes. On shore, facing the ship, is the King—wearing the head-dress of Onuris[b]—who harpoons the hippopotamus in the back of the head. Behind the King are two running men, each carrying a harpoon and a dagger.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen	Horus
	Isis	Isis
	The King	——
	The royal children and crew of Horus, the Harpooners of Horus, lord of Mesen, and of Horus of Beḥdet (represented by the two running men)	The Young Harpooners[c]
	——	Reader
	——	Chorus

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A. Above Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen: [81, 8] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who holdeth fast, pilot in his war-galley, who hurleth his thirty-barbed harpoon at the snout of the Hippopotamus, while his mother protecteth him.*[d]

B. Above Isis: [81, 7] *Isis the great, the god's mother.*

C. Above the King: [78, 11] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of*

[a] See *JEA* XXIX, 5, n. f. [b] See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 2 ff. [c] Addressed by Isis, *E.* VI, 80, 11.

[d] According to *Wb.* V, 201, *gs-dp(t)* perhaps originally meant a 'watch on board ship' (*Bordwache*), so, as Gardiner observes, the employment of the expression *m gs-dp* here is particularly apt, since Isis is on board in the prow.

Rēʿ, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ), the harpooner of upright carriage,[a] *[when wielding] the three-barbed harpoon.*[35]

D. Above the two running men: [79, 1] *The royal children and crew of Horus, the Harpooners of the lord of Mesen, the valorous Harpooners of Horus of Beḥdet, who thrust to make an end of his enemies, adepts at holding fast, stalwart hero(es), whose weapons reach (the mark), who pierce*[b] *the deep water, whose shafts flash behind the robber-beasts, whose blades seize on their flesh, whose arms are strong when dragging the foes, and they reach Mesen rejoicing greatly.*

E. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [79, 5] *Come, let us hasten to the Pool of Horus,*[36] *that we may see the Falcon in his ship, that we may see the son of Isis in his war-galley, like Rēʿ in the Bark of the Morning.*[c] *His harpoon is held firmly in his grip, as (in that of) Horus of the Mighty Arm.*[d] *He casteth and draggeth,*[e] *that [he] may bring captive the Hippopotamus and slay the Lower-Egyptian Bull. Rejoice, ye inhabitants of Retribution-Town! Alack, alack, in Kenmet!*[f]

DRAMATIC TEXT. (a) [CHORUS.] [79, 8] *Seize thy* dmɜt,[37] *come down and stand fast, ⟨having⟩*[g] *thine adornments which belong to Ḥedjḥotpe,*[38] *thy net which belongeth to Min, which was woven for thee and spun for thee by Ḥathor, mistress of the* tḫ*-plant.*[39] *A meal of forelegs is assigned thee, and thou eatest it eagerly (?). The gods of the sky are in terror* [79, 10] *of Horus.*[h] *Hear ye the cries of Nēhes! Steady, Horus! Flee not because of them that are in the water, fear not them that are in the stream. Hearken not when he (Seth) pleadeth with thee.*

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

(c) [ISIS.] *Take to* (lit. '*seize*') *thy war-galley, my son Horus whom I love, the nurse*[i] *which dandleth Horus upon the water, hiding him beneath her timbers, the deep gloom of pines. There is no fear when* [80, 1] *backing*[j] *(?) to moor, for the goodly rudder turneth upon its post*[k] *like Horus on the lap of his mother Isis. The* ḥww *are fixed upon the* mɜsty,[l] *like the vizier in the palace. The mast standeth firmly on the footstep, like Horus when he became ruler over this land. That beauteous sail of dazzling brightness is like Nut the great*

[a] See *JEA* XXIX, 4, n. c, where it was suggested that 'of erect bearing' might be a better rendering.

[b] For this meaning of *ḏr* see *Wb.* V, 595, 11, and for that of *ḳbbt*, *Wb.* V, 25, 10. 11.

[c] See *Wb.* II, 150, 15.

[d] See Junker, *Onurislegende*, 19 f. Here again Horus, the youthful son of Isis, is differentiated from the old war-god of Edfu, *Ḥr tmɜ-ʿ*. In the next sentence after *p ḥɜb* restore [—]  .

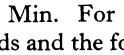
[e] I.e., having hurled his harpoons he pulls at the ropes attached to the blades, which are stuck fast in the body of the hippopotamus, in order to drag it in and give it the *coup de grâce*; see *JEA* XXIX, 5, n. f.

[f] See Commentary, n. 26.

[g] We would emend ⟨*ḫr*⟩ *ḫkrw·k* and we take the preceding *Ḥḏ·ḥtp* to be a writing of the genetival *n* parallel to the ○ before Min. For the 'net of Min' see *E.* VI, 64, 4.

[h] These words and the following exhortations occur again in *E.* VI, 81, 1–3. For *ỉmyw-mw* see Commentary, n. 9.

[i] Cf. *E.* VI, 76, 9–10; VII, 152, 9; and *JEA* XXIX, 18, with n. b.

[j]  must be the infinitive (after the preposition *m*) of the verb *rkỉ*, which regularly denotes hostility and opposition. We suggest, therefore, that as some manœuvre connected with the rudder (or rather steering-oar) seems to be indicated here, *rḳy(t)* means to 'back astern', with a view to bringing the ship into a suitable position for mooring.

[k] The suffix *·s* shows that  is a writing of *ḫmyt*, *Wb.* III, 81, 12. Glanville, *ZÄS* LXVIII, 27, n. 81, and Jéquier, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, IX, 47, have mistaken the meaning of *wdb*.

[l]  and  have not been identified; see also Glanville, *ZÄS* LXVIII, 16 f., n. 32; 24, n. 64; Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 63, (21). For  'footstep' see *Wb.* III, 205, 1.

(wrt) *when she was pregnant with the gods. The two lifts,*[a] *one is Isis, the other Nephthys, each of them firmly holding*[b] *what appertaineth to them upon the yard-arms,*[c] *like brothers by one mother mated in wedlock.*[d] [80, 5] *The rowlocks*[e] *are fixed upon the gunwale like the ornaments of princes. The oars beat on either side of her* (i.e. *the ship*) *like heralds*[f] *when they proclaim the joust.*[g] *The planks adhere closely together and are not parted the one from the other. The deck*[h] *is like a writing-board filled with the images*[i] *of goddesses. The baulks in the hold*[j] *are like pillars standing firmly in a temple. The belaying-pins* (?) *in the bulwarks*[k] (?) *are like a noble snake whose back is concealed. The scoop*[l] *of real lapis lazuli* (ḫsdb) *baleth out the water as fine unguent,*[m] *while the* iyḥ*-weed*[n] *scurries*[o] *in front of her like a great snake* [80, 10] *into its hole.*[p] *The hawser*[q] *is beside the post*[r] *like a chick beside its mother.*

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

(e) [READER.] *Isis said to the Young Harpooners when she saw their shapely hands:*

(f) [ISIS.] *Assault ye the foe, slay ye* [81, 1] *him in his lair, slaughter ye him in his* [(*destined*) *moment*[s]] *here and now! Plunge your knives into* [*him*] *again and again!*[t]

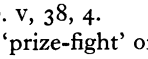
The gods of the sky are in terror of Horus.[u] *Hear ye the cry of Nēhes.* [*Steady, Horus!*] *Flee not because of them that are in the water, fear not them that are in the stream. Hearken not when he* (*Seth*) *pleadeth with thee . . . holden* (?) *in thy grasp, my son Horus.*

[a] Such, we suggest, is the meaning of  ; see also Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 72, (37), who, however, in op. cit., IX, 71, (33), interprets the words quite differently.

[b] For *mḥ m* see *Wb.* II, 119.

[c] See *Wb.* IV, 324, 14; *Peasant* B[1], 58 = Gardiner, *JEA* IX, 9, with n. 6.

[d] The words *ḥr irt m ḥmwt* mean lit. 'having intercourse with women'. With *irì m* cf. the Arabic فعل في.

[e] The objects described are evidently, in view of their position, leather loops through which the handles of the oars were passed and which, therefore, served as rowlocks. For  'gunwale' see *Wb.* IV, 43, 1.

[f] For *ḳmȝw* (?) 'heralds' see *Wb.* V, 38, 4.

[g] Or more accurately, perhaps, 'prize-fight' or 'game of single-sticks', Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 166. Cf. also the determinative of *ḫnnwy*, *Pyr.* § 289*c*.

[h] Cf. Glanville, *ZÄS* LXVIII, 12, n. 17, and for *ꜥn n sš* see *Wb.* I, 187, 13.

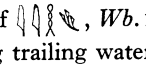
[i] This word is to be read *rpwwt*, *Wb.* II, 415, 11.

[j] For *wnḏwt* 'hold' = Copt. ⲟⲩⲛⲧ see *Wb.* I, 326, 1; *P. Chester Beatty, No. III*, 9, 7. Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. in the Brit. Mus., Third Series*, I, p. 18, not quite accurately translates the word 'hull'.

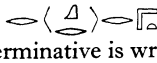
[k] Such, we venture to suggest, are the meanings of *inbyw* and *myw*. The comparison between a belaying-pin in its socket and a snake in its hole is by no means inapt.

[l] For the word  see Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 68, (28).

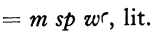
[m] Reading *tpt n ḳn*, for which see *Wb.* V, 49, 15.

[n]  is probably a writing of  , *Wb.* I, 39, 1. The word is written  , *E.* I, 72, 9; VII, 259, 1. For actual representations of long trailing water-plants in front of a boat see e.g., Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. V; Blackman, *Meir*, III, pl. IV. The word seems to have been quite misunderstood by Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 77, (45).

[o] Or perhaps 'dashes' or 'is dashed', i.e., it is pushed forward violently by the ship as she advances rapidly over the water. Cf. the various meanings assigned to the simplex *tfi*, *Wb.* V, 297.

[p] We propose the emendation  .

[q] See *Wb.* IV, 528, 6. The determinative is wrongly given as  by Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 77, (47), and the word translated 'maillet'.

[r] See *Wb.* II, 207, 17. The word is incorrectly read  by Jéquier, op. cit., IX, 77, (46), his  being actually  = *gs*!

[s] Restoring *m* [*ȝt·*]*f*. = *m sp wꜥ*, lit. 'at one time'.

[t] Lit. 'multiply (*sꜥšȝ·tn*) your knives in him'. Or are we to read *sdmì·tn dm*(*wt*)*·tn ìm·f*, 'slash at him with your knives', lit. 'make your knives cleave to him'? For *sdmì* see *Wb.* IV, 370, 12.

[u] See p. 6, n. h.

Lay hold, Horus, lay hold on the harpoon-shaft. I,[a] *yea I, am the lady of the shaft. I am the beautiful one, the mistress of the loud screamer,*[40] *which cometh forth upon the banks and* [81, 5] *gleameth after the robber-beast,*[b] *which rippeth open his skin, breaketh open* (s3) *his ribs and entereth. . . . I forget* [*not*] *the night of the flood, the hour of turmoil* (pr h3).

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

SCENE II

THE PEOPLE ACCLAIM HORUS CROWNED AND INVESTED WITH THE EMBLEMS OF THE KINGSHIP

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. VIII; *E.* VI, 82–4; XIII, pls. DIX–DX.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen, standing at the water's edge, pierces the head of a hippopotamus with his harpoon. To the left of this figure is a boat in which Horus of Beḥdet again appears, crowned, as usual, with the double crown and also holding the crook and whip. Behind him is Thoth, his right hand uplifted in the gesture of protection or blessing, and his left hand holding a papyrus roll and the ☥-symbol. On shore, facing the boat, is the Queen, jingling a pair of sistra. In her train are six women, in two rows of three, beating single-membrane drums. Those in the lower row represent the Lower-Egyptian princesses and the women of Busiris, those in the upper row the Upper-Egyptian princesses and the women of Pe and Dep.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE	RELIEF	DRAMATIC TEXT
	Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen	Horus
	Thoth	——
	The Queen	The Queen
	The Upper- and Lower-Egyptian princesses and the women of Busiris, Pe, and Dep	The women of Busiris, Pe, and Dep
	——	Chorus[c]

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A, 1. Above Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen: [84, 6] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen; Wenty*[d] *who pierceth the Unsuccessful One, his foe; (even) Him with the Upraised Arm, who wieldeth the three-barbed harpoon in order to slay his enemies.*

A, 2. In front of Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen: [84, 7] *I cast my thirty-barbed harpoon at the snout of the Hippopotamus, I wound the foeman of Him who is on the Mound.*[e]

B, 1. Above Horus of Beḥdet in the boat: [84, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of the Upper-Egyptian crown, prince of the Lower-Egyptian crown, king of the king⟨s⟩ of Upper Egypt, king of the kings of Lower Egypt, beneficent prince, the prince of princes.*

[a] For this form of the 1st pers. sing. of the independent pronoun see Junker, *Gramm.*, § 55.

[b] The three plural strokes under must be a sculptor's error.

[c] The princesses and other women here mentioned may well have constituted, or formed part of, the chorus for this scene, in which the dramatic text, as it stands, provides no narrative for the Reader.

[d] See Commentary, n. 17.

[e] Reading *tpy ỉ.t*; as Gardiner has remarked to us, a not inappropriate designation of Horus in this instance, for he is depicted standing not in a boat but on land. For *sbỉ*+prep. *ḥr* see also *E.* II, 85, 16; III, 253, 8; IV, 235, 16; V, 152, 4–5; VI, 236, 13; VII, 30, 1–2; 132, 5; 308, 14.

B, 2. In front of Horus of Beḥdet: [84, 2] *I receive the crook and the whip, for I am the lord of this land. I take possession of the Two Lands in (assuming) the Double Diadem. I overthrow the foe of my father Osiris as King of Upper and Lower Egypt for ever.*

C, 1. Above Thoth: [84, 4] *Utterance by Thoth, twice great, lord of Hermopolis, who judged the Two Gallants, pre-eminent in the Great Seat, great chief of the Greater Ennead* (psḏt ꜥ3t), *whom no other can replace.*

C, 2. In front of Thoth: [84, 5] *I overthrow thine enemies, I protect thy bark with my beneficent spoken spells.*

D, 1. Above the Queen: [82, 2] *The Queen and Mistress of the Two Lands, (Cleopatra)ⁱ, God's Mother of the Son of Rēꜥ, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ)ⁱ.*

D, 2. In front of the Queen: [82, 3] *I make music for thy pleasure, O thou who shinest as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, thine enemies being in hordes*[a] *beneath thee* (ḫr.k).

E, 1. Above the lower row of women: [82, 8] *The Lower-Egyptian princesses and the women of Busiris, rejoicing over Horus at his victory.*

E, 2. In front of no. 1: [82, 10] *We rejoice over thee, we delight in beholding thee, we exult at the sight of. . . .*

E, 3. In front of no. 2: [82, 11] *We raise thee joyful praise to the height of heaven, when thou punishest the misdeeds of thine enemy.*

E, 4. In front of no. 3: [82, 12] *We worship thee and hymn thy Majesty, for thou hast laid low the enemy of thy father.*

F, 1. Above the upper row of women: [83, 2] *The Upper-Egyptian princesses and the women of Pe and Dep rejoicing over Horus at his appearance in glory.*

F, 2. In front of no. 1: [83, 3] *We rejoice over thee, we are gladdened by the sight of thee, when thou arisest in brightness ⟨for⟩ us*[b] *as King of Upper and Lower Egypt.*

F, 3. In front of no. 2: [83, 4] *We beat the tambourine*[c] *for thee, we exult at seeing thee, when thou receivest the office of Ḥarakhti.*

F, 4. In front of no. 3: [83, 5] *We make jubilation to thy similitude, when thou shinest for us like Rēꜥ shining in the horizon.*

G. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [82, 4] *How happy is thy countenance, now that thou hast appeared gloriously in thy bark, Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, like Rēꜥ in the Bark of the Morning, when thou hast received thine office with crook and whip, and art crowned with the Double Diadem of Horus, Sakhmet prevailing over him that is rebellious toward thee, Thoth the great protecting thee.*[d] *Thine inheritance is thine, great god, son of Osiris, now that thou hast smitten the Lower-Egyptian Bull.*[e] *Be glad of heart, ye inhabitants of the Great Seat, Horus hath taken possession of the throne of his father.*

Dramatic Text. (a) [queen.] [83, 6] *Rejoice, ye women of Busiris and ye townsfolk*[f]

[a] See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 415, n. 58. [b] Emending ⟨*n·*⟩*n.*

[c] The *tbn* was actually not a tambourine but a single-membrane drum, the modern *ṭabl*, with which the word *tbn* may well be etymologically connected.

[d] Cf. the accompanying relief and *E.* VI, 83, 11–12.

[e] Is 𓃭 here merely a mistake or is 'thine enemy' or the like omitted after *ḥw·n·k*? If the latter surmise is correct *m kꜣ mḥy* must be rendered 'in the guise of the Lower-Egyptian Bull'.

[f] *Mrrt*: see *Wb.* II, 110, 9. 'Andjet was the capital of the ninth Lower-Egyptian (Busirite) nome; see Gauthier, op. cit., I, 151 f.

beside ʿAndjet! Come and see [*Horus*] *who hath pierced the Lower-Egyptian Bull! He walloweth*[a] *in the blood of the foe, his harpoon-shaft achieving a swift capture.*[b] *He maketh the river to flow blood-stained,*[c] *like Sakhmet in a blighted year.*

(b) [CHORUS OF WOMEN OF BUSIRIS.] *Thy weapons plunge*[16] *in mid-stream like a wild goose beside her young one(s).*

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

(d) [QUEEN.] *Rejoice, ye women of Pe and Dep, ye townsfolk beside* (r-gs) [83, 10] *the marshes! Come and see Horus in the prow of his ship, like Rēʿ when he shineth in the horizon, arrayed in green cloth, clad in red cloth, decked*[d] *in his ornaments, the White Crown and the Red Crown firmly set on his head, the two uraei between his brows. He hath received the crook and the whip, being crowned with the great Double Diadem* (ψχέντ), *while Sakhmet abideth in front of him and Thoth protecteth him.*[e]

(e) [CHORUS OF WOMEN OF PE AND DEP.] *It is Ptaḥ*[f] *who hath shaped thy shaft, Soker who hath forged thy weapons. It is Ḥedjḥotpe*[g] *in the Beauteous Place who hath made thy rope from yarn. Thy harpoon-blade is of sheet-copper, thy shaft of* nbs*-wood from abroad.*[h]

(f) [HORUS.] *I have hurled with my right hand, I have swung with my left hand, as doth a bold fen-man.*

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

ACT III

THE CELEBRATION OF THE VICTORY

SCENE I

THE FIRST DISMEMBERMENT OF SETH[i]

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. IX; *E.* VI, 84–6; XIII, pls. DXI–DXII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen, standing on the back of a hippopotamus pierces its forehead with his harpoon. Behind him is Isis, who supports the god's upraised left arm with her right hand. Facing them are nine divinities in two rows, four in the lower and five in the upper. Each divinity is supplied with an altar bearing that portion of the dismembered beast to which he or she is entitled.

[a] Restore [hieroglyphs], for which verb see *Wb.* I, 419, 8. [b] Possibly [hieroglyphs] for [hieroglyphs].

[c] Lit. 'He pours out the river in the colour of blood'.

[d] Verb *pgs* not in *Wb.*, but see *E.* IV, 344, 2–3, where *ʿgs·ti* is probably to be emended *pgs·ti*.

[e] Cf. *E.* VI, 82, 5. For Sakhmet as the king's protectress see [hieroglyphs] 'The Son of Rēʿ, King N., comes forth from his house under the protection of (*m nht n*) Sakhmet', *M.*, 121, 5.

[f] See *JEA* XXIX, 10, n. g.

[g] See Commentary, n. 38.

[h] For *pḫ n bi* see also *E.* IV, 344, 3; V, 154, 10; VI, 90, 21; 238, 9; and for *nbs n ḫst*, *E.* IV, 344, 3–4; *E.* VI, 90, 21.

[i] References to the dismemberment of Seth appear already in the Pyramid Texts, viz. *Pyr.* §§ 1546 ff.; 1867; see also Junker, *Onurislegende*, 55.

Dramatis Personae	Relief		Dramatic Text
	Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen		Horus
	Isis		Isis
	Osiris-Onnophris	Lower row	Osiris-Onnophris[a]
	Haroeris		Haroeris
	Onuris		Onuris
	Wepwawet		Wepwawet
	Tefēnet	Upper row	Tefēnet
	Khnum-Haroeris		Khnum-Haroeris
	Khnum, lord of Elephantine		Khnum, lord of Elephantine
	Nephthys		Nephthys
	Isis		Isis
	——		Reader
	——		Chorus

Subsidiary Texts. A, 1. Above Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen: [86, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who transfixeth the Hippopotamus and cutteth up his flesh, which is given as a meat-offering to every god.*

A, 2. In front of Horus: [86, 2] *Lift thee up, Osiris, great god, ruler of eternity. He who was hostile toward thee is dismembered.*[b]

B, 1. Above Isis: [86, 3] *Utterance by Isis the great, Scorpion*[c] *of Beḥdet, god's mother of Horus the Victorious Bull.*

B, 2. In front of Isis: [86, 3] *Be glad of heart, my son Horus. Thine enemy*[d] *has fallen and is not.*

C. Beginning at the right end of the lower row, the nine divinities who partake of the dismembered hippopotamus are designated as follows: [84, 10–14] 1. *Osiris-Onnophris the triumphant*; 2. *Haroeris, pre-eminent in Letopolis*; 3. *Onuris*; 4. *Wepwawet*; 5. *Tefēnet, mistress of* Mḏd; 6. *Khnum-Haroeris, whose feats are many*; 7. *Khnum, lord of Elephantine, great god, lord of the Cataract*; 8. *Nephthys*; 9. *Isis.*

Dramatic Text. (a) [Reader.] [84, 15] *Isis opened her mouth to speak to her son Horus, saying:*[e]

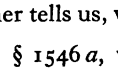
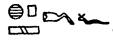
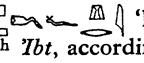
(b) [Isis.] *If thou cuttest up thy* [85, 1] *great Hippopotamus, hasten thou unto me and draw nigh me that I may instruct thee. I say unto thee: Let his foreleg be taken to Busiris for thy father Osiris-Onnophris the triumphant. Consign his ribs to* 'Iyt[f] *for Haroeris pre-eminent in Letopolis, while his shank*[g] *(?) remaineth in This for thy great father Onuris. Consign his shoulder to* 'Ibt[h] *for thy great brother Wepwawet. Consign his breast to Asyūṭ*

[a] All these nine divinities are mentioned in the dramatic text, but, with the exception of Isis, they are not assigned speaking parts. [b]  reads *psšt.* [c] See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 419, n. 75.

[d] Emend *ḥfty·k.*

[e] See *JEA* XXVIII, 33 with n. 7.

[f] Name of the locality where the sacred trees of the second Lower-Egyptian (Letopolite) nome were venerated, see Gauthier, op. cit., I, 38; Junker, op. cit., 16.

[g]  not in *Wb.*, but found, Gardiner tells us, written  and following simple *ḫpš*, Onomasticon of Amenopĕ, No. 591; cf. also *Pyr.* § 1546 *a*, where  'his upper foreleg' is contrasted with  'his lower foreleg', 'shank'.

[h] *'Ibt*, according to Gauthier, op. cit., I, 65, is a name for Hermopolis Magna.

for Tefēnet mistress of Mḏd.[a] *Give his thigh to Khnum-* [85, 5] *Haroeris,*[b] *him whose feats are many, great god lord of the knife,*[c] *lord of strength, who overthroweth the foes, for he is thy great brother. Give the large meat-portion of him to Khnum, lord of Elephantine, great god, lord of the Cataract, that he may increase the crew of thy war-galley.*[d] *Give his rump to Nephthys, for she is thy great sister. Mine is his forepart, mine is his hinderpart, for I am she who rescued the heart of the Weary-Hearted One,*[e] *him whose heart failed. Give his bones to the cats, his fat to the worms, his suet*[f] *(?) to the Young Harpooners, that they may know the taste of his flesh. (Give) the whole forepart to their children, that they may perceive (?)* [85, 10] *the sweetness of his form, and the choice portion of his limbs to thy followers, that they may savour the taste of his flesh. So shall they drive thy harpoon deep (?) within him,*[g] *my son Horus, (even) the holy harpoon that hath entered*[h] *into him, (into) that enemy of thy father Osiris.*

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

SCENE II

AN INTERLUDE [i]

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. X; *E.* VI, 86–7; XIII, pl. DXIII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen, accompanied by Isis, harpoons a small model of a hippopotamus in the middle of the back. Facing him the King harpoons the buttocks of the somewhat larger figure of a bound human captive.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE — RELIEF

Horus Isis The King

SUBSIDIARY TEXTS. A. Above Horus of Beḥdet, lord of Mesen: [87, 1] *Utterance by Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, who captureth the Hippopotamus* (nš) *and cutteth up his flesh, which is given as a meat-offering to every god; who taketh the spear and turneth back the crocodiles, who layeth low the foes at the slaughter-block.*

B, 1. Above Isis: [87, 3] *Utterance by Isis the great, the god's mother, who dwelleth in Wetjset-Ḥor.*

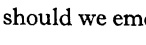
B, 2. In front of Isis: [87, 3] *Behold I am come as the Mother from Chemmis,*[41] *that I may make an end*[34] *for thee of the hippopotami. Prithee be strong,*[j] *thou fierce Lion. Stand firm on thy feet against yon Hippopotamus and hold him fast.*

C, 1. Above the King: [86, 6] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rēʿ, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ).*

C, 2. In front of the King: [86, 8] *Horus, he carrieth off the Hippopotamus to his*

[a] *Mḏd*, properly *Mḏdny*, is perhaps the modern Dronkah, Gauthier, op. cit., III, 26.

[b] See Junker, op. cit., 16 f.

[c] So Junker, *Onurislegende*, 16; see also *Wb.* II, 171, 6–7; 182, 10. Or should we emend  =Atfīḥ, see Gauthier, op. cit., III, 25?

[d] This sentence suggests that Aswān was as famous for its boatmen in ancient as it is in modern times.

[e] Lit. 'who rescued the Weary-Hearted One, (more exactly) his heart'; see above, *JEA* XXIX, 16, n. j.

[f] For this meaning of *gnnw* see *Wb.* V, 176, 8. The fat about the kidneys is considered a great dainty by the modern Fellāḥīn, and Blackman has seen men eating this fat raw while engaged in cutting up a newly slaughtered sheep.

[g] Lit. 'make long (?) thy harpoon in him'.

[h] See *Wb.* IV, 301, 2.

[i] This 'Interlude' was possibly a mime, as there is no dramatic text accompanying the relief.

[j] Reading *nḫt n·ỉ.*

residence (ḫnw·f) *in Pe and Mesen. Rejoice, O ye of Retribution-Town, Horus hath overthrown his enemies. Be glad, ye citizens of Denderah, . . . stabbed him who was disloyal to him,*[a] *and he existeth not.*

D. In a single horizontal line above the relief: [86, 11] *The noise of rejoicing resoundeth in Mesen, gladness issueth from Beḥdet, for Horus hath come that he may slay the Nubian and his confederates in* [*the place of slaughter*[b]] (*?*). *He hath cut off his head, he hath cut out his heart, he hath drenched him in his own blood. Wetjset-Ḥor and Denderah are in jubilation. Alack, alack, in Kenset!*

Scene III

The Second Dismemberment of Seth

Published: Naville, op. cit., pl. xi; *E.* vi, 87–90; xiii, pl. dxiv.

Description of the Relief. A butcher cuts up the figure of a hippopotamus[c] with a knife. Behind him Imḥotep, wearing a leopard-skin vestment over a long linen robe, recites from a papyrus roll which he holds in both hands. Behind him, again, the King pours grain from a cup into the open beak of a goose.

Dramatis Personae	Relief	Dramatic Text
	——	Isis
	Butcher	Butcher
	Imḥotep	Chief Lector[d]
	The King	The King[e]
	——	Prophets, fathers of the god, and priests

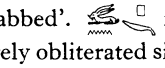
Subsidiary Texts. A. In front of the butcher: [87, 7] *The* [*skilled*] *butcher*[f] *of the Majesty of Rēʿ* (*?*), *who cuts up the Hippopotamus, dismembered* [15] *upon his hide.*

B. Above Imḥotep: [87, 9] *The Chief Lector, scribe of the sacred book*(*s*), *Imḥotep the great, son of Ptaḥ.*

C. Above the king: [87, 10] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt,* (*Blank*), *Son of Rēʿ,* (*Blank*).

Dramatic Text. (a) [Isis.] [87, 11] *Thou seizest thy harpoon and doest what thou wilt* (*?*) *with it, my son Horus, thou lovable one.*

(b) [Chief Lector.] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt,* (*Blank*), *Son of Rēʿ,* (*Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ*), *is triumphant in the Broad Hall, he hath overthrown the* Mntyw *of all the countries of Asia. Lo, he is triumphant*[g] *in the Broad Hall, he hath suppressed his enemies,* [88, 1] *he hath taken hold of his* (*sic*) *back, he hath clutched the foes*[h] (*?*) *by their forelocks.*

[a] The presence of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. suffix in *wn mw·f* seems to demand 'Horus hath stabbed' rather than 'I have stabbed'.  is immediately followed by what looks like the lower half of  , behind which is an almost entirely obliterated sign which we cannot identify; see *E.* xiii, pl. dxiii. [b] See Chassinat's n. 9.

[c] This was a cake or loaf of bread moulded in the shape of a hippopotamus, see *E.* vi, 88, 1.

[d] The functions, which in other scenes we have assigned to the 'Reader', were surely, in this scene at least, performed by a Chief Lector (*ḫry-ḥbt* ⟨*ḫry-*⟩*tp*, see *E.* vi, 88, 2), who possibly impersonated Imḥotep; see *JEA* xxviii, 36. [e] The king is alluded to in the dramatic text, but is assigned no speaking part.

[f] Reading *mnḫwy* [*mnḫ*] *nt ḥm n Rʿ*; see Chassinat's n. 7 and *E.* vi, 142, 12. In Commentary, n. 6,  is, probably wrongly in this context, read *rḫ*. [g] Emending *sk sw mꜣʿ-ḫrw m wsḫt.*

[h] *Ḫm·sn* is probably a mistake for *ḫmw* and *mꜣr* for *dꜣr*; see *Wb.* iii, 280, 8; *E.* iv, 371, 3; v, 37, 7.

(c) [STAGE-DIRECTION.] *BRINGING IN THE HIPPOPOTAMUS IN THE FORM OF*[a] *A CAKE BEFORE (?) HIM-WITH-THE-UPLIFTED-ARM. DISMEMBERING BY THE BUTCHER. RECITAL OF THIS BOOK AGAINST HIM BY THE CHIEF LECTOR ON THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF THE SECOND MONTH OF PRŌYET.*

(d) *TO BE SPOKEN BY THE PROPHETS, THE FATHERS OF THE GOD, AND THE PRIESTS: Be glad, ye women of Busiris, Horus hath overthrown his enemies. Rejoice, ye inhabitants of Wetjset-Ḥor, Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, hath overthrown yon foe* [88, 5] *of his father Osiris. O Onnophris, thy strength is (restored) to thee, they who are in . . . fear thee; the lords of the thrones shout in joy to thee.*

This is Horus, the protector of his father Osiris, who fighteth with his horns, who prevaileth . . . seizing the Perverse One; who smiteth the foes.

(e) [STAGE-DIRECTION.] *BRINGING IN THE GOOSE, POURING*[b] *GRAIN INTO ITS MOUTH. TO BE RECITED:*

[CHIEF LECTOR.] . . . [*Horus*], *son of Isis, son of Osiris, on this auspicious day, by the hand of (?) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank)*, *Son of Rēʿ, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ), who hath come from (?)* . . . [88, 10] *his Kindly (?) Snake; he hath illumined the Two Lands with his beauty, his Holy Eyes and his Darling Eyes being open (?) . . . with his fiery breath . . . gore, in order to restrain the body of him who is disloyal to him. The flame,* [89, 1] *it consumeth the body . . . of him that plotteth against (?) him. Hurrah for Horus daily, a joy to his father every day, who maketh impotent*[c] [*him who ?*] *. . . the heart (?) against him, who maketh an end*[d] *of him that trespasseth against him.*

Triumphant is Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, over his enemies.[e] *He is fallen. (To be repeated) four times. Triumphant are Ḥatḥor, mistress of Denderah, and Thoth, twice great, lord of Hermopolis, over their enemies. (To be repeated) four times. Triumphant is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rēʿ, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ), over* [89, 5] *his enemies. (To be repeated) four times.*

(f) [CHIEF LECTOR.] *Horus in his strength hath united the Two Lands. Seth is overthrown in the form of a hippopotamus. The Falcon-goddess is come*[f] *to the House of Horus and she saith to her son Horus:*

(g) [ISIS.] *Thy foes bow down and are destroyed for ever, O thou Avenger of thy Father. Come that I may instruct thee. Consign his foreleg to the House of the Prince*[g] *for thy father Osiris* Rsy-wḏꜣ, *while his shank*[h] *(?) remaineth in Dep for thy great father* 'Ipy-sḥḏ. *Let his shoulder be taken to Hermopolis* (Wnw) *for Thoth, the great one in the valley. Give his ribs to Great-of-Strength and his breast to* Wnwt.[i] *Give the great meat-portion of him to Khnum in the Temple (?), his neck to* [89, 10] *Uto of the Two Uraeus-goddesses (?), for*

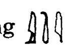
[a] 𓈖 for *m*? Otherwise 𓈖 is the genetival *n* and *p ḥꜣb n sʿ(t)* is to be rendered 'the hippopotamus *of šʿt-bread*'.

[b] See *Wb.* v, 142, 6; 156, 6.

[c] See Faulkner's note on *P. Bremner-Rhind*, 23, 20, in *JEA* XXIII, 176.

[d] See Commentary, n. 34.

[e] Emending *ḫfty* 'enemy'.

[f] Emending  .

[g] See Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 127–8; not, apparently, the *Ḥwt-ity* of Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 41, as the man inside  does not carry a sceptre as well as a staff. *Rsy-wḏꜣ*, the epithet of Osiris, means 'the Healthy Wakeful One', *Wb.* II, 451.

[h] See p. 11, n. g.

[i] See Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, §§ 16, 23, 32, 60.

she is thy great mother. Give his thigh to Horus the Primordial One,[a] *the great god who first came into being. Give a roast of him to the birds which execute judgement in* Ḏbʿwt.[b] *Give his liver to Sepa, and his fat to the disease-demons*[c] *(?) of Dep. Give his bones to the* Ḫmw-iy(t)(?), *his heart to the Lower-Egyptian Songstress.*[d] *Mine is his forepart, mine is his hinderpart, for I am thy mother whom he oppressed. Give his tongue to the Young* [90, 1] *Harpooners, the best of his inward parts*[e] *(?) to. . . . Take for thyself his head, and (so) assume the White Crown and the office of thy father Osiris. What remaineth of him burn in that brazier of the Mistress of the Two Lands (?). Rēʿ hath given thee the strength of Mont, and for thee, O Horus, is the jubilation (?).*

EPILOGUE

DECLARATION OF THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS

Published: *E.* VI, 90; J. Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, I, pl. LXXXVIII.

There is no relief attached to the following text, which was no doubt recited by the Reader or Chief Lector, who, as he may have done in the preceding scene, possibly impersonated Imḥotep.

[READER OR CHIEF LECTOR.] [90, 3] *Horus of Beḥdet, great god, lord of the sky, is triumphant in the Broad Hall, and overthrown are the enemies of his father Osiris, of his mother Isis, of his father Rēʿ, of Thoth, master of hieroglyphic writing, of the Ennead, of the Great Palace* (Ḥwt-ʿɜt),[f] *of Abydos, Coptus* (Nṯrwy),[g] Ḥwt-nṯr,[h] *Wetjset-Ḥor, Beḥdet, Denderah, and Khant-Iebt,*[i] *and of his Majesty himself, the Son of Rēʿ, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ).*

[a] See Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 46, n. 2.

[b] Perhaps there is a reference here to the cult of the heron at *Ḏbʿwt*, see Winlock, *JEA* IV, 12; Sethe, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1921, p. 35; Id., ap. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-rēʿ*, II, Text, p. 103.

[c] See *Wb.* IV, 471; Breasted, *Edwin Smith Surgical Pap.*, p. 477.

[d] See Blackman and Fairman, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 420 ff., n. 98.

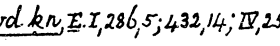
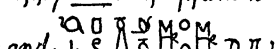
[e] *Wb.* I does not appear to record this word, but cf. possibly  'hold' of a ship, op. cit., 326, 1.

[f] The temple of the sun-god at Heliopolis; see Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 54.

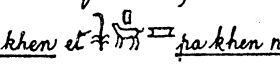
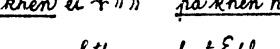
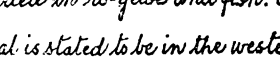
[g] See Gauthier, op. cit., III, 108. Or perhaps we should read *ʿntywy* (see Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 51), i.e. Antaeopolis?

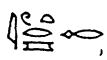
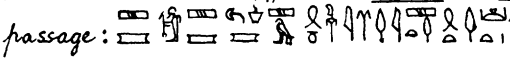
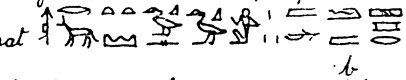
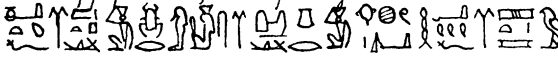
[h] Apparently the name of the *ỉꜣt-nṯryt* 'holy mound' of Neref, the necropolis of Heracleopolis Magna; see *E.* VI, 124, 6.

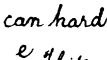
[i] The fourteenth Lower-Egyptian (Tanite) nome, of which the capital was Sile (*Ṯꜣrw*); see Gauthier, op. cit., IV, 178, f.; Sethe, op. cit., § 78.

34. 'make an end of', 'vanquish utterly', seems to be the meaning of the very common expression *ini phwy*. We have collected the following instances: *ini phwy* with *h3b* as here, E. VIII, 87, 4; with *hftyw·f*, E. I, 404, 10; II, 5, 12; with *h3kw-ib* (with or without the suffix *·f*), E. II, 35, 12; 74, 10; III, 118, 11; 139, 10; V, 47, 12; VI, 142, 5; with *hryw·f*, E. VI, 129, 3; 191, 17; with *sntyw·f*, E. V, 296, 15; with *th sw*, E. I, 131, 11 (garbled); 378, 15; II, 85, 13; III, 36, 3; IV, 57, 17; V, 270, 11; VI, 89, 2; 180, 4; VIII, 164, 8; 200, 5; M. 94, 2-3; with *th mtn·f*, E. II, 42, 6; 134, 2; with *tkk šfyt·f*, E. I, 378, 18; with *wn mw·f*, E. II, 185, 6; III, 127, 13; and with *wd kn*, E. I, 286, 5; 432, 14; IV, 257, 8-9; VI, 258, 9; 288, 2; D. IV, 209, 9. Cf.  , P. Leiden I, 350, 1, 17 = ZÄS XLII, 16 f., which Gunn, Synt. 56, (89), translates, 'Thebes shall be all victorious during all eternity'; and  , D. II, 20, 7. Note that in E. II, 14, 23, *ini dhw* bears the same meaning as *ini phwy* and occurs in the combination *in·k dhw n th tw* 'thou dost utterly vanquish him who attacketh thee'.

35. The reading is probably  *hy h3t hry fmt*; see E. VI, 62, 2, with our note thereon.

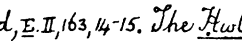
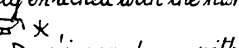
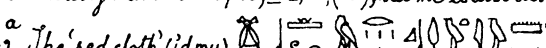
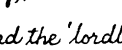
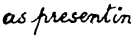
36. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, V, 124, has defined the Pool of Horus as 'un des noms du *mer* (grand canal ou bras du Nil, avec port d'attache de la barque sacrée) du IIe nome de Haute-Égypte (métropole Edfou), qui était plus souvent appelé  *pa khen* et  *pa khen nsout*'. Gauthier, therefore, clearly equates *Š-Ḥr* and *P(3)-ḥn*. *P(3)-ḥn* is undoubtedly the name of the canal at Edfu, which the great *Schenkungsurkunde* inscription (Brugsch, *Thes.* 531 ff.) tells us was divided into a northern and a southern section (see E. VII, 235-238, *passim*) and was the 'sacred water' (*mw ntry*) of Edfu, E. VIII, 236, 10. It must have been the channel by which the sacred boats from the temple reached the Nile. According to E. VI, 223, 8-9, the waters of this canal were replenished by those of the Nile at the season of inundation and they abounded in ro-geese and fish. The form *P(3)-ḥn-nsw* is very rare, but is apparently to be read in E. VI, 110, 2, where the canal is stated to be in the western half of the nome. In the case of  , E. VII, 186, 6-7, it is difficult to decide whether we are to read *Ḥ'p šm' P(3)-ḥn* etc. or *Ḥ'p P(3)-ḥn nsw* etc. We incline to the former reading and render: 'Upper Egyptian Nile, *P(3)-ḥn*, *Š-Ḥr*, *Ntry* and *Nt-Pth* are the great names of the sacred waters of Mesen'. This text clearly regards *Š-Ḥr* and *P(3)-ḥn* as synonyms of *mw ntry* and thus offers some support to Gauthier's view. Furthermore, the water used for libations and lustrations is not infrequently stated to have been drawn from *Š-Ḥr* (E. I, 65, 15-16; III, 45, 12; IV, 63, 2; 218, 4-6; VI, 244, 6; VII, 191, 5-6) and *P(3)-ḥn* (E. I, 325, 1; III, 22, 1; IV, 63, 5; 173, 5; 278, 8-9; V, 107, 9; VI, 244, 1; VII, 52, 14; 191, 8-9; M. 69, 7-8) indifferently. On the other hand, many texts seem clearly to distinguish between the two names, above all in the application to *P(3)-ḥn* of the epithet *mw ntry* (E. III, 7, 9; V, 397, 1; VI, 183, 1; 244, 1; VII, 236, 10), a term only applied to *Š-Ḥr* in E. VI, 186, 6. Elsewhere *Š-Ḥr* is the *š ntry* of Edfu; see E. I, 359, 15; V, 397, 1. This distinction would seem to imply that *mw ntry* means, as a rule, a stretch of flowing water, though it can be employed as a more general term applicable to all sacred waters, whether canals or sacred lakes within the precincts of temples, whereas *š ntry* is always an exclusive term, meaning 'sacred lake' specifically. This view finds support in the name of the *mw ntry* at Dend-

erah, which is  , E.V,347,8. That *P(ȝ)-ḥn* and *Š-Ḥr* were not identical is further indicated in the following passage:  'The sacred lake is Pool of the Hippopotamus,[a] Pool of Horus; the sacred tree(s) are *ỉm3*, persea and thorn-acacia; the holy mound is Behdet, and the sacred water is *P(ȝ)-ḥn*', E.V,396,9-397,1. In the face of this evidence we are inclined to believe that Gauthier is mistaken in identifying the Pool of Horus with *P(ȝ)-ḥnw*, the canal to the west of the temple, and that Pool of Horus, var. Pool of the Hippopotamus, is the name of the sacred lake. This lake, which is no longer visible, is never designated *Š-Ḥr* in the texts describing the temple-buildings, though one or two of them do give some indication of its position. For example, in an account of the Forecourt and its doors we are informed that  'One (door) is to the east: the priests who have the entry enter it, after coming forth from the pool,[b] to perform their duties', E.VII,18,3. The sacred lake, therefore, was situated to the east of the temple and lay in that part of the temenos which is covered by the modern village.[c] Thanks to this investigation we can now identify with some certainty the site on which the play was performed. It has already been pointed out in the introduction in JEA XXVIII that there is every reason to suppose that this drama was enacted on and beside a stretch of water. There can be little doubt that the stretch of water in question was the Pool of Horus, an assertion which finds support in the variant name Pool of the Hippopotamus,[d] in the passage which has occasioned this note, and in the two following passages as well:  'His mother protecteth him, the form of her Majesty being the war-galley containing him, guarding his body in the Pool of Horus', E.VI,59,6-7;  'I (Isis) board thy boat that I may protect thee and guard thy body in the Pool of Horus', E.IV,213,1-2; see also E.I,324,5; IV,211,10. It need hardly be remarked that the Pool of Horus, the sacred lake at Edfu, is not to be confused with stretches of water bearing the same name in other parts of Egypt; see, e.g., Gauthier, *loc. cit.*, and also Gardiner, JEA V,251f; XIX,126. Among these is surely to be included the *Š-Ḥr-Bḥdty* of E.VII,175,15-16, with its 'ships heavily laden' and its 'sea-faring craft without limit'.

37.  can hardly be a writing of *tm3*, the 'mat' upon which judges, kings and divinities are often described as sitting.[e] If it were, then *ndr tm3(?)-k* would mean 'seize (i.e., occupy) thy throne', and be in parallelism with *ndr ḥ3t-k* 'take to thy war-galley' below. But an appeal to Horus of this nature does not suit the exhortation which follows. Perhaps *dm3t* is some derivative from *dm3* 'bind', though no such noun with suitable mean-

a) For Pool of the Hippopotamus, *Š-Ḥȝb*, as a synonym for *Š-Ḥr* see also E.I,359,15. Like the Pool of Horus it is referred to as a source of libation-water, E.IV,218,12. b) Where they had undergone purification, see Blackman, Purification (Egyptian), V,7, in Hastings, ERE X,480. c) See also E.VIII, p. xiii, where Chassinat definitely locates the sacred lake in this portion of the temenos. d) In their battle with Horus Seth and his confederates assumed the forms of hippopotami. e) E.I,507,15; 521,9; III,79,2; VI,277,17; 311,5; 339,14; M.42,15.

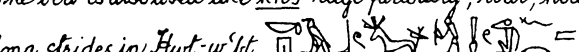
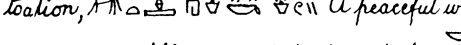
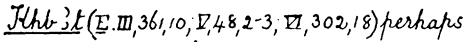
ing is recorded in Wb. Can it possibly mean 'baldric' or the like?

38. Ḥedjḥotpe was the god of weaving and clothing and, as has been pointed out in n. 25 of this Commentary, was regarded both at Edfu and Denderah as the consort of Ṯayt. An Edfu text states that he is the son of Isis and appears to identify him with Shu, asserting at the same time that he was the first to make raiment (mnḫt) and to clothe the naked, E. II, 163, 14-15. The Ḥwt-mnḫt 'Chamber for Clothing' at Denderah is described as  'beautifully enriched with the handiwork of Ḥedjḥotpe', D. IV, 111, 7, and he is said to be in this chamber  'in company with his ỉrỉ-garments in order to array Gold of the Gods', D. IV, 109, 8-9. At Edfu he is included among the divinities of a similarly named chapel, E. II, 25, (181), but he is also designated 'great god, who resideth in Ḥwt-nṯr ()', E. II, 274, 1-2.[a] The 'red cloth' (ỉdmy),  'of perfect finish and excellently bright', comes from his hand', D. IV, 106, 2-3, and the 'lordly šrt-garments' () are of his making (ḳỉt·f), D. IV, 106, 3, as is also the ṯt-vestment, D. II, 102, 12. Such ceremonial raiment is not only termed the handiwork of Ḥedjḥotpe, D. IV, 106, 3; 111, 7; 129, 6, but is also designated his  'great benefactions', D. IV, 144, 10. The texts occasionally speak of him as presenting the ceremonial clothing himself to a divinity, E. II, 164, 6; D. IV, 109, 8-9; but, as a rule, this act was supposed to be performed by the king, who then appears as his son and heir, E. I, 31, 3-4; II, 177, 17; III, 140, 16; 286, 17; VII, 307, 5; D. II, 102, 8; 120, 9; 227, 11; IV, 23, 10; 56, 16; 106, 11; 120, 6-7. A passage in our dramatic text suggests that he was the patron-divinity of rope-making as well as of weaving, E. VI, 83, 12-13.[b]

39. Ṯḥ 'intoxicant' is the name of an aromatic plant or sweet-smelling flower which has not yet been identified (Wb. V, 325). It is discussed at some length by Loret in Rec. trav. XVI, 152 ff., but the material, nearly all dating from the Graeco-Roman period, which has been assembled there by him, and that gathered by ourselves, does not make it possible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the plant's identity. Loret, quoting Mariette, Denderah, I, 18, 2 (see also M. 185, 3) asserts that the ṯḥ-plant was cultivated in Egypt and points out that its seeds or berries (ỉrṯ) were employed medicinally; see, e.g., P. Med. Berlin, 11, 2. He is probably right in maintaining that the manner in which it is mentioned along with certain aquatic plants (Mariette, op. cit., I, 15b) does not necessarily imply that it was itself of that nature. It was especially associated with the goddess Ḥatḥor, who, as we have already seen, is designated 'mistress of the ṯḥ-plant',[c] and according to E. V, 169, 17 (see also E. V, 170, 2-3; Mariette, op. cit., III, 66), necklaces of the wsḫ-variety presented to that divinity were woven of ṯḥ- and ỉb(w)-plants. Loret seems to be mistaken in supposing that there was an annual festival at Denderah called 'Festival of the Ṯḥ-plant', for  , etc., in the passages cited by him, are, judging from Wb. III, 431, 20, faulty writings of  .[d] Perhaps in

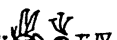
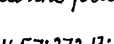
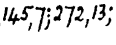
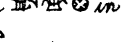
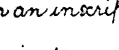
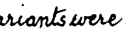
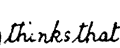
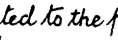
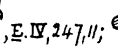
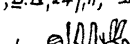
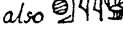
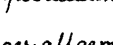
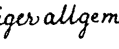
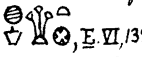
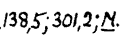
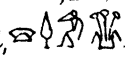
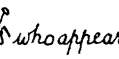
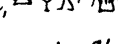
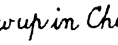
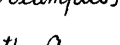
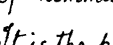
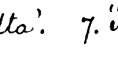
a) Or is this a misprint for Ḥwt-mnḫt? b) For Ḥedjḥotpe in a procession of 'Nile-gods' see Drioton, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Medamoud, 1925, Inscriptions, p. 60. c) See also D. I, 80, 6, where there seems to be confusion between and 'intoxicating potion'. d) See further ZÄS, XLIII, 102.

our text also we are faced with a similar faulty writing and should render  'mistress of drunkenness' rather than 'mistress of the *ḫḳ*-plant'. The seeds or berries of the plant in question were evidently aromatic, for they appear as an ingredient of *ti šps*-unguent (E. II, 229, 4-9; VI, 167, 2-6) and of an ointment employed in the rite of Opening the Mouth, Duemichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, II, pl. LXXXIV B. Finally 'water of *ḫḳ*-plants' was used in the making of the green ink with which figures of Isis and Nephthys were outlined on the exterior of the bandages swathing the hands of a mummy, *Rit. de l'embaumement*, 8, 18 = Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, p. 37. Despite the number of passages in which the *ḫḳ*-plant is mentioned, Loret's very tentative suggestion 'violet' seems highly improbable. Can it be the coriander (see Loret, *Rec. trav.*, XVI, 153)? This certainly suits several of the contexts and the name *ḫḳ*, for the products of the coriander were supposed by the ancients to possess, among other properties, those of an intoxicant, a soporific, and an aphrodisiac, see Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, I, 41.

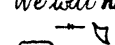
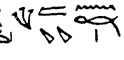
40. The primary meaning of *ḫḫḳ* is 'assault', with direct object (see above n. 21), and then 'be violent', 'act with violence', *Wb.* V, 137; *Urk.* VI, 21, 4. The verb is also used like *ḫḫ*ỉ 'rage furiously', 'roar', 'howl' (*Wb.* V, loc. cit.), e.g., 'He (Seth) hath walked with long strides in *Ḫwt-w'bt*  bawling loudly (lit. 'his voice howling') beside the Ennead,' *Urk.* VI, 19, 18-19. *Ḫḫḳ* like the older *ḫḫ*ỉ can likewise mean 'utter (a cry) loudly', *Wb.* V, loc. cit., as in the passage from our text under discussion. We suppose Isis to be speaking and that by *ḫḫḳ dnỉwt* 'loud screamer', lit. 'that which utters a scream loudly', is meant the harpoon, which whistles shrilly as it flies through the air. This view finds support in the words *sḥḏ m-sỉ* '*w*ỉ*yw*, which certainly applies to a harpoon, but hardly to a person, see *Wb.* IV, 226, 1. Other instances of *ḫḳ dnỉwt* occur in E. III, 197, 9, where Hathor says to the king, who is compared to a lion,  'A peaceful welcome, thou prowler, that roarest loudly', and in E. IV, 285, 12-13, where the lion, *Mỉỉ-wr-phty*, is described as  'roaring loudly behind the Cut-throat'. *Ḫḫḳ ỉỉt* (E. III, 361, 10; V, 48, 2-3; VI, 302, 18) perhaps means 'impetuous', 'hasty'.

41. The parallel passage, E. VI, 74, 2, clearly shews that  is a writing of the late form of *ỉḥ-bỉty*, frequently written *Ḫbỉ(y)*[a] = Chemmis of the classical writers. As we shall see, the Edfu texts supply plenty of evidence to confirm this identification. In his very instructive article *Chembis* in *PW* 2232, and yet again in *ZÄS* XXX, 114ff.[b], Sethe suggests that *ỉḥ-bỉty* bears some such meaning as 'Papyrus-thicket of the Lower-Egyptian king' and points out that this place-name, perhaps originally vocalized *'Ekh-ebyōte*, was later pronounced *Khĕbbe*, *Khĕbye*, owing to the falling away of the final *-ty*. This late form was, of course, the origin of the Greek Χέμμις, Χέμβις, -Χηβις, the last mentioned variant appearing in the personal name Ἁρχηβις, see Griffith, *Rylands Cat.* III, pp. 109, n. 1, 223, n. 18.

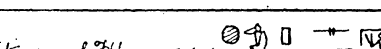
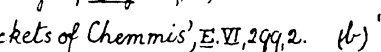
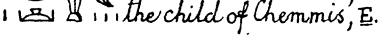
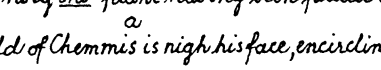
a) For writings with the final *y* see below under §§ 2 (E. VII, 65, 9), 8 and 9. b) See also Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 169. Note that the word *ỉḥ* 'papyrus-thicket' actually occurs in the plural *ỉḥw* in E. VI, 299, 2; see below § 9, a.

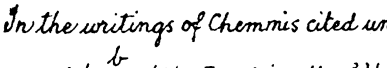
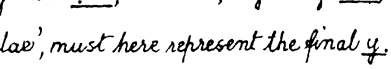
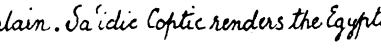
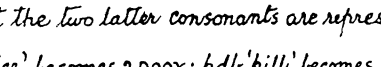
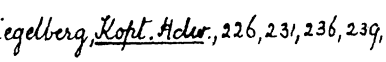
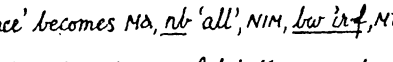
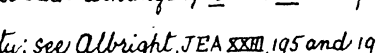
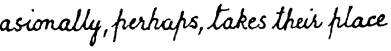
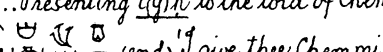
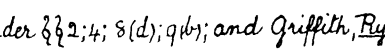
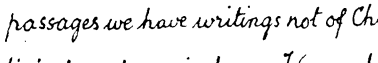
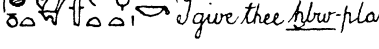
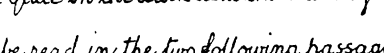
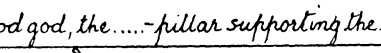
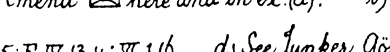
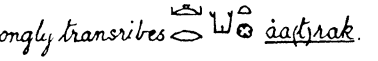
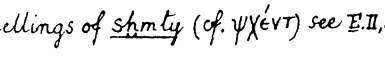
We have noted the following writings of Chemmis in the Edfu inscriptions: 1.  , E.III,231,14;  , E.III, 24,8;  , E.IV,145,7; 272,13;  , E.VI,298,9;  , E.IV,120,5. These writings of the name are evidently derived from earlier spellings – with  preposed for honorific reasons – such as  in Pyr. §§1214b, 1703c, 2190a, and  in an inscription of Hatshepsut, Urk.IV,237,10,  in the last example having the value 3ḫ. Whether  and its variants were still read 3ḫ-bity by tradition in Ptolemaic times is highly doubtful. Sethe (ZÄS XXX, 117ff.) thinks that in such writings of the late period  was assigned the phonetic value ḥb, while  (var. ) was relegated to the position of determinative, the origin of the name having been forgotten. 2.  , E.III,135,9. M.71,15; , E.IV,247,11;  , E.III,135,5;  , E.III,231,17;  , E.III,15,3; M.147,5;  , E.VII,65,9. The last example (see also  , P.Boulaq No.3,7,9, qu. Brugsch, Dict. géogr.,569) displays the final y and shews that Sethe was correct in postulating the form Ḫebye. In all these spellings, according to Sethe, ZÄS XXX, 118,  is employed as 'ein weniger allgemeines, unserem Namen specielleres Determinativ'. 3.  , E.III,232,2; IV,247,17; M.92,12; 150,2;  , E.VI,138,5; 301,2; N.98,4;  , E.VI,74,2; 298,3. 4.  , E.IV,125,15;  , E.III,135,4. 5.(a) 'Long live the good god,  who appeared gloriously in Chemmis', E.VIII,134,16. (b) 'who protected him who grew up in Chemmis, E.VI,238,4. (c) 'Uto, mistress of Pe and Dep, who guarded Horus in  Chemmis', M.85,11. In these three examples  evidently possesses the value ḥm as it does in  Ḥmnyw, 'Ogdoad' of Hermopolis, Sethe, Amun und die Acht Urgötter, 44ff.[a] 6. Horus is  the goodly stripling who came out of Chemmis', M.116,2. On the whole we think that Ḫb(y) is to be read here rather than Mḫw 'the Delta'. 7. 'It is the pleasaunce of Rē' and Horus,  it is like unto the Chemmis of their babe', E.VII,17,5. We know of no other example of the writing  , where , of course, reads ḥb.

We will now cite undoubled writings of Chemmis which closely resemble the  of our passage.

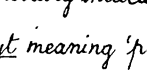
8.(a)  'her island of Chemmis in the region of the north', E.III,311,5. Is  a mistake for  or is it to be read ʾidbwy? (b)  'the chapels of the gods ..... woven like the booth in Chemmis', E.VI,137,11-12 (c) 'I am Horus, son of Rē', the holy falcon who came forth from the horizon in Chemmis, the noble child who came out of Egypt (Bi3wy)', E.VI,138,4. In this passage is clearly a place-name in parallelism with Bi3wy 'Egypt'. (d) 'I give thee Chemmis and what is in it, the green thicket and what cometh out of it', E.III, 135,8. evidently reads wrḥ and is a spelling of w3ḥ, for which see Wb.I,259,10; cf. =w3ḥ 'be glad', E.II,42, 13-14. It was shown in n.10 of this Commentary that the signs and possess the same phonetic value in writings of the word for 'female animals'. It is not surprising, therefore, to find replacing in

a) Cf. also , Lefebvre, Tombeau de Petosiris, II,28,1. (with variants) is here a determinative. For the replacement of ḫ by m see below, §9. b) Restore . Ḫby is unquestionably masc. in E.III,232,2; see also §9,(d).

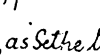
writings of *Ḥbty*. q,(a)  'this babe whom Isis hid in the reed-thickets of Chemmis', E.VI,299,2. (b) 'Horus, son of Osiris, the legitimate son who came out of Buto,  the child of Chemmis', E.I,402,10. (c) 'The great snake-goddess of the brow of Rē‘ is on his brow, the holy *snḏ*-plant having been placed on his head, and he ties it on all his members;  the child of Chemmis[a] is nigh his face, encircling his hair', E.III,102-103. (d)  'I give thee Chemmis with what is in it, the Marsh-land with what cometh forth therefrom', E.II,89,12.

In the writings of Chemmis cited under 8 and q, in which the phonetic signs are  or  ,  and  can only read *ḥm*,[b] while  , originally = *ỉ;t*, which so often replaces  in Ptolemaic spellings of *ỉtn* and *ỉtnt*,[c] and *Irḳ*[d] 'Philae', must here represent the final *y*. The replacement of *ḥb* by *ḥm* (cf. the Greek Χέμμις) is not difficult to explain. Sa'idic Coptic renders the Egyptian *ḥ*, *ḫ*, *ḥ̲*, and less frequently the *ḳ*, by ϩ, whereas in the Bohairic dialect the two latter consonants are represented by ϧ and in the Akhmimic by ϩ. Thus, for example, in Sa'idic *ḫrw* 'voice' becomes ϩⲣⲟⲩ; *ḥdb* 'kill' becomes ϩⲱⲧⲃ; *ḫḥrt* 'remedy' becomes ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ; *ḥ̲ỉbs* 'lamp' becomes ϩⲏⲃⲉ; see also Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Hdwr.*, 226, 231, 236, 239, 243, 248. The change of *b* into *m* finds many parallels in Coptic, e.g. *bw* 'place' becomes ⲙⲁ, *nb* 'all', ⲛⲓⲙ, *bw ỉr.f*, ⲙⲉⲣⲉϥ, *bw-pwy*, ⲡⲧⲉ=, *bw sḫ.k*,[e] ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ. It should also be pointed out that such a change of *b* into *m* can perhaps already be observed in Egyptian as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty; see Albright, JEA XXIII, 195 and 197, n.2. 10. Since both  and  have the value *ḥm*, the sign  occasionally, perhaps, takes their place in writings of Chemmis. (a)  ....'Presenting *ỉ(y)ḳ* to the lord of Chemmis, ...green plants to the lord of the Marsh-land', E.II,92,4 (b)  (end) 'I give thee Chemmis with.....', E.II,92,10. For the determinatives  in these two exx. see above under §§2;4; 8(d); q(b); and Griffith, *Rylands Cat.*, 209 and 223, n.18. It is, however, possible that in the last two passages we have writings not of Chemmis but of *ḫbw*, *Wb.* III, 251,2, or *ḥmyw*, *Wb.* III, 81,20, names of plants put to medicinal and magical uses. We are also very doubtful about  in E.II,57,18, and  in E.II,106,2. For an interesting example of *ḫbw* see E.IV,255,4, where Harsomtus says to the king  'I give thee *ḫbw*-plants mingled with carnelians. I place the Double Diadem[f] on thy brow'. We are quite in the dark as to the reading of the plant-name  , E.VII,209,5. 11. How are  and  to be read in the two following passages? (a) *ʿnḫ nṯr nfr*  'Long live the good god, the.....-pillar supporting the horizon, patient while holding up the firmament', E.III,39,4. (b) *ʿnḫ nṯr*

a) Emend here and in ex.(d). b) See the concluding section of n.10 of this Commentary. c) See, e.g., *Wb.* I, 145; E.IV,13,4; VI,1,16. d) See Junker, *Götterdekret*, 3; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, I, 30.47. The latter scholar, it might be noted, wrongly transcribes *ỉa(t)rak*. e) For other instances see Sethe, *Verbum*, I, §210,4. f) For similar spellings of *shmty* (cf. ψχέντ) see E.II,285,4; IV,205,2; 255,5; VI,308,13.

nfr  'Long live the good god, the .....-pillar supporting the sky, lifting up the horizon under the Horizon-god', E.III,262,6. Having in mind the Ptolemaic scribes' love of alliteration and assonance, we feel much tempted to read our word as *ḥy(t)*,  = *ḥ* and  = *y(t)*, and would also assign the same value to the group  in E.III,39,7. We should then have *ḥy(t) ḥr ʾḫt* in (a) and *ḥy(t) ḥr ḥy(t)* both in (b) and in E.III,39,7. If our suggestion is correct, the king, conceived of as a pillar, is identified, or at least closely associated, with the goddess *Ḥyt* who upholds the sky; see E.III,260,4; Wb. III,238,3. The identification of the king with a feminine sky-supporter finds a parallel in E.III,233,4, where he is equated with  , a word which usually denotes a goddess, especially Ḥatḥor or Isis, or the statue of a goddess; see Wb. II,415. The presence of the determinative  suggests that *rḫyt* in this case signifies a pillar with a floral or foliated capital rather than a statue, though the signs  probably indicate that this pillar was at the same time regarded as a female divinity. Wb cites no example of *rḫyt* meaning 'pillar', 'support'. Are  , E.III,43,15, and , E.III,273,17, which are found in similar contexts, also writings of *ḥyt*, or is there some word *ḥ'ỉt* or *ḥ'ỉyt* which Wb. has left unrecorded?  might here be a corruption of  , or else have obtained its postulated value of *ḥ* or *ḥ'* from its employment as an element in the writing of *ḥ'wt* 'pelt', Wb. III,225,9.

Corrigenda in Blackman & Fairman's article in Miscellanea Gregoriana, pp.397-428

p.399, fig.2, Texts C and H: for  in cartouche read  . p.399, l.10 (Text C): read 'Sekhemʿankhnamūn' for 'Sekhem ʿankhnamūn'. p.401, Text E.II,(8): for 'Vulturegoddess' read 'Vulture-goddess'. p.406, fig.7, l.11: for  read  . p.406, Text G.I,(12): for 'Thy two collar-bones(?)' read 'The(sic) two collar-bones(?)'. p.409, Text G. II,(14): for 'the Lower-Egyptian' read 'thy Lower-Egyptian'. Text G.II,(15): for '(tourit)' read '(to wit)'. p.413, n.29: for  read  . p.414, n.39: for  read  . p.415, n.57: for 'ḫ'sty' read 'ḫ' sty'. p.416, footnote 54: for 'sỉ'sty' read 'sỉ'ty'. p.416, l.13 (n.58): for 'just as the lies' read 'just as the ox lies'. p.418, n.70: for  read  , and for 'ḥs šnʿm' read 'ḥs šnʿm'. p.419, n.83: for 'of', 'stand' ḫ, read 'of ḫ' 'stand',' and for 'ḫ'w' read 'ḫʿw'. p.419, n.92: for  read and for read . p.420, n.92: for ''Imsty' read 'Imsty', and for 'Pl.xxxᶜ' read 'Pl.xxxᶜ'. p.420, n.95: for read . p.421, n.101: for 'forearms' read ''forearms',. p.422, n.106: for read . p.422, n.111: for read  . p.423, l.13 (n.129): for  read  . p.424, n.155,b: for  read  . p.424, l.27 (n.155,c): for  read  . p.426, n.134: for '1918, 19,49' read '1918-19,49'. p.426, n.136: for read . p.427, l.38: for '"the gods who have attained being in Ptaḥ, or, as Sethe translates,"' read '"the gods who have attained being in Ptaḥ", or, as Sethe translates,'. p.438, l.15: for 'formeKhons' read 'former Khons'.

p.415, n.54: add 'Of the creator god at Edfu (=Horus of Behdet) it is also said: He vomits forth water as the efflux of his body in order to sustain the entire Two Lands', E.III,67,15-16.'

HORUS THE BEḤDETITE

BY ALAN H. GARDINER

THIS paper is the resuscitation of a controversy which had been in progress for a number of years before the present war and in which I played a humble part. Until Sethe raised the issue in 1913, no Egyptologist doubted that  *Ḥr Bḥdtỉ* was specifically the god of Edfu, and that  *Bḥdt* was from the outset a name of the Upper Egyptian town whose other name  *Ḏbꜣ* has survived in the Coptic ⲧⲏⲱ, ⲧⲏⲟ, ⲁⲧⲏⲱ and the Arabic إدفو Edfu. The magnificent Graeco-Roman temple still existing in that town, with the almost innumerable inscriptions graven upon its walls, seemed too decisive for any contrary theory even to come to birth, and if Brugsch in 1879[1] already knew of a Delta district called  *Bḥdt*, as well as a *Bḥdt Mḥt* 'Beḥdet of Lower Egypt', to which in the following year[2] he added a  *Bḥdt ʾIꜣbt(t)* 'Eastern Beḥdet',[3] it did not occur to his mind nor to that of anyone else that the original Beḥdet might have lain in the North. The first suggestion of this is to be found in Sethe's commentary on the fragmentary scenes of the funerary temple of King Saḥurēʿ at Abusīr, and was called forth by a representation of Horus the Beḥdetite among other Lower Egyptian deities.[4] Being well aware of the many places where that god is depicted facing  *Stḫ Nbtỉ* 'Seth of Ombos' (near Ṭūkh on the left bank nearly opposite Coptus),[5] Sethe now conjectured that the original Beḥdet was at Damanhūr, some 61 km. along the railway from Alexandria to Cairo, a considerable distance inland and well to the west of the Rosetta branch. The name Damanhūr is pure Egyptian,  *Dmỉ-n-Ḥr* meaning 'Town of Horus'. How little confidence, however, Sethe at that time felt in regard to his new hypothesis is proved by the fact that elsewhere in the same work he rendered  as *Horus von Edfu*.[6]

If this seemingly innocent conjecture had remained the purely geographical matter it was at first, it might have been dealt with much more summarily than it will be here. In point of fact the location of Beḥdet has become a crucial factor in what I may term

[1] *Dictionnaire géographique*, 540 ff. [2] Op. cit., *Supplément*, 1266.

[3] Now known to be Nagʿ el-Meshāyikh, on the E. bank nearly opposite Girga, see *ZÄS* LXXIII, 78 f., and more fully in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* [in preparation], under Nos. 351 A, 352 of On. Am.

[4] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥurē*ʿ (henceforth quoted as Borch., *Saḥ.*), II, pl. 19; Text, p. 79.

[5] It had long been known from Juvenal (though he was sometimes thought to have been mistaken) that there was an Ombos in the neighbourhood of Denderah. Petrie, however, was the first to find the actual site in 1894–5, and his discovery there of the remains of the temple of Seth disposed of the difficulty that the temple of the other Ombos not far north of Elephantine ( *Nbyt*, Kōm Ombo) did not mention Seth at all, but only Suchus and Haroëris; also the names of the two places are differently spelt in hieroglyphic, see below, p. 32, n. 1. Roeder, art. Set in Roscher's *Lexicon*, IV, 728, claims that Dümichen had earlier recognized that the Ombos of Seth must have lain near Naḳādah and Ballās; reference to Dümichen's *Geographie Ägyptens*, 125, the passage quoted by Roeder, fails to reveal any such conjecture.

[6] Borch., *Saḥ.*, II, Text, pp. 101, 127.

the new Euhemerism—the doctrine that the titles and myths of the early Egyptian gods reflect successive periods in the predynastic history of Egypt. The most elaborate *exposé* of that doctrine is Sethe's *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion* (1930), in which a whole series of consecutive stages are deduced by this method. Many scholars have taken a part in the debate on one side or another, but Sethe's most strenuous opponent over the question of Horus the Beḥdetite has been Kees, above all in his book *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar* (1923–4),[1] where it is denied that this Horus was ever the god of Lower Egypt and affirmed that the original Beḥdet was Edfu, as all Sethe's predecessors had believed.

My own intervention occurred in 1918,[2] the points upon which I insisted being (1) that since Horus of Beḥdet was, from the earliest times, contrasted as the representative god of Lower Egypt with Seth of Ombos, the god of Upper Egypt, the original Beḥdet must have been situated in the North, and (2) that though Horus of Beḥdet was worshipped at Edfu at a very early date, it is only at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty that *Bḥdt* first appears as an alternative name for *Ḏbꜣ*. (3) I also expressed doubt whether Sethe was right in placing the Lower Egyptian Beḥdet at Damanhūr, pointing out that at least one text at Edfu equates Beḥdet with Sambeḥdet (*Smꜣ-Bḥdt*), the name given to the XVIIth Lower Egyptian nome, that of Diospolis Inferior. In the following pages I shall endeavour to reinforce the views thus expressed. It is now proved that Sambeḥdet was situated at Tell el-Balamūn, 25 km. south-west of Damietta and only about 20 km. from the Mediterranean coast. I shall produce reasons for thinking that the name Sambeḥdet was a meaningful expansion of Beḥdet, and that the places designated by these two names, if not completely identical, were at all events not far distant from one another.[3] My second point probably requires modification. Incidentally, some curious new facts will emerge in connexion with the symbol of the winged disk. In conclusion, reflections on the nature of the country between Beḥdet and the sea will transport me, however reluctantly, to the fringe, if not actually within the arena, of the euhemeristic contest.

I. Horus the Beḥdetite as the god of Lower Egypt

That Horus was regarded as the national god of Lower Egypt was asserted by Pleyte[4] as early as 1865, and though a decade later we find Eduard Meyer[5] contradicting him with a dogmatism as absolute as it was unjustifiable, this view has continued to gain ground, receiving a strong impetus from a text to which Goodwin first called attention in 1873.[6] This was the text subsequently studied by Breasted under the title 'Philosophy of a Memphite Priest'[7] and later re-edited by Erman and by Sethe. In that text, the recent copy of a composition of great antiquity, the god Geb divides the whole of Egypt between the two rival claimants, allotting Upper Egypt

[1] The two parts are henceforth quoted as Kees I, Kees II. The full discussion of Beḥdet from the geographical point of view is in the Appendix (II, 71 ff.), a diligent piece of work, from which there is much to be learnt.

[2] *JEA* V, 223.

[3] Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 28, likewise places Beḥdet at Tell el-Balamūn, but both here and in *Nomes d'Égypte*, 165 ff., fails to state his reasons.

[4] *ZÄS* III, 54.

[5] Ed. Meyer, *Set-Typhon* (1875), 33.

[6] Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3rd series, I, 247 ff., and particularly 283.

[7] *ZÄS* XXXIX, 39 ff.

to Seth southwards from Su, his birthplace somewhere to the north of the Fayyūm, and Lower Egypt to Horus northwards from the neighbourhood of Ṭurah.[1]

The question here to be discussed, though reposing upon the same kind of evidence as the thesis just mentioned, introduces an entirely new issue. The stress is now upon the place-names. It is no longer simply Horus and Seth who are under consideration, but since the monuments so often contrast the Seth of Ombos with the Horus of Beḥdet and since Ombos is known to have been a town near Ṭūkh and Ballās in Upper Egypt, there has always seemed a great likelihood that the original Beḥdet was in Lower Egypt. Could this be proved, then the contention that Horus was the national god of Lower Egypt would obviously be much strengthened, and if in addition the whereabouts of Beḥdet could be ascertained, a certain re-orientation with regard to the mythical history of the god would become necessary. I begin by noting that  *Bḥdt* is not mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, a curious fact which imperatively calls for explanation.

Following the example of Sethe, Kees takes the figured representations as his starting-point, and begins with the well-known design of the union of the Two Lands (I, 7 ff.). At the very outset he comes across a scene appearing to contradict the notion that Horus was the god of Lower Egypt. This is sculptured on the chapel of Menthotpe III from Denderah.[2] To right kneels Horus; to left, beyond the sign of union  , was once the figure of Seth, subsequently deleted; behind each god stands one of the  *Mrt*-goddesses, and the damaged inscription of the goddess to the left proclaims her the *Mrt* of Lower Egypt. The published photograph is poor, but the facts appear to be as Kees stated them. This is by no means the only awkward testimony of the kind, and later on Kees quotes, for example, a coronation scene where Seth, though qualified as 'lord of Upper Egypt', offers to the king the crown of Lower Egypt (I, 15). It is useless to examine all the similar *data* which Kees brings forward. The answer to such discrepancies is that the weight of evidence in favour of Horus as the god of Lower Egypt is absolutely overwhelming. The explanation of facts like that just mentioned is probably that these scenes were all intended to emphasize the union of Egypt under a single ruler, and the result of this act would be to accord all the kingly attributes from both halves of the country to one and the same royal person. Hence, too, the national gods could interchange attributes. If I in my younger days had donned a French friend's *béret* and he had borrowed my College blazer, nothing could have better stressed the Entente Cordiale.

Kees next turns to the series of sitting statues of Sesostris I discovered by Gautier and Jéquier at Lisht.[3] Here the stereotyped scene of union is depicted on both sides of every statue. On two of the ten statues the opposing gods are personifications of Upper and Lower Egypt, and on three more they represent abstractions of one kind or another. The remaining five portray Horus and Seth face to face, Seth invariably grasping the plant of Upper Egypt and Horus as invariably that of Lower Egypt. The

[1] Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 23 ff.

[2] *Ann. Serv.* XVII, 229, with pl. I.

[3] Gautier & Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, pp. 33 ff.; see too Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* (*CCG*), II, pp. 21 ff., where some of the scenes are shown in photograph.

epithets of the gods are not always the same. On all five statues (seven cases in all) Seth is connected with  *Nbt* 'Ombos', and on four of the five (six cases) Horus receives the epithet  *Bḥdtî* 'Beḥdetite', e.g. pl. III, 1. By way of variation, Seth is twice  *nb Sw* 'lord of Su', this being the already mentioned town lying just within the borders of Upper Egypt. Similarly Horus is once  *nb Msn* 'lord of Mesen', a Lower Egyptian town near  *T3rw* 'Silē' on the eastern frontier.[1] But there are also direct references to Upper and Lower Egypt: on one statue Seth is called  'lord of the Upper Egyptian land'; on another (pl. III, 2) his figure is replaced by that of Upper Egypt personified, the accompanying legend stating 'Seth gives to thee his places', while the corresponding figure of Lower Egypt has as legend 'Horus gives to thee his thrones'; a third statue describes Seth as  'pre-eminent in the Upper Egyptian conclave'[2] and Horus as  'pre-eminent in the Lower Egyptian conclave'. In at first sight glaring contradiction to all the foregoing testimony is one single scene in which Horus, though holding the plant of Lower Egypt and facing Seth  'who is in Ombos', nevertheless receives the epithet  'the Beḥdetite pre-eminent in the Upper Egyptian conclave'.

How does Kees face up to this so nearly unanimous body of evidence? He assures us that with the partner of Seth some degree of hesitancy (*eine gewisse Unsicherheit*, I, 9) is observable. In other words he ignores the great bulk of the facts and attaches exaggerated importance to the one small detail that might seem to favour his own opinion. In that exceptional instance, he tells us, the god is clearly understood as Horus of Edfu (*deutlich als Horus von Edfu aufgefasst*). In this verdict there may be a grain of truth, but only a grain. 'Pre-eminent in the Upper Egyptian conclave' is not a mistake on the part of designer or sculptor, as I myself once thought in agreement with Sethe,[3] for it occurs even earlier as an epithet of Horus the Beḥdetite.[4] It must be remembered that Horus was the conqueror of his brother Seth, and for that reason might comprehensibly annex his attributes; otherwise said, our epithet may well signify 'the falcon-god of Lower Egyptian Beḥdet who has extended his power also over the divine conclave of Upper Egypt'. In that case there would be no direct reference to Edfu, the Upper Egyptian Beḥdet, though any ancient Egyptian who knew that the Lower Egyptian god had secondarily established himself in that town might easily have construed the epithet in that way.

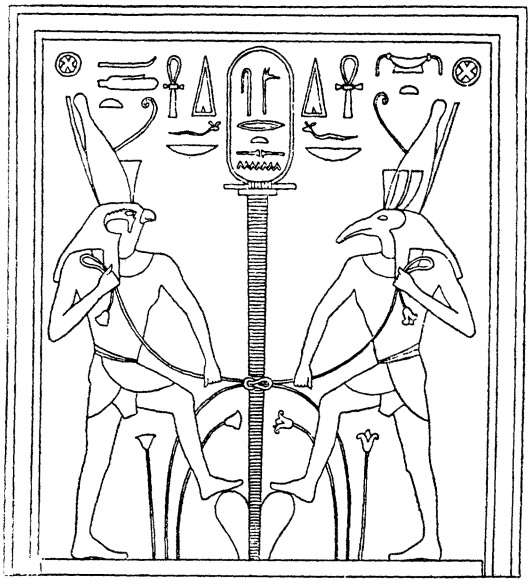
Before going farther I must animadvert upon the dangers of question-begging translation. Kees sometimes renders *Bḥdtî* as 'von Edfu' (I, 23. 28. 29, &c.), though sometimes, to do him justice, he writes 'Horus *Bḥd.t*' (e.g. I, 22) and sometimes 'von *Bḥd.t* (Edfu)', e.g. I, 14. Upon incautious readers the first-named translation can hardly fail to exert a hypnotic effect. Doubtless it is often useful to write 'lord of

[1] *JEA* V, 242; a particularly clear example Chassinat, *Edfou* (henceforth quoted as Ch., *Ed.*), VI, 51, under No. XIV; see too below, p. 49, n. 5. There were other places of the same name, including Edfu, to which the name was secondarily transferred in the same way as Beḥdet, but the easterly Mesen near Silē was clearly the most important. See too Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 60.

[2] See below, p. 27, for an explanation of this difficult term. For the present epithet cf. *ḫntî ỉtrt* (det. the Upper Egyptian sanctuary) given to *Nbtî* 'the Ombite', *Pyr.* 370.

[3] *Urgeschichte*, p. 75, n. 2.

[4] Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II* (henceforth quoted as Jéq., *Pepi II*), II, pl. 51. Also another example from the reign of Sesostris I, *Ann. Serv.*, XXX, pl. II to Chevrier's article, top right.



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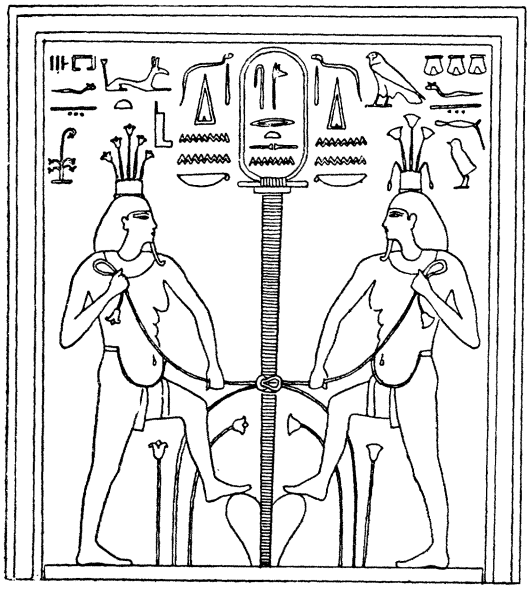

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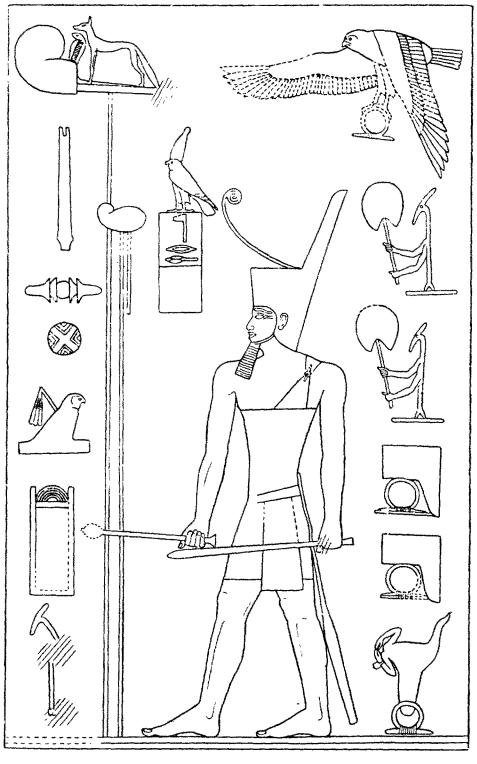

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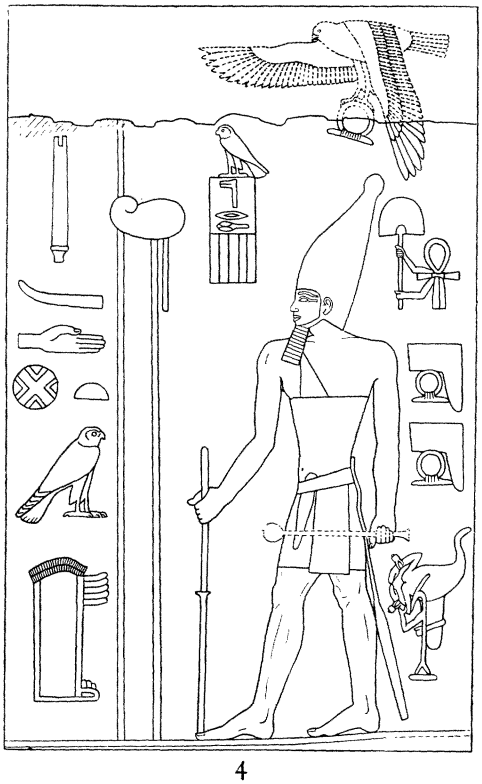
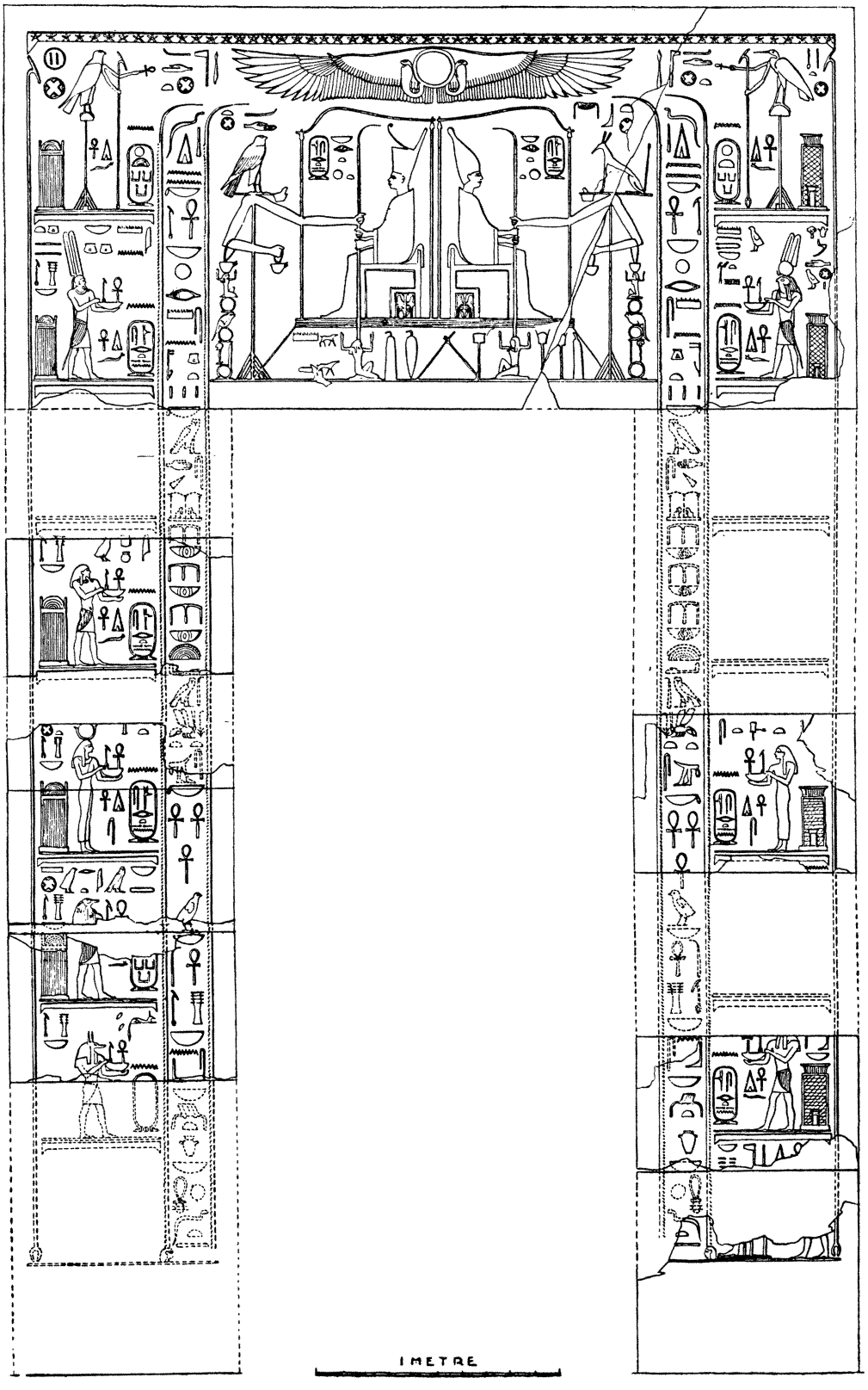


4

HORUS THE BEḤDETITE

1, 2. Reliefs from the sides of the thrones in sitting statues of Sesostris I from Lisht.
3, 4. Reliefs of the reign of King Djoser (Third Dynasty) from the Step Pyramid at Ṣaḳḳārah.

PLATE IV



HORUS THE BEḤDETITE

Doorway of Sesostris I from the temple of Medāmūd.

Thebes' for  *nb Wȝst* and so forth, but wherever there is the shadow of a doubt, it is definitely unscientific to insinuate unproven identifications. To render old Egyptian dates with the Greek month-names Thoth, Pachons (mostly thus, moreover, with spurious or inferior forms) is, to say the least, anachronistic; and so too it is to use the Greek designations of the nomes in place of the old Egyptian—Oryx nome, Hare nome, are far superior renderings.

I do not propose to follow up Kees's arguments point by point, and shall now turn to some related scenes of great intrinsic interest that deserve consideration because they confirm Sethe's interpretation of the scene in the funerary temple of Saḥurēʿ and also in other ways bear upon the problem of the Beḥdetite. By way of introduction, however, some attention must be paid to the word  *ỉtrt*, in rendering which above as 'conclave' I have confessedly sacrificed accuracy to intelligibility. The accepted translation is 'sanctuary',[1] but this I hold to be altogether wide of the mark. In its religious application the term seems so much bound up with the great royal Sed-festival or Jubilee that no single English word could possibly convey an adequate notion of its signification. I believe *ỉtrt* to be related to *ỉtrw* 'river', 'river-channel' and to mean fundamentally something like 'line' or 'row'. Occurring frequently in the dual, it there means 'the two sides' or 'rows'. Now in the Sed-festival, which was normally celebrated at Memphis, all the deities of the two halves of the country were summoned thither, their statues or emblems being housed in two rows of shrines on opposite sides of a vast Jubilee court,[2] the Lower Egyptian shrines with the appearance  of the primitive sanctuaries of the cobra-goddess  *Wȝḏyt* 'Edjō' at Buto, while the Upper Egyptian shrines  resembled that of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet at El-Kāb.[3] Since, as the legend of Horus shows, the North was deemed to have

[1] *Wb.* I, 147, 10, *Götterwohnung*; the accompanying remark *Ursprünglich wohl Palast des Königs* is due to Sethe's mistaken theory of the *Pr-wr*, *Pr-nzr*, *Pr-nw*, see below, n. 3.

[2] On these *ḥwt ḥb-sd* 'Jubilee mansions' see Bissing & Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, I, 14 ff.; a new example confirming that these were situated in Memphis, *P. Wilbour*, Text A, § 189, see also § 83 with my commentary. For the Sed-festival at Memphis, see, too, *JEA* V, 192 ff.

[3] That the barbaric looking structures determined with these signs were primitive temples or shrines, not royal palaces as maintained by Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 130, n. 2, is conclusively proved, not only by the Palermo stone (*Pr-nzr*, vs. 3, 1; *Pr-nw*, vs. 2, 2; *Pr-wr*, vs. 3, 1), but also by epithets of the two goddesses who were their possessors. For the two shrines of the cobra-goddess Edjō (*vulgo* Buto, see below, p. 55), both of them having the shape , cf. 'Edjō of Dep and of Pe, lady of the Per-nu and lady of the Per-nezer', Borch., *Saḥ.*, I, p. 52, fig. 58; Jéq., *Pepi II*, II, pl. 18, much damaged. It has been customary to assume that Per-nu and Per-nezer were alternative names for one and the same building, but the title just quoted proves that this was not so; Sethe, op. cit., p. 145, n. 1, declared the *Doppelnamigkeit* to be very striking, and suggested that the one name originated in Damanhūr or Heliopolis, and the other in Buto, but the natural inference from the title of Edjō above is that the Per-nu belonged to Dep, and the Per-nezer to Pe, or vice versa; Pe and Dep, as set forth rather more fully below, p. 55, were the two adjoining early settlements which together constituted the Delta town of Buto, the modern Tell el-Ferāʿīn. Similarly the Upper Egyptian vulture-goddess Nekhbet of El-Kāb had two shrines, the Per-wēr 'Great House' and the Netjri-shemaʿ 'Upper Egyptian Sanctuary', but of these only the better-known, the Per-wēr, had the shape , cf. 'Nekhbet, the White one of Nekhen, lady of the Netjri-shemaʿ and lady of the Per-wēr', Borch., *Saḥ.*, II, pl. 18, completed by op. cit., I, p. 52, fig. 58, see too Sethe in the Text-volume, p. 94, with the references, p. 84, n. 5, for the *Nṯrỉ-šmʿ*; the word *Nṯrj* 'divine' (*Wb.* II, 364, 26) would alone suffice to show that a shrine, not a palace, was meant. Some graffiti at El-Kāb, Leps., *Denkm.*, II, 117, *h*, *k*, *m*, *v*, aptly quoted by Sethe, *Übersetzung* . . . *Pyramidentexten*, IV, 189, belong to officials connected with the Per-wēr, and from this

prevailed over the South, the Upper Egyptian 'row of shrines' might in writing be referred to by  , though the more precise form was  with the determinative  . In effect, the expression *ỉtrt šmʿt* would thus mean 'the company or conclave of Upper Egyptian deities', though simultaneously it would conjure up the image of a row of Upper Egyptian shrines such as could be seen at Memphis on the occasion of the great national πανήγυρις. We shall find these rows of shrines in the scenes now to be discussed, and excavation has actually unearthed imitations of them in the marvellous temple attached to King Djoser's Step Pyramid.[1]

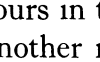
The scene in the temple of Saḥurēʿ where Sethe discovered his Lower Egyptian Beḥdetite is so fragmentary that it is little wonder neither he nor Borchardt recognized it as referring to the Sed-festival. This, however, is proved by the rather less fragmentary and closely similar scenes in the funerary temple of Phiops II, which again form a link between Saḥurēʿ's representations and those in the well-known Festival Hall of Osorkon at Bubastis.[2] Since in both these later temples chance has destroyed the image of Horus the Beḥdetite, which was doubtless once present, a somewhat detailed analysis appears necessary; the particular point I desire to make is that in all these pictures the Upper and Lower Egyptian deities are kept strictly apart, so that there is no doubt whatever that Sethe's Beḥdetite was a denizen of Lower Egypt, as indeed all the shrines  on the same wall clearly indicate. In the temple of Phiops II the east and west walls of what Jéquier terms the Antechamber are occupied by reliefs depicting separately the divinities of the two halves of the kingdom.[3] On the west wall we see the king standing and facing towards the right; the doorway in the east wall has prevented a corresponding representation there. Each wall exhibits five registers, the upper three showing standing deities looking towards the king or, on the east wall, deemed to be so looking. Before each row an officiant pronounces the formula of offering, and the deities in return address the king with the comforting assurance that they bring him all good things in order that he may govern the living, being arisen on the throne of Horus (cf. here pl. IV, the vertical lines). In the fourth register servants

Sethe, with strong probability, concluded that the Per-wēr was situated at El-Kāb; whether the Netjri-shemaʿ was a second shrine on the same site, or whether it was at Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), directly across the river, remains for future investigation to determine.

[1] As first suggested by Firth, *Ann. Serv.* XXV, 156. See further for the plans and magnificent reconstructions Lauer, *Pyramide à degrés*, pls. LV ff. with the text, pp. 130 ff. The contrasted buildings are here, however, considerably altered and stylized; Lauer is wrong in supposing, with Moret, that they have anything to do with eastern and western confederations of Delta names (op. cit., p. 130). He seems right, however, in taking them to be not the actual buildings used in the Sed-festival, but only copies. It would seem likely that the ceremony was always, or nearly always, celebrated in the actual town of Memphis; an apparent exception, *ZÄS* XLVIII, 49, is open to argument.

[2] For the latter see Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pls. 7, 8, 12, together with the photographs, pls. 32, 34, showing the relative positions. In this late temple one or two Lower Egyptian gods have by some error strayed into the Upper Egyptian series, and vice versa, but not enough to upset the statement above.

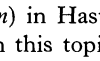
[3] Jéq., *Pepi II*, II, pls. 50–3, with pp. 39 ff., west wall, Upper Egyptian series; pls. 58–60, with pp. 49 ff., east wall, Lower Egyptian series. The Upper Egyptian section seems completed on the south wall, pls. 46–7, where we see Seth of Su, Khnum of Hermopolis Magna, and Mont, presumably of Thebes; but here, perhaps solely from lack of space, the significant shrines are omitted. The north wall, pls. 54 ff., similarly completes the Lower Egyptian series, but here none of the gods is recognizable, apart from the Lower Egyptian souls (*bꜣwỉ*) of Horus and Seth, on which the remarks by Jéquier, op. cit., pp. 48 f., and others by Sethe as quoted by him are worthy of attention.

are seen slaughtering oxen, and in the fifth courtiers approach to pay homage. In front of each deity on the west wall is a typical Upper Egyptian  ; on the east wall this is replaced by  , exactly as in the temple of Saḥurēʿ. The losses in both walls have been great, but on the east side far greater than on the western. Here at all events we can still discern Min (of Coptus or Panopolis), Seth (presumably of Ombos), the dog-headed Spirits of Hieraconpolis and some cynocephalous apes doubtless belonging to Hermopolis Magna; as first figure of the third register there stood a goddess whose legend Jéquier has shrewdly restored as that of Nekhbet of Eilythyiaspolis (El-Kāb).[1] The presence of Seth among these Upper Egyptian divinities leads us to expect Horus the Beḥdetite on the opposite wall, and there in fact we do see one falcon-headed deity, whom, however, Jéquier supposes to have been one of the Spirits of Buto. That Horus the Beḥdetite did occur somewhere on this wall seems guaranteed by the scene in the temple of Saḥurēʿ, the more so since there, as also here, the barber-god  *Dwꜣ-wr*[2] occurs, emphasizing the close relationship between these scenes in the two temples. That relationship becomes the more apparent because the presence of *Dwꜣ-wr* among Lower Egyptian deities is unexpected and unexplained, the same being true of the first of his neighbours in the temple of Phiops, namely  *Ḥkꜣ-ś*.[3] The second neighbour, however, another rare god called *Ḥpwi* (?) or *Ḥpḥp* (?),[4]

[1] Op. cit., p. 42.

[2] Since my article *Personification* (*Egyptian*) in Hastings's *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics* is not accessible to all Egyptologists, I repeat what I wrote there on this topic: 'Dua'-wēr 'the great Morning-God' is depicted in human form (Borch., *Saḥ.*, II, pl. 19). His name is written with the symbol and Sethe has shown (Text, *ad loc.*, p. 97) that he is nothing more nor less than the royal beard personified. In the Pyramid Texts (1329, 1428, 2042) his name is associated, not only with the act of shaving, but also with other incidents in the morning toilet—e.g. face-washing—and the royal barber appears to have been called "priest of Dua'-wēr".' For this last title see Mar., *Mast.*, 366, a striking example. See, too, Blackman's valuable note, *JEA* XXI, 4, n. 2.

[3] For the word-formation see Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, V, 127, where the rendering *Herrscherbinde* is proposed. *Wb.* III, 175, 13, gives without meaning immediately after the deity of the same name, both from texts of Graeco-Roman date. Brugsch, *Wb. Suppl.*, 855, quotes an example of the deity, erroneously connecting him with the snaring of birds. The object is written in *Pyr.* 452, where the context throws no light on its nature, but Sethe in his commentary concludes from the determinative that it formed part of the royal insignia. It is strange that the 'backland' (*ḫw*) of the VIIIth Upper Egyptian nome should bear the same name *Ḥkꜣ-ś* (with , see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 43, where the example, Leyden V 3, should be read *tmꜣ* and eliminated), but this can hardly be urged as evidence that *Ḥkꜣ-ś* was an Upper Egyptian god.

[4] Jéquier (op. cit., p. 51) has recognized that the name has something to do with the two fans, but does not suggest a personification. Despite the later writing the reading *Ḥpḥp* seems less probable than *Ḥpwi*, a possibility weighed also by Blackman. For the full reduplication (see *Wb.* III, 71, 3) found for *Nbwy* in *Pyr.* 593 might be quoted, though there is not ideographic, but phonetic. The only exact analogy appears to be  , later variant , the name of the XIXth nome of Upper Egypt (Gauthier, op. cit., I, 175), but there the reading is unfortunately unknown, Kees, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1932, 107, having disproved the thitherto accepted reading *Wꜣbwt*, see too *Wb.* I, 251, 7. It can barely be doubted that the phonetic complement here strangely added to the ideogram was intended to distinguish its pronunciation from that of *šwt* 'shade'; the component consonants *ḥp* were known already to Brugsch, *Wb. Suppl.*, 812 ff.; *Dict. géogr.* 494, 1253, see too *Wb.*, loc. cit. Ibid. mention is made of an example of the god in a New Kingdom magical text, but this I have been unable to trace. However, a calendar of lucky and unlucky days at Turin (copy by Botti in possession of Černý), names a festival of on 4th month of Inundation, days 6, 9. The proximity to one another of the deities *Ḥkꜣ-ś* and *Ḥpwi* (?) not only here, but also in Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pl. 12, speaks strongly in favour of the connexion with the two fans, as suggested in the text; nor would

is shown to have Lower Egyptian connexions by the fact that there existed a seldom-mentioned Delta town bearing the same name.[1] The two gods *Ḥkꜣ-ś* and *Ḥpwi*(?), who must be conjectured to be personifications or patrons respectively of the king's handkerchief, towel, or the like and of the two fans habitually seen following him, are found together also among the Lower Egyptian divinities in the Bubastis scenes, so that there can be but little doubt in which half of the country they were held in honour.[2] It is unfortunate that no better-known deity of Lower Egypt has survived the destruction of Phiops' east wall, but the human-headed  *Ṯnwi* 'He of Tjehnu' (Libya) points to the north;[3] it is idle to speculate whether he was identical with 'Ash (*ꜣš*), lord of Tjeḥnu' found in another part of the temple of Saḥurēʿ or whether he is to be equated with the  'Horus of Tjeḥnu' who appears in the Bubastite scenes.

These latter scenes help to elucidate those in the two Old Kingdom temples. At Bubastis the Lower Egyptian gods occupy one long row of their own, a regular *ỉtrt* in the sense above defined. Also they are inside their shrines instead of standing behind them, and in front of each deity is a tiny figure of the king making an oblation, showing that either he or his representative visited each shrine in turn. Above all, the reliefs of Osorkon prove that the occasion for these ceremonies was the Sed-festival, though the mention of  'the first day of the year', i.e. the first day of the first month of winter, on the west wall of Phiops would of itself have been decisive.[4]

I turn now to certain other pictures which refer either to the same episode in the Jubilee proceedings or to one closely akin. Egyptologists will recollect the fragmentary lintel from the Theban temple of Amenophis I which Spiegelberg first published,[5] which Winlock[6] next, in collaboration with Lindsley F. Hall, sought to apportion

so uncommon a sign as  have occurred in the writing, were this not so. The duality is naturally due to that of the two Egyptian kingdoms, the same notion being apparent also in *ḫpti* 'extremity' (of the land) and in the *ḫpt*-crowns (*Wb.* III, 69, 12–6).

[1] Overlooked by Gauthier, but recorded by Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 494. His quotations come from two late sarcophagi: Petekhons, whose sarcophagus is said to come from Saḳḳārah, was a *ḥrỉ ṯnf* of Mut of Ashru, and also 'of Mut and Khons of the temple of *Ḥpwi*(?)', Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.*, 102; the other sarcophagus, said to be in Vienna and belonging to one Tjaḥarpto (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.*, III, pl. 14, Nos. 49 ff. with pp. 34 f., but see also Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III, 172, n. 3) mentions many Upper Egyptian priesthoods, particularly in Hermonthis, but in the context that concerns us the priesthood of  'Min residing in *Ḥpwy*(?)' is sandwiched between that of Ḥatḥōr, lady of *Wꜣrḥ*, and that of Amen-Rēʿ, 'lord of the North Land'; Ḥatḥōr, lady of *Wꜣrḥ*, had her place of worship in the IInd Lower Egyptian nome, Mariette, *Dendéra*, I, 26, d; Chassinat, *Dendara* (henceforth quoted as Ch., *Dend.*), I, 142, 2; Piehl, *Inscr. Hiér.*, II, 127 (here again beside *Ḥpwy*[?]).

[2] I am indebted to Blackman for a reference to Ch., *Ed.*, VIII., 137, where the gods *Ḥḳ*(*ꜣ*)-*s* and *Ḥpwi*(?), this written *Ḥpḥp*, occur beside one another in a text relating to the filling of the *udjat*-eye; they are not found in the very similar text, Brugsch, *Thes.*, 41 f.

[3] Jéq., *Pepi II*, op. cit., pl. 60, see p. 51, with n. 7; on a fragment recognized too late to be placed in the *Reconstitution d'ensemble*, pl. 58.

[4] Brugsch, *Thes.*, 1125 ff.; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, 144, Index, under *tpj rnp-t*; early examples in lists of feasts, Junker, *Gîza II*, 60 f. In spite of Borchardt, *ZÄS* LXXII, 92 ff. (an interesting article, but containing many unwarrantable conjectures) I consider it certain that the Sed-festival was reckoned officially as beginning on the date named, which is often mentioned as that of the day when some high official was commanded by the king to 'proclaim' (*sr*) it. Important new material for the 8th to 13th Jubilees of Ramesses II, Mond & Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. 93, 1, 3, with pp. 163 ff.; here the said date is given for four out of the six occasions mentioned, but for the two others the 17th of the same month is inexplicably named.

[5] Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der Thebanischen Necropolis im Neuen Reiche* (1898), pls. 2–6.

[6] *JEA* IV, 11 ff.

among two lintels even more fragmentary, but to which Sethe,[1] who had access to Spiegelberg's squeezes, subsequently restored its pristine unity. Since then Bisson de la Roque has brought to light at Medāmūd two nearly identical lintels which are not only of earlier date, but also are still equipped with considerable portions of their doorposts. I content myself here with reproducing and discussing the doorway of Sesostris III (pl. IV);[2] that of the slightly later King Amenemḥēt-Sebkḥotpe,[3] like that of Amenophis I, shows but few differences of detail, far less than are visible in a highly ornate descendant of the reign of Merenptaḥ.[4]

The briefest examination of these doorways reveals the fact that their representations are mere modifications of those already studied; even the vertical line of inscription running down each doorpost reproduces in essentials the phrases of the horizontal bands above the deities in the temple of Phiops. The more restricted space here has forced the artist to concentrate on Upper Egyptian cults, these being chosen because his main purpose was to include the gods of Medāmūd and of Thebes. That there was no intention to exclude Lower Egypt is proved by the presence of the heron-god of Djebaʿet (top right) and of Horus the Beḥdetite himself; Sethe[5] has shown that Djebaʿet was either another name of Pe (Buto), or else was quite close to it, and this very ancient divinized bird was doubtless incorporated in the pictures as the appropriate counterpart of Horus the Hieraconpolite (*Nḫni*, top left), whereas the cobra-goddess Edjō of Buto would have produced a very incongruous effect. But a still more curious means was devised to remind the spectator that the Lower Egyptian deities had their share in the ceremonial here commemorated: though all the divinities depicted in the separate square compartments are Upper Egyptian, behind those on the left doorpost are Lower Egyptian shrines  ;[6] this reminds us how imaginatively and unliterally we have to interpret all such pictures. On the left doorpost of Sesostris III we see Amūn of Thebes, (Min) of Panopolis,[7] Suchus of Imiotru (part of Gebelēn) and his close neighbour Anubis of the Two Egg-shells,[8] i.e. of the two rocks composing Gebelēn ('the two mountains'); on the right beside 'Mont, the lord of Thebes, residing in Madu' (Medāmūd) only Satis of Elephantine and (Khnum) of Hermopolis Magna remain. It is in the central scene of the lintel that the greatest innovations have been made, and here the balance and rhythm of the design cannot but fill us with admiration. In this vignette we see the culmination of the entire festival—the monarch seated high upon the dais in his robes of states, on one side as ruler of Upper, and on the other

[1] *Das Jubiläumsbild aus dem Totentempel Amenophis I*, in *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1921, 31 ff.

[2] Cottevieille-Giraudet, *Les monuments du moyen empire*, pl. 1, in *Fouilles de Médamoud* (1911). I am indebted to Miss Broome for drawing parts of this plate afresh and placing some of the blocks in their proper positions. To her also are due most of the other drawings in my plates, as well as the sketch-map.

[3] Op. cit., pl. 5.

[4] Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl. 21. For an inaccurate and wrongheaded discussion of this, together with the lintel of Amenophis I, see Kees, I, 12 f.

[5] *Urgeschichte*, § 170.

[6] The Upper Egyptian shrines on the right-hand doorpost have not the normal broad shape of the *Pr-wr*  , but a narrower form not very different from that seen in the temple of Phiops II.

[7] For  of the publication, emend , though possibly the mistake is in the original. See Cottevieille-Giraudet, op. cit., pl. 5.

[8] See *ZÄS* LXXI, 150 ff., and my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under Nos. 327–9 of On. Am.

side as ruler of Lower, Egypt. To the king of Lower Egypt Horus the Beḥdetite fittingly presents notched ribs of palm symbolizing millions of years, and to the King of Upper Egypt Seth of Ombos makes a similar gift. The point to be driven home is that these larger and so dissimilarly conceived deities are given special prominence not because they are not local divinities like the rest, but because they are that and something more as well, namely the acknowledged representatives of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively.[1]

There is one other highly interesting feature in these doorways to which I shall call attention at a later stage (p. 51), but I must now pass on to another far more ancient scene with which Kees thought to deal Sethe's theory the *coup de grâce*.[2] This occurs on a stela in an underground chamber of the Step Pyramid, one of a set of three which correspond to another set of three in what Firth, the discoverer, termed the South Tomb. In all six cases King Djoser is depicted upright, the only human form that has been admitted. Thrice he is shown striding rapidly forward, thrice standing at rest. The two stelae that alone concern us are the northernmost under the pyramid (pl. III, 4)[3] and the central one in the South Tomb (pl. III, 3).[4] The brief inscription in 4 is rendered by Kees 'Halting (in) the temple of Horus of Beḥdet (Edfu)', and that in 3 'Halting in the temple of the falcon-god of *Ḫm* (Letopolis)'.[5] In 4 the king wears the crown of Upper Egypt, and the ideographically written word which Kees translates 'temple' (*Heiligtum*)—I should prefer the humbler 'shrine' (*Kapelle*)—shows the form  ; in 3 the Lower Egyptian crown is worn, and the edifice depicted is the Lower Egyptian  . It seems very probable that these scenes illustrate the same episode of the Sed-festival as the reliefs of Saḥurēʿ and Phiops II. But here there is an important difference, and I see no means of evading the conclusion drawn by Kees: Horus the Beḥdetite being accompanied by the Upper Egyptian type of shrine must really be the god of Edfu. But does this in any way imperil the already established fact that the home of Horus the Beḥdetite lay in the Delta? Clearly not! All that this stela proves is that Horus the Beḥdetite had found a new cult-centre at Edfu as early as the Third Dynasty. It must be carefully observed that Horus the Beḥdetite is not here presented as the national god of Upper Egypt, but only as a typical Upper Egyptian deity. The parallel depiction of Horus of Letopolis confirms this judgement, since *Ḫm*, though mentioned a number of times in the Pyramid Texts,[6] never was, and has never been claimed as, a Lower Egyptian capital.

Among the pitiably broken and cryptic reliefs of the Sed-festival in the Sun-temple of Neuserrēʿ there is again an example of Horus the Beḥdetite in company with the Upper Egyptian shrine.[7] What makes yet more sure the conclusion that this too

[1] On the lintel of Amenophis Seth of Ombos (that near Ṭūkh, not that near Elephantine, which would have been written  , see, however, Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 72, top) is repeated human-headed in one of the small compartments on the right; I can only view this as a somewhat anomalous duplication of the central depiction of an animalic Seth. The discussion by Kees (I, 13) is excusably at fault because he could not know that all the gods of the small compartments were Upper Egyptian.

[2] Kees, *Zu den neuen Zoser-Reliefs aus Sakkara* in *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1929, 57 ff.

[3] Firth & Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, II, pl. 17.

[4] Op. cit., II, pl. 41.

[5] For this town, the modern Ausīm, see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 175.

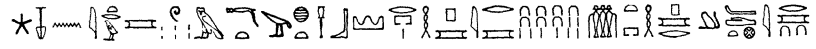
[6] E.g. *Pyr.* 419. 810, in all ten times.

[7] Bissing & Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. 19.

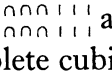
figures the Horus of Edfu is the fact that the approaching king is carried on a throne in the bowl- or basket-like receptacle called the  *zpꜣ*, which is known to have been characteristic of Upper Egypt.[1] Thus we now have reached the position that as early as the Third Dynasty the Lower Egyptian god Horus the Beḥdetite had already been introduced, local epithet and all, to Upper Egyptian Edfu, which accordingly became a second Beḥdet. We shall find this duplication of Beḥdet to have exercised an important effect upon the later name of the more northerly of the pair, and also to have influenced its southern counterpart in the choice of a symbol under which to represent its god. We must never forget, however, that the original Beḥdet was the Beḥdet of the Delta; to that fact the constant contrasting of Horus the Beḥdetite with Seth of Ombos bears eloquent and irrefragable witness.

II. Beḥdet as a town, nome, and district of Lower Egypt

A Lower Egyptian town Beḥdet did really exist, and is no mere deduction from the epithet of the god. Attention was called to the decisive evidence by Borchardt[2] as early as 1906, but for more or less comprehensible reasons was overlooked by Sethe and Kees. A fascinatingly interesting inscription at Edfu,[3] of which the first and most important lines were published and translated by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, pp. 604 ff., gives detailed statistics of the dimensions of Egypt, and indicates as its total length 106 *ỉtr* or schoeni. This figure is repeated in the charred geographical papyrus from Tanis,[4] with a further dimension of 20 *ỉtr* in which the town of  is somehow involved. The complete elucidation of these *data* was afforded by some votive cubits found at Karnak, the gist of which was announced by Borchardt in the afore-mentioned note, though he did not publish the actual inscriptions until much later.[5] It will suffice to reproduce here the crucial words from the best preserved of the three; this dates from the reign of Nekhtḥarḥēbe:



Sum-total[6] of schoeni, 106, complete. Mode of calculating it:[7] Elephantine to Pi-Ḥaʿpy, 86 schoeni; from upstream at Pi-Ḥaʿpy to the hinterland of Beḥdet, 20 schoeni.

The necessary emendation of the second figure to  and the interpretation of  as *ḫw* 'hinterland', are taken from the less complete cubit dating from one of the Osorkons.[8] Pi-Ḥaʿpy is now known to be, not the island of Rōḍah opposite Old Cairo,

[1] Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 150.

[2] Borchardt, *Nilmesser und Nilstandsmarken*, in *Abh. Berlin*, 1906, 54, n. 3.

[3] Ch., *Ed.*, VI, 200, l. 84; see also Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, VI, 164, under (320)–(323).

[4] Griffith & Petrie, *Two hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, pl. 9, fr. 9.

[5] In photograph, Borchardt, *Geschichte der Zeitmessung*, pl. 11, No. 1; then in type in *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts sechzigsten Geburtstag* = *Janus*, Vienna & Leipzig, 1921, pt. 1, 119 ff.

[6] *Dmḏ smꜣ*, see *Wb.* V, 458, 1, and for the writing op. cit., V, 462, bottom, in a name of the sun-god; cf. further in the Edfu inscription quoted in n. 3, ibid. Since the above was written, I have received from Černý a copy of the three registers of figures below the inscription above reproduced, and here, too, I find , a most astonishing writing for Dyn. XII.

[7] *Sšm ḥt*, also on the monument of Sesostris I quoted below, not in *Wb.*, but evidently related to the mathematical use of *sšmt*, which Griffith translated 'working out', see Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, p. 22.

[8] Borchardt, *Zeitmessung*, pl. 11, No. 2. Also in the article quoted above in n. 5.

but Atar en-Naby on the east bank 2 km. farther south,[1] and Beḥdet, which Borchardt identified with Damanhūr, will prove to be—elsewhere. Obviously the compiler of these figures set before himself the task of stating the lengths of the Upper and Lower Egyptian Niles respectively, and the total length of 86+20 = 106 schoeni from Elephantine to the sea led Borchardt to assess the length of the schoenus at 20,000 cubits or 10·5 km. The age of the original source from which were derived these numbers and the other indications of area and so forth that accompanied them was hardly, until recently, susceptible of a reasoned estimate. The language of the cubits seemed Middle Egyptian, but statistics of such precision appeared to demand an advanced and sophisticated state of society. Through the generosity of a French colleague I am able to submit the proof that the archetype of the cubits went back to the Twelfth Dynasty at all events. In preparing my commentary on the Golénischeff Onomasticon, I applied to M. Lacau for information concerning the newly reconstructed Chapel of Sesostris I at Karnak.[2] In July 1938 he kindly sent me a hand-copy of all the essential inscriptions, together with valuable comments and permission to use these data for my geographical researches. Annexed is his copy, recopied for me by Mrs. Smither, of the portion immediately adjoining the Lower Egyptian nome-list.

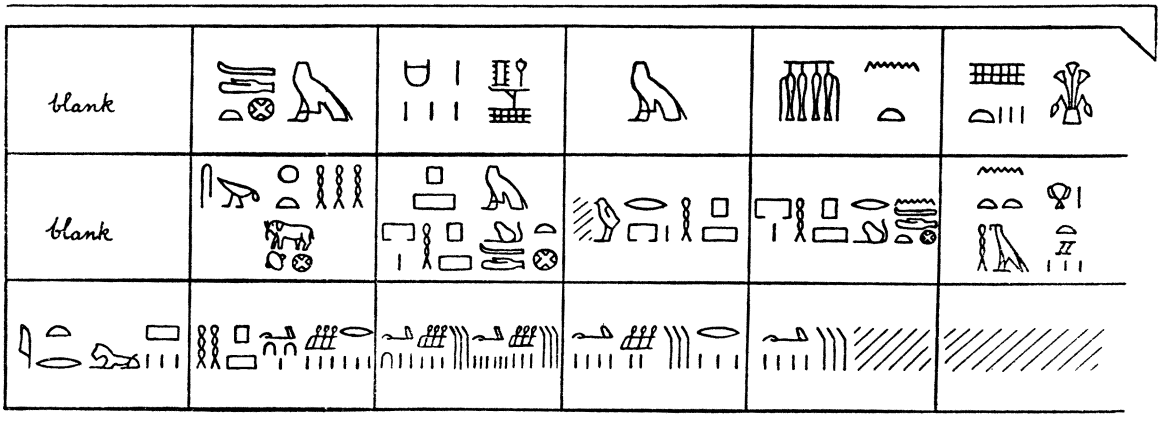
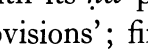
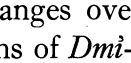
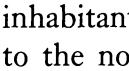


FIG. 1.

It did not escape M. Lacau, nor could it have escaped any expert in possession of the facts, that the text here, very baffling in some of its details, is closely akin to that of the cubits. The rare expression *sšm ḫt* (see p. 33, n. 7 above) would alone suffice to prove the relationship. The division of the Nile from Elephantine to the Mediterranean is the same, and again we find , var. , 'the hinterland of Beḥdet'. It is true that the figures in the copy furnished by M. Lacau are not concerned with the length of Egypt, but with other measurements. Below these figures, however, are others not available to me for publication, and there cannot be any doubt but that all these statistics belong to the same series. Nor is it to be supposed that with the Karnak chapel we are at the beginning of the story; that presumably belongs to the Old Kingdom.

[1] M. Hamza in *Ann. Serv.* XXXVII, 233 ff., and see also my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 397 of On. Am.

[2] For a preliminary account see *Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 567 ff., with impressive photographs of the facade and one side.

Where then is this Beḥdet now authenticated as existing in the Delta at an early stage of Egyptian history? Sethe, as we have seen, placed it at Damanhūr,[1] but his only evidence came from one of those series of supplementary districts which the Graeco-Roman temples occasionally appended to their nome-lists and which Brugsch used to describe as *districts autonomes*. Since in the sequel we shall have much to do with such lists of nomes and districts, a few lines may fitly be devoted to their normal mode of presentation. To refer to them as nome-lists is a convenient, but strictly an inaccurate, appellation, since they consist of long processions of large-breasted, fecund human figures in relief, each figure laden with offerings and bearing on his or her head a standard upon which hieroglyphs indicate the name of the nome or district personified. The king stands in front presenting them in turn to the chief deity of the temple in which the sculptures occur. The legend accompanying each separate offering-bearer declares: 'King so-and-so has come, he brings to thee nome-capital X and/or town Y with offerings Z; thou art . . . . . .', here naming a deity closely associated with the nome or district in question, often however in allusive terms. The upshot of this procedure is to identify every local deity with every other, cf. a particularly striking scene where all the gods of the different nomes are depicted as crocodiles and thus identified with Suchus, the god of the Fayyūm.[2] Only in one respect is such identification limited, namely in respect of sex; at Denderah, where the deity was the goddess Ḥathōr, all the identification clauses identify her with some other goddess. To return to the list which Sethe supposed to mention Damanhūr, the district concerned is the last of a much-damaged series at Edfu,[3] embracing the whole of Egypt from Kōm Ombo northwards, this following upon, and continuous with, a series of nomes of Lower Egypt. The name of the final district[4] is  Beḥdet, and the legend beside its offering-bearer describes Ptolemy XI as bringing to Horus of Edfu 'Beḥdet inundated with its *ḥw*-provisions, and  *Dmi-n-Ḥr* Town-of-Horus carrying all its *wnḏw*-provisions'; finally the god of Edfu is addressed, 'Thou art the Beḥdetite  who ranges over Chemmis[5] and captures the crocodile (*kp*), &c'. The only other mentions of *Dmi-n-Ḥr* in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire géographique* (VI, 93–4) are: (*a*)  *Dmi-Ḥr* on a topographically very important block which was long in the hands of an inhabitant of Ashmūn, but doubtless emanated from Kōm Abu Billu over 20 km. to the north-west, on the desert edge near the village of Eṭ-Ṭarrānah (Terenuthis) immediately westward from the Rosetta branch; the block describes this particular *Dmi-Ḥr* as on 'the shore of the Western River south of  Mafket',[6]

[1] Sethe's latest references to the question were in his *Urgeschichte*, p. 71 and p. 55, n. 1.

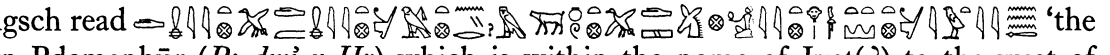
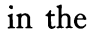
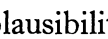
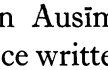
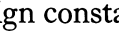
[2] Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*, pl. 16.

[3] Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, pl. 66 = Ch., *Ed.*, VI, 42 ff., see also Porter & Moss, op. cit., VI, 161, under (310)–(311). Wherever possible, I quote from Chassinat's more accurate and complete edition.

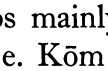
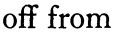
[4] Ch., *Ed.*, VI, 48, No. XCIX.

[5] See below, p. 58, where another passage from Edfu is quoted locating Chemmis in the XVIIth Lower Egyptian nome.

[6] *Ann. Serv.* XVI, 226. Neither Daressy nor Gauthier (*Dict. géogr.*, IV, 127) has noticed that in this same inscription (p. 222) there is a mention of *Ḥwt-snḏm*, one of the earlier supplementary districts in the same series (Ch., *Ed.*, VI, 46, No. XCIII).

which is the ancient name of Kōm Abu Billu,[1] and for that reason it cannot be Damanhūr, which is quite 70 km. farther to the north-north-west; (*b*) another 'Town of Horus' mentioned by Gauthier was the birthplace of the Apis bull named on a stela of the 6th year of Ptolemy VII Euergetes II;[2] the relevant words as given by Brugsch read  'the town Pdamenhūr (*Pꜣ-dmi-n-Ḥr*) which is within the nome of Iyet(?) to the west of the Great River'; the problem of the Great River is not completely settled, but it seems likely to have been the *Μέγας Ποταμός* of Ptolemy, which is supposed to have debouched in the Canopic Mouth;[3] the town  has always been a puzzle, but I believe myself able to offer an explanation which, if not absolutely certain, has a high degree of plausibility; an alternative name of the ancient *Ḫm*, the later Letopolis and the modern Ausīm (above, p. 32), was  var.  *Ỉyt* 'Iyet',[4] and for this  is once written in an Edfu nome-list;[5] there can be no doubt that  here stands for  , a sign constantly confused with  owing to the similarity in hieratic;[6] now what  holds in his upraised hand may well be  and if so, the sign is clearly equivalent to  , so that our town would undoubtedly be Letopolis, where it is well known that  Ḥar-merti, a form of Horus, was worshipped; Ausīm might easily, therefore, be described as 'the town of Horus' and as lying in the IInd Lower Egyptian nome to the west of the 'Great River'. Note in this connexion that in the great Edfu nome-list the 'Great River' is given as the 'river' of the IInd Lower Egyptian nome.[7]

Thus we have found one certain, and one probable, example of a *Dmi-Ḥr* or *Dmi-n-Ḥr* which is not the modern Damanhūr, and indeed there seems no reason why the term 'Town of Horus' should not, on occasion, have been used for any town where Horus was, or once had been, worshipped. Consequently, we shall be well advised to inquire further whether Sethe's solitary piece of evidence in favour of Damanhūr justifies the conclusion which he drew from it.

The whole question of the supplementary districts is wrapt in obscurity. Brugsch seems nowhere explicitly to have vindicated his designation '*districts autonomes*', which was perhaps mainly an inference from the fact that the first of them,  *Nb(yt)* 'Ombos', i.e. Kōm Ombo, appears in Greek as *'Ομβίτης* 'the Ombite nome', possibly being split off from the first nome of Upper Egypt named by the Egyptians  *Tꜣ-zti* 'Nubian land' and by the Greeks *ὁ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ Φίλας*.[8] Gauthier, who has discussed the general question more fully than any other scholar,[9] thinks the differentiation of these supplementary districts attributable to fiscal reasons. Until clearer evidence is forthcoming, I for my part incline to regard them as mere figments of the priestly imagination, based largely upon mythological ratiocinations. They apparently

[1] Proved by blocks found on the spot by Griffith, see his *Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdîyeh*, pp. 60 ff. These are not mentioned by Gauthier, op. cit., III, 15, who gives the credit of the identification to Daressy. For the localities mentioned above in the text, see my sketch-map, pl. V, 2.

[2] *ZÄS* XXII, 125; also Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 87, cf. 521. My remarks here supersede those in *JEA* V, 130, n. 5.

[3] See my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 407 of On. Am.; an earlier note of mine, *JEA* V, 130 f.

[4] Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 38.

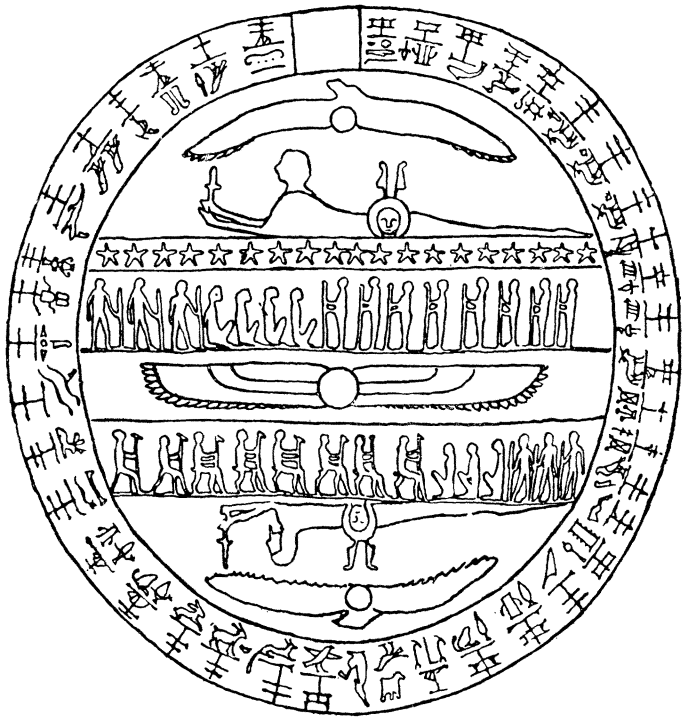
[5] Ch., *Ed.*, VI, 38, under No. LIII.

[6] Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 34 a, the notes on 7, 3; 7, 6. Conversely in a writing of the town of Esna, see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 323 of On. Am.

[7] Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1369.

[8] Gauthier, *Nomes d'Égypte*, III ff., and again 113, n. 1.

[9] Op. cit., 49 ff., and especially 55.



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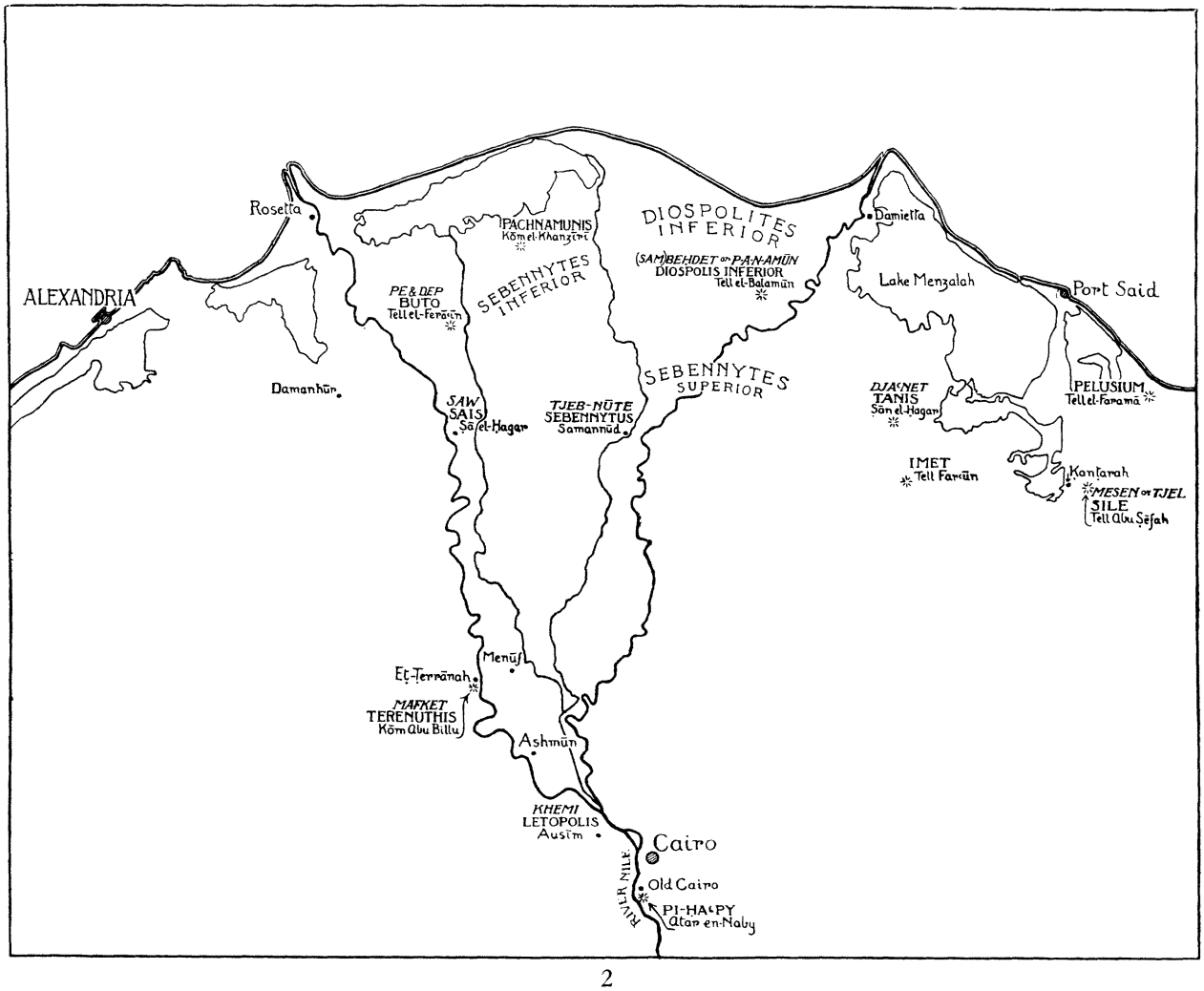
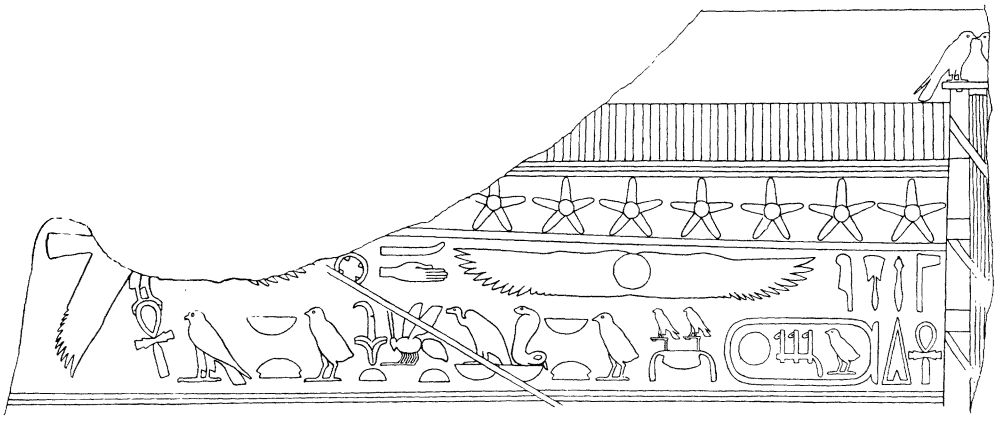


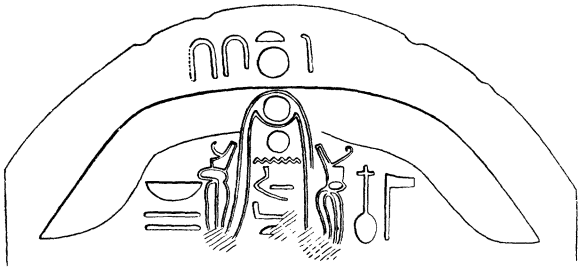
2

HORUS THE BEḤDETITE

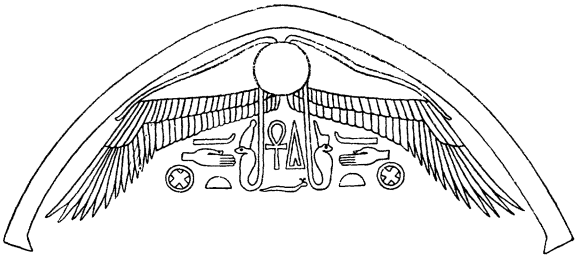
1. Circular nome-list from a late sarcophagus now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
2. Sketch-map of the Delta to show the position of towns mentioned in the article.



1



2



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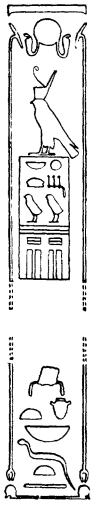

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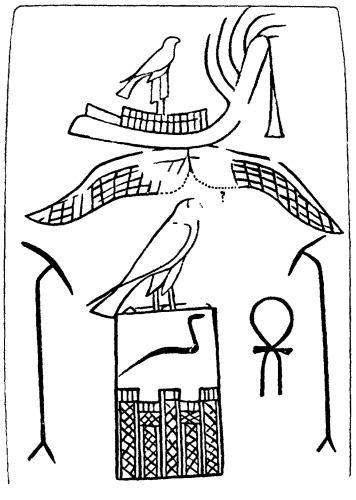
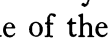
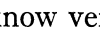


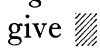
4

6

HORUS THE BEḤDETITE

1. Winged Disk and titulary of King Saḥurēʿ at top of the sail of his ship: relief from his pyramid-temple at Ṣaḳḳārah. 2. Winged Disk and royal name from a stela of Ammenemes III at Serābīṭ el-Khādim (Sinai). 3. Winged Disk from above a scene in the temple of Ḥashepsōwe at Dēr el-Baḥri. 4. Comb of the reign of King Djet (First Dynasty) from Abydus. 5. Names of King Saḥurēʿ from a column in his pyramid-temple. 6. Horus-name of King Amenophis II from an obelisk in the Cairo Museum.

represent enclaves within the stereotyped series of nomes, in so far as they are not synonyms or duplications of those nomes themselves. Now as regards the case here at issue, it must be noted that in the very same series of geographical figures  Beḥdet had already occurred as the name of the XVIIth nome of Lower Egypt,[1] that more often given as  *Sm3-bḥdt* 'Sambeḥdet'; not only this, but the town of Sambeḥdet had been mentioned as the metropolis of a supplementary district named  *3tf*, var.  ,[2] concerning which we know very little further.[3] Since Sambeḥdet in these two entries is clearly one and the same place, and since  Beḥdet is an acknowledged writing of Sambeḥdet (see next paragraph), we are entitled to state that Beḥdet is implicitly involved in two separate entries of this very astonishing and perhaps entirely artificial procession of geographical figures. But if in two entries, why not in three? I am suggesting the possibility that the final district  might be merely a thoughtless repetition of the XVIIth Lower Egyptian nome. Or if, as we shall see to be the more probable view, any definite motive lay behind its presence here at the end, it will have been the knowledge that Beḥdet was the very last town in Egypt, a fact for which testimony has already been produced. On this hypothesis Sethe's supposed prototype of Damanhūr will really be the town which later generations identified with Sambeḥdet. Further evidence on the point will be offered later.

I now return to the question of the XVIIth nome. In Ptolemaic and Roman times its name is mostly given as  Sambeḥdet, e.g. Ch., *Ed.*, IV, 35, No. LXV (Ptolemy VII); Id., *Mammisi*, 67 (Ptolemy X); Id., *Dend.* I, 127 (exact date uncertain); Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.* IV, 123 (Augustus). There was also, until better information came to hand quite recently, a possible example of this writing as early as Alexander the Great, Brugsch, *Recueil*, I, pl. 25 (= Id., *Geogr. Inschr.* III, pl. 4, printed from the same block), at Luxor, where the publications give  ; but M. Bakir, who has examined the original on my behalf, states emphatically that  can never have been present, and this a later examination by Fairman confirmed. The many Graeco-Roman pictures of nome-deities regularly name only the capital town, not the nome itself, and here we almost invariably find Amen-Rēʿ, lord of  Sambeḥdet, e.g. Brugsch, *Thes.* 620. 622. 624, all from Denderah;[4] see, too, Chassinat, *Mammisi*, 169; Id., *Ed.* VI, 51. However, the Berlin Dictionary (I, 470, 7) registers  as a 'rare variant' (*seltene Variante*) for the nome of Sambeḥdet, and Kees (II, 74, n. 3) more adventurously states the former to be an occasional abbreviation of the latter. But may not the truth be just the opposite? May not Sambeḥdet be, as I have already expressed it, a meaningful expansion of Beḥdet? In order to answer this question let us review the facts. The

[1] Ch., *Ed.*, VI, 41, No. LXVIII.

[2] Op. cit., VI, 46, No. XCII. The phonetically written variant (Chassinat's square brackets, here omitted, mean merely that the enclosed signs are no longer preserved and have been borrowed from earlier publications) is taken from the legend beside the figure on whose head is the standard bearing the tree . The determinative illustrates a trait very usual in these nome-lists. The legends mostly assume that one name of the capital of the nome is the name of the nome itself, to which they consequently append when the town is meant. Examples of this practice will be found again and again in the nome-list here under consideration.

[3] See below, p. 40, and perhaps also *Ḥwt-3tf*(?) in the passage from the inscription of Hibis quoted on p. 45.

[4] For an exceptional case with 'Horus the Beḥdetite, lord of Sambeḥdet', see below, p. 44.

Berlin Dictionary quotes only one example in support of its statement, namely, the nome-list of Ptolemy X, Ch., *Mammisi*, 67, where the standard on the head of the nome-figure has  Sambeḥdet, while the accompanying legend has 'He brings thee  Beḥdet'.[1] The cases mentioned by Kees are, firstly, the standard in the Edfu nome-list of Ptolemy XI (above, p. 37, n. 1), and secondly, that in the great Edfu nome-list of Ptolemy IV, Rochemonteix, *Edfou* I, 334 = Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1366. One or two less clear cases could doubtless be added from Ptolemaic times, and were these all, the conclusion drawn by Kees might have some plausibility. But since he wrote, two instances in addition to the Luxor one of the reign of Alexander mentioned above have come to light which place a very different complexion on the matter. The later of the two is the unique circular nome-list represented on a sarcophagus now in New York and figured in my pl. v, 1;[2] this is attributed by Mrs. Grant Williams to the Thirtieth Dynasty, but Schäfer,[3] who subsequently made some pertinent remarks on its singular appearance, placed it at about 300 B.C. Here not only is the XVIIth nome of Lower Egypt written Beḥdet, but also it is the last of the Lower Egyptian series, and separated only by a small blank compartment from  *Tȝ-Zti* 'Nubian land', the Ist nome of Upper Egypt; no arrangement could more eloquently proclaim these two nomes as the beginning and end of Egypt respectively, and one cannot fail to be reminded of the inscriptions on the cubit of Nekhtḥarḥēbe and the reconstructed Chapel of Sesostris I. For a second piece of hitherto unused evidence I am once more indebted to M. Lacau; it is a nome-list of the joint reigns of Ḥashepsōwe and Tuthmosis III, again from Karnak and comes from what M. Lacau calls the *Sanctuaire de la barque sacrée*; here too  appears as the XVIIth and final Lower Egyptian nome, and the order of the list, so far as it is not concealed by lacunae, is the same as in the Chapel of Sesostris I; this identity of order[4] was recognized by M. Lacau, who indeed declared the only difference between the list of the Twelfth Dynasty and that of the Eighteenth to be the addition, in the Eighteenth, of a new nome, that of Beḥdet. Since the circular nome-list at New York presents the same number of nomes and substantially the same order,[5] and since the Luxor list of Alexander the Great (above, p. 37), after omitting one nome, makes Beḥdet its 16th and last,[6]

[1] For the end of the legend see below, p. 44, with footnote 7.

[2] *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, IX (1914), 117.

[3] Schäfer, *Weltgebäude*, 87.

[4] The list from the Chapel of Sesostris I has lost Nos. 10–13, and that from the *Sanctuaire de la barque sacrée* Nos. 1–2, 6–7, 15–16, but it seems fair to assume their complete identity save for the addition of the XVIIth nome in the latter. If this be conceded, the differences from the stereotyped Graeco-Roman order are: the early arrangement (*a*) transposes X and XI (these Roman figures represent the final Graeco-Roman order), (*b*) places the pair XV and XVI before the pair XIII, XIV, and (*c*) omits XVIII, XIX, XX. It should be noted that the fixed order of the Lower Egyptian nomes regular in the latest times and accepted by Egyptologists is not found until the reign of Ptolemy VII (Ch., *Ed.*, IV, 21 ff.). The great Edfu nome-list, dating from Ptolemy IV, places XIV after XV–XVI and inverts XIX and XX; Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 1366, has most arbitrarily and misleadingly changed the order of this list as found on the actual monument, see Rochemonteix, I, 329 ff., with pls. 15–16.

[5] The only departures from the early order are that X and XI follow one another thus in the later fashion, and that XIII is in its final position and not postponed to the 15th place.

[6] As regards the order here, there is a lacuna in the 15th place, which was presumably occupied by  (XVI, the Mendesian). If so,  XIV is the omission, and the order is that of later times.

it is evident that over a considerable period seventeen was the orthodox number, and that the three nomes of *Ỉmt(t?)-ḫntt* (XVIII), of *Ỉmt(t?)-pḥt* (XIX), and of *Spdw* (XX) were later additions, perhaps not much older than Graeco-Roman times.[1] But what then of the territory subsequently occupied by these nomes, and what of the important towns that they contained? As ill luck will have it, we are exceedingly badly informed concerning the Lower Egyptian nomes in pre-Ptolemaic times, and new evidence may still be discovered which will upset some of our assumptions. Provisionally it must be assumed that the towns just alluded to were originally allotted to one or other of the standard seventeen nomes; some slight confirmation is to be found in the list from the Chapel of Sesostris I, where Bast is mentioned as a deity of the Ḥeḳa-ʿandj or Heliopolite nome (here 15th, later XIIIth nome), whereas in Graeco-Roman times Bubastis was the capital of the XVIIIth nome. Standing forth above these perplexities we now have the well-established facts (1) that Beḥdet, not Sambeḥdet, was the early name of the XVIIth Lower Egyptian nome, and (2) that from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward custom regarded the nome of Beḥdet as the last, i.e. presumably the northernmost, nome of Egypt, just as it had previously regarded the *town* of Beḥdet, after which the nome was obviously named, as the northernmost town of the entire country.

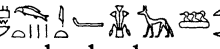
We have become acquainted with Lower Egyptian Beḥdet as name of a town, as name of a nome, and as name of a supplementary district. The explanation of the *district* is conjectural, but the guess already put on record can now be further elaborated. My supposition is that the district of Beḥdet owed its artificial existence to a feeling on the part of the priests that this northernmost town of their land, the home of its great god Horus, ought to find a place in their processions of nomes, and a place as far as possible away from the nome containing Elephantine. We now see that, by the addition of nomes XVIII, XIX, and XX, Beḥdet had ceased to be the last of the series. From the reign of Ptolemy VII we have a brief enumeration of supplementary districts following immediately upon the nomes of Lower Egypt,[2] each district with separate figures representing its *mr* 'canal' or 'stretch of river', its *w* 'territory', and its *pḥ* 'hinterland water'. For the XVIIth nome the list gives Sambeḥdet,[3] and under its *w* 'territory', significantly called *nỉwt mḥtt* 'the Northern City', i.e. the Northern Thebes, the words 'Thou art the divine god, who came into being of himself, the hidden one (*ỉmn*) whose name is hidden' make clear allusion to the name of that god Amūn whom we shall always find associated with Sambeḥdet.[4] Notwithstanding the presence of Sambeḥdet at its proper place in the nome-list, the

[1] These three nomes are also absent from (1) the list of the time of Ḥashepsōwe at Dēr el-Baḥri (ed. Naville, [V], pl. 128), and (2) the list of Sethos I at Abydus, Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 14; they were probably absent too from (3) the list of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, published in Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, pl. 90. All these lists have peculiarities that cannot be discussed here, and (1) and (3) are full of lacunae; in none of them is the name of the XVIIth nome given, and in (2) Beḥdet seems to be replaced by *Tȝ-Mḥw* 'Lower Egypt'. Note, however, that a nome or district written is found among other geographical personifications in the temple of Ḳurnah (*temp.* Rameses II), see Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.*, I, pl. 12, No. IV.

[2] Ch., *Ed.* IV, 21 ff.

[3] Op. cit., IV, 35, No. LXV.

[4] Cf. 'the temple of Amūn of the Northern City', Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 46.

following supplementary districts end[1] with  , which can be proved to read *ỉtf Bḥd(t)*, i.e. the Atef-tree of Beḥdet;[2] that the Beḥdet here rather abnormally written is none other than the Beḥdet which was the equivalent of Sambeḥdet, is shown by the words at the end of the legend 'Thou art  Amūn, lord of the marshes and papyrus swamps (*ỉdḥ*), roaming the backwaters (*sꜣb sšw*, see *Wb.* III, 420, 15) at the river-mouth'; that at the same time this Beḥdet was the famous home of Horus the Beḥdetite is suggested by the identifying phrases belonging to the *w* of that district, 'Thou art  the Beḥdetite making provision for the subject-people (*rḫyt*), and everyone praiseth thee'. The district here mentioned is obviously the same as that written  var.  *ỉtf* in the supplementary series of Ptolemy XI whence Sethe deduced his Damanhūr;[3] it is the same not only because the capital is there given as  Sambeḥdet, but also because the district immediately preceding *in both cases* is the problematical district written  . However, in this later list of supplementary districts *ỉtf* is not the final district; it looks to me, therefore, as though this longer list were the result of two successive extensions, the first reaching to  , which we have seen to be virtually equivalent to Beḥdet, and the second similarly ending with  Beḥdet and motivated by the same desire to have Beḥdet at the end. If this argumentation be sound, further support is lent to my hypothesis that Sethe's *Dmỉ-n-Ḥr* 'Town of Horus' was none other than the Beḥdet identical with or near to Sambeḥdet.

That the *nome* called Beḥdet was co-extensive and identical with the nome called Sambeḥdet needs no further demonstration, and the determinative ⊗ always accompanying the hieroglyphic writing of both place-names is sufficient proof that this nome took those alternative names from its capital town. On the other hand, I know of no absolute proof that the *town* of Beḥdet was situated on exactly the same spot as the *town* of Sambeḥdet. That the latter derived its name from the former will become the more evident the further we proceed, and this connexion of the names suggests local proximity, if not identity. The only indication which appears to argue such complete identity is the well-known inscription of Amenophis IV at Gebel es-Silsilah,[4] where the king's first act is stated to have been to command one of his officials to undertake all constructional works  'from Elephantine to Sambeḥdet'. Scholars agree in equating the second place-name here with  ,[5] and grounds will be provided hereafter for accepting that view. There has, however, been some difference of opinion concerning the whereabouts of this northern limit. Some have supposed it to be a town in Middle Egypt,[6] but I feel convinced that Sambeḥdet in

[1] Op. cit., IV, 41, No. LXXXIX.

[2] See above, p. 37, n. 2; the tree of this name occurs also in the writings of the XIIIth and XIVth nomes of Upper Egypt, see Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 57.

[3] See above, p. 37.

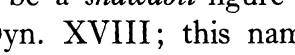
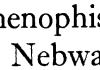
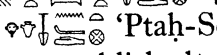
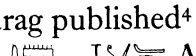
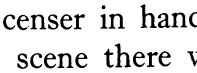
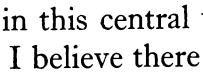
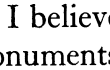
[4] Leps., *Denkm.* iii, 110, i = *Ann. Serv.* iii, 263.

[5] So first Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 705.

[6] Newberry in *Proc. S.B.A.* xxxv, 122, n. 21, end, quotes this passage in connexion with XIth Dyn. inscriptions giving Elephantine and  as the boundaries of the kingdom of that time; the latter place, however, is the Serpent nome (Xth of U.E.). Brugsch, who read the name Sam-ḥud-ti (op. cit., 708) connected it with Arabic سمنود, Coptic ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ, and found the Egyptian original of this in the list of deities of towns now best edited in Ch., *Ed.*, VI, 234. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, V, 33, adheres to this view, but there is no serious evidence of an Upper Egyptian Sambeḥdet. The presence of Horus the Beḥdetite in the Edfu list just mentioned points, as we shall see below, p. 44, to the original Beḥdet in Lower Egypt.

the far North is meant and that the phrase, as Breasted happily observed,[1] is an analogy to the Biblical 'from Dan to Beersheba'. But if so, then Sambeḥdet here must be a later substitute for the Beḥdet of the cubits and of the monument of Sesostris I.

III. The localization, name, and cults of Sambeḥdet

Our search for the original Beḥdet thus resolves itself into the problem of the topographical position of Sambeḥdet, and in this matter there is no longer room for doubt. References to the town are numerous, and Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 33, enumerates most of the early ones. Here only a selection is necessary, given in chronological order and provided with letters to facilitate later quotation. (*a*) The earliest mention may well be a *shawabti*-figure in a private collection at Birkenhead, attributed to middle Dyn. XVIII; this names  (read )  'the first prophet of Amūn in Sambeḥdet, the chief of sculptors, Ya'.[2] (*b*) The inscription of Amenophis IV at Gebel es-Silsilah, above, p. 40. (*c*) Various objects belonging to  Nebwaʿ, *temp.* Ḥaremḥab;[3] his titles are given in various forms, but comprise  'first prophet of Amūn in the Island'; 'first prophet of Amen-Rēʿ, king of the gods, in Sam-n-Beḥdet'; among the deities are (1)  '[Mūt], lady of heaven, sojourning in Sam-n-Beḥdet', (2)  'Ptaḥ-Seker-Osiri sojourning in Sam-n-Beḥdet'. (*d*) Quite recently Naguib Farag published[4] a stela of Ramesses II recording his dedication of a temple to 'his father  Amen-Rēʿ, lord of Sam-n-Beḥdet'; above the text Ramesses II is shown, censer in hand, before a seated Amūn and a standing Mūt and Khons; above this scene there was probably a solar disk flanked by two uraei; the editor states: *Au-dessous de ce groupe on distingue assez difficilement un dieu Amon assis sur le signe*  . *Au-dessous on voit encore les signes*  *qui devaient probablement être suivis de*  , *ville de laquelle le dieu Amon était le seigneur.* The photograph is rather indistinct in this central upper portion, but confirms the first part of this statement; at the end I believe there is  and nothing more.

The monuments above mentioned will suffice for a start. Of great importance is the provenance of (*d*); Naguib Farag writes concerning it, . . . *je vis cette stèle près du Rest-House du domaine d'El-Atrache. Elle provenait de Tell el-Hagar qui se trouve à 3 kilomètres de Tell el-Balamoun* (*Moudirieh Gharbieh, Markaz Cherbine*). *Ce tell est à environ 15 kilomètres*[5] *au nord de Cherbine.* Measured on the 1: 50,000 Survey Dept. map the insignificant mound called Kōm el-Ḥagar is 7 km. to the north-west of Tell el-Balamūn, and Kafr el-Atrash is quite close to the former. Concerning Tell el-Balamūn (so most authorities, but the Survey map prints Tell el Balâmâna) Hogarth, who first proposed the identification with Diospolis Inferior, says that the

[1] *Ancient Records*, II, p. 384, n. *h*.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XXVII, 105.

[3] *Ann. Serv.* VIII, 269 ff. Legrain's copies do not inspire confidence, nor yet does Borchardt's copy of the statue Cairo 883 in *Statuen und Statuetten* (*CCG*), III, p. 135; but possibly the originals are defective. For the word here rendered 'Island'—undoubtedly the correct rendering, see below, —  is printed only once, other occurrences being given as  or  . On this Nebwaʿ see further Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres*, 243 ff.

[4] *Ann. Serv.* XXXIX, 127 ff.

[5] This is accurate only if the distance is measured along the Damietta branch to a point east of the Tell. On a bee-line the distance is about 10 km.

circumference must be nearly 2 miles, and the summit 50 feet above the plain;[1] Edgar, who as Inspector-General for the Delta not improbably visited the site, accepted this identification and stated that there are remains of a great Ramesside temple of limestone, granite, and basalt.[2] The distance to the coast-line is almost exactly 20 km., most of the intervening part being marked as under water. The distance from the Damietta branch east of the Tell is less than 5 km.

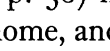
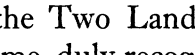
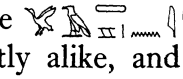
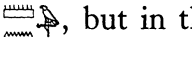
Whether Naguib Farag's stela had previously lain at Kōm el-Ḥagar or not, its original home was probably the not far distant Tell el-Balamūn, which we must view, on the strength of Edgar's statements, as the capital of the nome in Ramesside times. The great Edfu nome-list (above, p. 38) names  *Pꜣ-iw-n-Ỉmn* 'The Island of Amūn' as capital of the XVIIth nome, and it is hardly possible to resist Spiegelberg's conclusion that this is the etymology of Balamūn, the *l* representing the genitival  of the hieroglyphic spelling.[3] Confirmation is afforded by the Rylands list of bishoprics,[4] which under ⲇⲓⲟⲥⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲱ, i.e. Diospolis Inferior, gives the equivalence ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩ القلمون 'the town Pounemou⟨n⟩ = El-Ḳalmūn', where ق is clearly a miswriting of ف, El-Falmūn being either an error for, or local pronunciation of, البلامون El-Balamūn. This Diospolis is named by Strabo (XVII, 1, 19) and others, and *Διοσπολίτης κάτω* occurs as one of several Delta nomes on a Theban ostracon of the third century,[5] and is known also from bronze coins of Hadrian (fig. 2),[6] of which the reverse shows the ram of Amūn. Despite the doubts of Gauthier,[7] the combined evidence of Naguib Farag's stela and of the name Tell el-Balamūn finally demonstrates the whereabouts of the XVIIth nome of the hieroglyphic lists. It is less certain whether the name 'The Island of Amūn' is another name of the *town* of Sambeḥdet; in the course of centuries the capital may have shifted from one site to another, but the general position is now sufficiently determined. A few more notes on *Pꜣ-iw-n-Ỉmn* seem desirable. The oldest occurrence is on the statue of the master-builder Minmosĕ under Tuthmosis III; among the many temples where he made constructions or repairs is that of  '[Amen-Rēʿ, lord of thro]nes of the Two Lands, in Island of Amūn'.[8] The next earliest mention of the complete name, duly recognized by Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 44, is *P. Cairo 32749*,[9] probably of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, where a woman native of the place is mentioned; here  is clearly written. In Ramesside hieratic  and are made exactly alike, and it is a mere matter of convention which transcription one chooses; in the Blinding of Truth (*P. Chester Beatty II*), 9, 2 I have transcribed  , but in the Golénischeff Onomasticon, 5, 11

FIG. 2.

[1] *Journ. Hell. Studies*, XXIV (1904), 12. [2] *Ann. Serv.* VIII, 277.

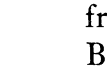
[3] Spiegelberg, *Ägyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament*, 35, with n. 3.

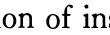
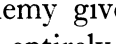
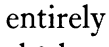
[4] Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église Copte*, p. 48, 28–9. Spiegelberg felt a difficulty about ⲡⲟⲩ- for *pꜣ-iw*, but in so corrupt a MS. one must not look too closely at minor details of spelling. This place must not be confused with ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ = البرمون El-Baramūn of the *scalae*, Id. in *Bull. Soc. d'Arch. Copte*, V, 235, nor yet with a village El-Balamūn, 7 km. south of Es-Simbellāwēn. [5] Milne, *Theban Ostraca*, No. 132.

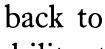
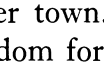
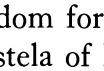
[6] Reproduced from Feuardent, *Catalogues Giovanni di Demetrio*, p. 323; I owe the reference to Dr. Milne.

[7] *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, 165 ff. [8] Drioton, *Fouilles de Médamoud (1926): Les inscriptions*, p. 54, l. 22.

[9] The number is taken from the back of a photograph in my possession.

 , an inconsistency which will, I trust, be regarded as venial. Apart from an uncertain demotic example and a strange and doubtful  quoted by Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 395, the only other occurrence that has been noted is the abbreviation  'The Island' in (*c*) above; if, as seems probable, the two titles in that collection of inscriptions refer to the same priestly function, then we must accept the complete identity of Sambeḥdet and 'The Island of Amūn'. In conclusion, it must be observed that Brugsch's comparison[1] of the latter name with the *Παχναμουνίς* which Ptolemy gives as the capital of *Σεβεννύτης κάτω τόπων*, the nome Sebennytes Inferior, is entirely out of the question; apart from the inacceptable reading of  as *Ḥun*, Hogarth[2] has shown from an inscription found at Kōm el-Khanzīrī and from other conclusive considerations that *Παχναμουνίς* lay there or thereabouts, well over 65 km. to the north-west of Tell el-Balamūn, and Ptolemy confirms this position; see the sketch-map, Pl. v, 2.

To hark back to the inscriptions cited above on p. 41, the unexplained symbol  lends probability to the identification in (*b*) of  with Sambeḥdet, see p. 40. Otherwise, the information thence to be gleaned concerns only the name and the cults of the latter town. Both (*c*) and (*d*) yield *Smꜣ-n-Bḥdt* 'Sam-n-Beḥdet' as the full New Kingdom form of the name. This form I have found again only on a curious two-faced stela of Ptolemaic or Roman date now in Athens;[3] here the king (the cartouche is unfilled) is seen worshipping Amen-Rēʿ, Mūt, and Khons, each of them described as  'lord' (or 'lady') of  ; on the very roughly cut *verso* there is a writing that on the photograph looks like  . The insertion of the *n* only reinforces the impression that the name is compounded of the two elements *smꜣ* 'unite', 'union' and *Bḥdt*, and Kees (II, 71) has convincingly shown that the latter place-name is connected with the word  *bḥdw* 'throne' and so means something like 'Place of the Throne'. Thus the entire compound might signify 'Union of the place of the throne' or something of the kind.

As regards the cults of Sambeḥdet, that of the entire Theban triad is proved by stela (*d*) and by that in Athens. Amen-Rēʿ is often named, for Graeco-Roman examples see p. 37. Mūt occurs occasionally, e.g. Ch., *Ed.* II, 57; Leps., *Denkm.*, Text, II, 191, both times in company with Amen-Rēʿ; a nome-list at Denderah identifies its goddess Ḥathōr with Mūt of Sambeḥdet, Ch., *Dend.* I, 127; an Edfu nome-list already used mentions  *Ḥwt-Mwt* as being in the XVIIth nome.[4] References to Khons are rarer, but see on a *cippus* of Horus, Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ed. Birch, III, pl. 33 opposite p. 152. On (*c*), where the name of Mūt is probably lost in a lacuna, there is found an isolated reference to Ptaḥ-Seker-Osiri. The presence of Onūris-Shu is attested by Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 30 on a sculptured block from Mīt Rahīnah (New Kingdom?); it occurs in the title  'first prophet of Amen-Rēʿ, lord of Sambeḥdet and of Onūris-Shu, son of Rēʿ'; Brugsch renders Onūris as though in apposition, but the Athens stela has  'Khons, lord of

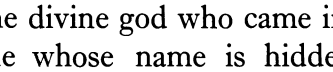
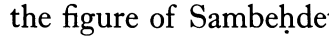
[1] *Dict. géogr.* 30.

[2] *JHS* XXIV (1904), 5 ff.

[3] Published by Mallet, *Rec. Trav.* XVIII, 6 f., and in photograph by Pörtner, *Äg. Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel*, pl. 13, Nos. 38ᵃ, 38ᵇ. Mallet has once or twice excusably misread as .

[4] Ch., *Ed.* VI, 41, No. LXVIII.

Sam-n-Beḥdet, Shu,[1] son of Rēʿ' showing that Onūris was equated with the third member of the triad, not with the first.[2] Corresponding to Onūris-Shu we shall later find his consort Tphēnis in this same locality (p. 53, n. 3).

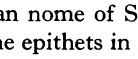
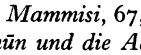
In the temple of Saḥurēʿ and on the Lisht statues the god of Lower Egyptian Beḥdet is Horus, and the later complete predominance of Amen-Rēʿ at Sambeḥdet might appear to some a fatal obstacle to the identification of the two places. But, in the first place, Horus the Beḥdetite is not absolutely alien to the cults of Sambeḥdet. The only occasion on which he actually replaces Amen-Rēʿ is in a list of local deities at Edfu;[3]  'Horus the Beḥdetite, lord of Sambeḥdet' is the penultimate entry of a series ranged consecutively from south to north; as noted already (p. 40, n. 6) Brugsch and others have claimed this Sambeḥdet as a town in Upper Egypt, but the other evidence for such a town is of the poorest quality. It is true that in the list here quoted the preceding towns, so far as they are certainly identifiable,[4] belong to Upper Egypt, but there is no cogent reason why the designer of the series of divine figures should not have made a large jump at this point, especially if he was short of space. There is better authority, however, for the assimilation of the two gods. A Denderah scene already cited[5] furnishes Amen-Rēʿ, lord of Sambeḥdet, with the epithets 'the divine god who came into being of himself,[6] Ḥarakhti as a goodly youth, hidden one whose name is hidden,[6]  he of the variegated plumage, Horus who came forth from the horizon—he is the Beḥdetite, the lord of the two heavens'. So, too, in an Edfu text, likewise already utilized,[7] where the legend attached to the figure of Sambeḥdet closes with the words,  'Thou art he of the variegated plumage, who came forth from the horizon, the Beḥdetite, the lord of the two heavens'. Doubtless a further search would bring to light more evidence of the kind.

Even better calculated to dissipate the objection here under discussion are certain general considerations now to be advanced. It must be realized that wherever Amen-Rēʿ appears as the god of a provincial locality, he can of necessity be no older than the Twelfth Dynasty—the period when the insignificant demigod Amūn became fused with the sun-god Rēʿ and rose to power in Karnak as 'lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands', as 'king of the gods', in fine as the new national god, the patron of the monarchy.[8] If the locality was an old one, not a new colony like Napata, Amen-Rēʿ cannot but have replaced some earlier god, and this will have been true in the IVth and VIth Lower Egyptian nomes no less than in the XVIIth. But in the XVIIth nome Amen-Rēʿ would be superlatively suited to supersede, or to absorb into himself, the more

[1] Mallet printed  for  , but wrongly, since in the corresponding legend on the *verso* he himself has .

[2] Junker, *Onurislegende*, 106 f., also suggests a connexion of Onūris with the nome of Diospolis Inferior (he wrote Parva by mistake), but on different grounds.

[3] Ch., *Ed.* VI, 234.

[4] The conclusion here advocated would become certain if the place-name  *Itb* (i.e. *Idb*) in the preceding entry proved, contrary to the view expressed by Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 116, to be identifiable with the  (Ch., *Dend.* II, 132, cf. the parallel text Mariette, *Dend.* IV, 75, 17) given as capital of the XIIth Lower Egyptian nome of Sebennytus.

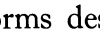
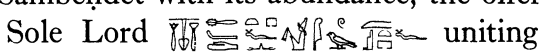
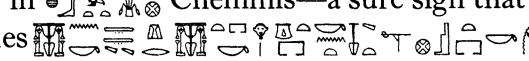
[5] Leps., *Denkm.*, Text, II, 191.

[6] These same epithets in reference to the god of Sambeḥdet, see above, p. 39, with footnote 2.

[7] Chassinat, *Mammisi*, 67, see above, p. 38, with footnote 1. Identically also, Ch., *Ed.* IV, 35, No. LXVI.

[8] Sethe, *Amūn und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (in *Abh. Berlin*, 1929), §§ 9 ff.

ancient local deity. Horus the Beḥdetite, through whatever historical events or theological speculations, had very early become, first the representative god of Lower Egypt, and then the guardian of the united kingdoms. At the beginning of the Old Kingdom his cult had been transplanted to Edfu, and Edfu had grown into such importance that the name of Horus the Beḥdetite no longer suggested the Delta, but rather the Upper Egyptian town. The priesthood of Sambeḥdet would now not unnaturally prefer to claim Amen-Rēʿ as their own. They will have flattered themselves with the boast that it was in their town, or using their town as a base, that Amen-Rēʿ had consummated the union of the Two Lands. It seems not unlikely that the significant alteration of the name Beḥdet into Sambeḥdet or Sam-n-Beḥdet (see above, p. 43) took place simultaneously with the change over of the cult from Horus to Amen-Rēʿ. Our material dealing with the point goes back no farther than the Eighteenth Dynasty, but there is no imperative reason why the two related modifications should not have been effected in the Twelfth. For the reason already stated, any earlier date is impossible.

In Graeco-Roman times the insistence on the part played by Sambeḥdet in the unification (*smꜣ*) of Upper and Lower Egypt is very marked. A Denderah text which exists in two somewhat varying forms describes Sambeḥdet as  'the place of uniting the Two Lands'.[1] At Edfu the legend accompanying the figure of the XVIIth nome runs thus:[2] 'He brings thee Sambeḥdet with its abundance, the offering of the marshland (); thou art the Sole Lord  uniting the Two Lands beneath his throne (*bḥdt·f*), and there is no king reft of his seat'; the last words are found again at Medāmūd.[3] In more than one place in the temple of Edfu the king is shown presenting 'papyrus reeds and rushes' () to Amūn 'the lord of Sambeḥdet', together with his consort Mūt; the accompanying legends are of great interest, but for the moment I merely note that Amūn in his reply says in one instance 'I unite for thee the Two Lands'[4] and in another 'I cause thee to unite the Two Lands beneath thy throne on the seat of Rēʿ in Sambeḥdet'.[5] I will conclude with the most ancient reference to this act of union which has thus far been found; it occurs in the great inscription of the temple of Hibis and is no older than the reign of Darius I.[6] A long panegyric is addressed to Amen-Rēʿ by the eight primeval beings of Hermopolis. Soon after an allusion to the settling in  Chemmis—a sure sign that the author had Horus in mind—the text continues  'Thou hast united the Two Lands beneath thy throne of union(?) on thy seat of Sambeḥdet, thy pure place within *Ḥwt-ꜣtf*(?)'.[7] The passage is the more interesting because, although the whole is a eulogy of Amen-Rēʿ, the writer does not forget that the great Theban god is here only continuing the work of Horus under a new guise.

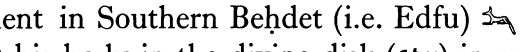
[1] Ch., *Dend.* II, 132; Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 75, 22.

[2] Ch., *Ed.* IV, 35, 145. For the first sentence with the word *iḏḥw*, cf. Id., *Dend.* I, 127, bottom.

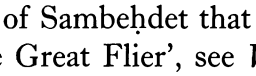
[3] Drioton, *Fouilles de Médamoud* (*1925*), 105. [4] Ch., *Ed.* III, 237. [5] Op. cit., II, 57.

[6] Brugsch, *Thes.* 634, 29 f.; see also the translation, ibid. 679.

[7] For *ꜣtf*, see above, p. 37, n. 3. However, the reading *Ḥwt-ꜣtf* is a mere guess on my part. Brugsch, followed by Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 84 f., took this to be the *Ḥwt-Nht* in the VIIth nome of Lower Egypt, see particularly Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 75, 11; in that case it would be necessary to render '*and* thy pure place is within Ḥe-nūhe'.

The motive for this transformation seems hinted in a text from which I quoted only a few lines back, and where Amūn of Sambeḥdet is described as 'the great god pre-eminent in Southern Beḥdet (i.e. Edfu)  who hid (*ỉmn*) his body in the divine disk (*ꜥpy*) in order to hide (*ỉmn*) his divine person in the marshes'.[1] Once again we detect without difficulty a reference to the youthful Horus, who here is seeking to conceal himself from his enemy Seth.

IV. Horus the Beḥdetite as the winged disk and as emblem of the united Egyptian Kingdom

The mention of the 'divine disk' (*ꜥpy*) in my last example brings into connexion with Amūn of Sambeḥdet that symbol of the Great Winged Disk ( *ꜥpy Wr*, literally 'the Great Flier', see *Wb.* I, 179, 22; 180, 5) which is so much more closely associated with the Southern Beḥdet (Edfu). There, on the walls of the famous Ptolemaic temple, the story of this aspect of Horus the Beḥdetite is recounted at length, clearly from the standpoint of a priesthood jealously claiming him as its own. The narrative tells how after the sun-god Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhti had landed in the nome of which Edfu was the capital, Horus the Beḥdetite was accompanying him in his barque when he espied certain enemies plotting against the supreme deity. Thereupon the Beḥdetite flew to heaven as the Great Winged Disk, and set about conquering the foe. Many were the defeats inflicted upon them both in Egypt and in Nubia. The conflict at an end, Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhti commanded Thoth, 'Thou shalt make this winged disk in every place in which I have rested, in the places of the gods in Upper Egypt and in the places of the gods in Lower Egypt'. Thus originated the emblem to be seen over every temple doorway throughout the entire length of the land.

An excellent version of the complete text is now available in an article by Fairman.[2] It has been much disputed whether the victories here recorded reflect historical events or not. Newberry[3] saw in them an echo of the Seth rebellion and the reconquest of Egypt by Peribsen, the most concrete of the many suggestions that have been made; Fairman[4] thinks this theory attractive, but is unwilling to commit himself to any definite opinion. In the debate carried on by Kees and Sethe Newberry's theory appears to have been ignored: Sethe[5] hesitatingly advanced the hypothesis that the last blow in the struggle between the followers of Horus the Beḥdetite and those of Seth of Ombos may have been struck in Edfu; Kees,[6] in a thoughtful article marred by that obscurity of style which so often hinders full appreciation of his learning and real, if somewhat perverse, originality, quotes with approval Maspero's comment that *les chocs d'armées ont lieu partout où le dieu Sît possède des partisans et un sanctuaire*,[7] and consequently denies any early historical basis to the Edfu legend; on the other hand, he discovers in it certain traits attributable to Ramesside conditions and to the later antagonism between Egyptians and Persians. To myself this verdict seems very probable.

[1] In the text quoted above, p. 45, n. 4. [2] *JEA* XXI, 26 ff. [3] *Ancient Egypt*, VII (1922), 40 ff.
[4] *JEA.* XXI, 28, n. 2. [5] Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 161.
[6] *Kultlegende und Urgeschichte*, in *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1930, 345 ff. Pp. 348 ff. contain a valuable review of the different opinions. [7] Maspero, *Études de Mythologie*, II, 325.

At all events the legend of the Winged Disk as recounted by the priests of Edfu was merely local and provincial. The real meaning of that commonly used adornment of Egyptian architecture escaped notice until the first step towards its discovery was taken by Schäfer in 1928.[1] In his book on the cosmological conceptions of the Egyptians Schäfer drew attention to the ivory comb of the reign of King Djet (Dyn. I) shortly before discovered by Petrie[2] (see here pl. VI, fig. 4) and compared it with certain Old Kingdom modes of exhibiting the king's name, e.g. that here reproduced from the temple of Saḥurēʿ (pl. VI, fig. 5).[3] In the latter the sign for heaven 𓉔 is seen at the top, while the base shows an image of the two-headed earth-god 𓇽 *ʒkr* 'Aker';[4] at the sides the sign 𓋴 for *wꜣś* 'prosperity' completes the framing of the name. Schäfer sums up the meaning of the entire picture in the words, 'the great conception of the king's nature, imbued with divine life, filling the whole of space to the limits of heaven and earth and being protectively surrounded by these'.[5] In place of the sign 𓉔 here the ivory comb has an unmistakable pair of wings, and that they, as Schäfer points out, themselves represent the heavens, is shown by the fact that the divine bark sails upon them just as often it sails upon the back of the goddess Nut. A couple of pages further on Schäfer brings this representation into connexion with the Winged Disk, of which he offers a tentative explanation. The god of the Lower Egyptian town Beḥdet, he tells us (accepting Sethe's view of the location of Beḥdet), was a sky-god, conceived of as a falcon; here on the comb the artist contented himself in archaic fashion with showing only a pair of wings directly joined to one another. When in the Pyramid Age the solar conceptions came into greater prominence, it was only natural that the sun's disk should be inserted between the wings, which thus obtained a body, much to the relief of a more developed artistic sense. Consequently the Winged Disk could, on occasion, be depicted on stelae below, and separately from, the sign for heaven, though the conception of the wings as an image of the sky was never completely forgotten.

Thus far Schäfer. The subject was discussed afresh by Sethe in his *Urgeschichte* (§§ 155 ff.), and there assumes a somewhat different aspect. Sethe stresses the fact that the wings are regularly displayed as parts or members (*Körperteile*) of the sun, and in his view the symbol possesses more conspicuously the character of a sun-god than that of a god of the sky. He considers it impossible for the conception of the Winged Disk to have originated in the provincial town of Edfu, and insists that it was a product of that prehistoric united kingdom, with its capital in Heliopolis, which according to him developed out of the conquest of Upper by Lower Egypt. In a

[1] Schäfer, *Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter*, 113 f.

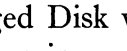
[2] Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. 12, 5. Schäfer saw clearly that no sun could have stood between the wings, though a break conceals the place where these joined on to one another. Von Bissing disputed this point (*ZÄS* LXIV, 112), but his view was refuted by Engelbach in conjunction with others, see *ZÄS* LXV, 115 f., where there is a splendid photograph of the original comb.

[3] Schäfer's schematic reproduction of the framing, derived from Borch., *Saḥ.* I, pl. 11 and p. 64, rather unfortunately omits the sun with the two uraei above the Horus falcon; the original, Schäfer informs us, is incomplete. A more complete example is to be found op. cit., p. 34, fig. 28.

[4] *Wb.* I, 22, 6.

[5] '. . . die grosse Vorstellung, wie das mit göttlichem Leben beschenkte Wesen des Königs den Raum bis zu den Grenzen des Himmels und der Erde erfüllt und von diesen schützend umfasst wird.'

striking passage Sethe sets forth his theory that the symbol was created as a sort of coat of arms (*eine Art Wappen*) for the newly united Egypt, the two wings having deliberate reference to the two halves of the country, just as in the Double Eagle of the German Emperors the two heads have reference to the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire.

The evidence adduced to vindicate this concept of a 'Janus-like double being' (*janusartiges Doppelwesen*) is both plentiful and convincing. Sethe notes that one of the oldest representations dating from the reign of Neuserrēʿ (Dyn. V) accompanies the Winged Disk with the words  'the good god, lord of the Two Lands',[1] and that here, as in most other examples both early and late, the solar disk has two uraei  , whereas the sun-god usually has but one to protect him against his enemies. Each of these two uraei looks in the direction of one of the wings, and they are ultimately often depicted wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively (pl. VI, fig. 3).[2] Inscriptions of Ptolemaic date speak of the Winged Disk as 'protecting the Two Lands with his wings' or use equivalent phrases. Again, it is common to find immediately beyond the tips of the two wings the word  *Bḥdty* 'the Beḥdetite'; in this case the signs on the right point in that direction, while those on the left point towards the left, e.g. pl. IV; had this word applied to the symbol as a whole, one might have expected to find it once only, either above or below, and its presence on both sides shows that each wing refers to a separate half of the country. Lastly, in support of the contention of the symbol's Heliopolitan origin, Sethe points to the position of Heliopolis midway between the two lands. In the same connexion he makes somewhat sophistic use of the epithet  'coming forth from the horizon' found as early as the Fifth Dynasty,[3] and he notes that Rēʿ-Ḥarakhti 'Rēʿ-Horus-of-the-Horizon' was specifically the name of the deity of Heliopolis, a fusion of falcon and sun.

These two interesting views have been summarized almost without comment because many of my readers are doubtless unfamiliar with them. To turn now to criticisms of my own, I miss in both hypotheses any consideration of the related and actually earlier representations of the Beḥdetite as a falcon-god hovering over the head of the king—representations very frequent in scenes alike of ritual and of warlike achievement.[4] Also I consider it open to question whether the connexion of the Winged Disk with Beḥdet was as ancient as both Schäfer and Sethe supposed; the earliest

[1] Gardiner & Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 6, No. 10.

[2] H. Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik*, p. 42, n. 4, quotes Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (II), pl. 43, here reproduced, with some restoration, pl. VI, fig. 3; Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. 10 (Amenophis III); Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 43 = *Urk.* II, 28 (Ptolemy II). In the last example, as also Leps., *Denkm.* IV, 11, b, the uraei are explicitly named Nekhbet and Edjō (*vulgo* Buto) respectively.

[3] Mentioned in the text of Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Rēʿ*, p. 95, but not depicted.

[4] All six stelae in the precincts of the Step Pyramid (above, p. 32) show the falcon hovering above the king, but so far as can be seen the epithet *Bḥdtỉ* accompanies it only once. The same emblem above the titulary of Snofru on the canopy of Queen Ḥetepḥras (*Bull. MFA*, Boston, XXV, Suppl., cover) likewise lacks the epithet, as does also a relief of Cheops, Gardiner & Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 2, No. 7; on the other hand, it is present in the graffito of Cheops at Ḥe-nūb, Anthes, *Felsinschriften*, pl. IV, No. 1. Obviously the *argumentum ex silentio* must not be used, and all that can be said is that the connexion with Beḥdet goes back as far as the Third Dynasty.

example of the twofold epithet dates only from the Sixth Dynasty,[1] and in the oldest occurrence of the Winged Disk that has been quoted—that above the elaborately decorated sail of King Saḥurēᶜ's ship of state (pl. VI, fig. 1)[2]—not only is it accompanied by the hovering falcon, this therefore presumably regarded as a distinct entity or, if the same, as engaged in a different activity, but also perhaps it is the falcon alone which is described as *Bḥdtỉ*, while the Disk, here for once without the uraei, receives merely the epithet  'the great god, with variegated plumage'.[3] Early evidence is scanty, but it seems not unlikely that the attribute 'the Beḥdetite' was at first confined to the hovering falcon, and only secondarily borrowed thence to be applied to the Winged Disk. Sethe's view that the wings symbolize Upper and Lower Egypt respectively must be accepted without hesitation, but I add the conjecture that the twofold writing of the epithet *Bḥdtỉ* was suggested by the knowledge that this falcon-god had a cult-centre called Beḥdet both in the extreme north and in what in early dynastic times may well have been the extreme south.[4]

I will now put forward a theory of my own, and one which seeks to conciliate those of Schäfer and Sethe, whilst adding something to them. When Schäfer speaks of the two wings on the comb as a symbol of the sky, but at the same time mentions Horus the Beḥdetite, he implicitly acknowledges them to have been conceived of as the wings of a falcon, but he strangely omits to mention that immediately below, as well as in the celestial boat above, a falcon is actually depicted, and both must surely be the falcon to which the wings belong. The falcon in the boat must be the sun-god himself visualized under that image, while the falcon above the *śrḫ*-banner is known to represent the god incarnate in King Djet whose name follows. Thus in this forerunner of the Winged Disk symbol we discern the fusion of the sun-god Rēᶜ, of the falcon Horus, and last but not least, of the reigning king whose name fills the universe, and whose protection extends over both North and South; just as the sun, in the guise of a flying falcon, spreads light and colour like wings over the entire land—hence the *epitheton constans*  . Surely this complex significance, if I have rightly diagnosed it, is enough to start with and does not need the further complication of a reference to the town of Beḥdet. We cannot in truth decide at what moment such a reference associated itself with this particular symbol. As I have already hinted, there are some slight indications that the association was due to subsequent theological speculations, as is at all events certain of the epithet  *nb Mśn* 'lord of Mesen'[5] sometimes later found.

But I have still to substantiate my theory that from the very beginning the Winged Disk represented the king's actual person, though only as immanent in the visible sun, this again being imaged as equipped with wings proclaiming its identity with the falcon

[1] Gardiner & Peet, op. cit., pl. 8, No. 16. [2] Borch., *Saḥ.* II, pl. 9.

[3] Sethe (loc. cit., Text, p. 84) takes both epithets as referring to the Winged Disk, but the direction in which both the falcon and the epithet *Bḥdtỉ* face points to the view suggested by me.

[4] Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 152, argues from the fact that the subsequent Ist U.E. nome bore the name *Tꜣ-Zti* 'Nubian Land' that this must originally have belonged to Nubia. That would bring Edfu close to the southern frontier.

[5] Already in Dyn. XI, see F. B. B(isson de la Roque), *Tôd (1934 à 1936)*, p. 79, fig. 32. For examples with the hovering falcon, see Prinz, op. cit., p. 43, and for the town of Mesen, above, p. 26, n. 1.

Horus. The early epithet 'good god, lord of the Two Lands' lends immediate plausibility to this interpretation. More ambiguous is the epithet 'great god' applied to the Winged Disk at all periods, but it is noteworthy that these words are employed of the living king from the Fourth Dynasty onwards.[1] Very striking is the close connexion between Winged Disk and royal name, a connexion so intimate that sometimes the name finds its way into the symbol, while at other times the solar disk forms an integral part of the titulary. In fig. 3 is shown the device upon a broken architrave from the

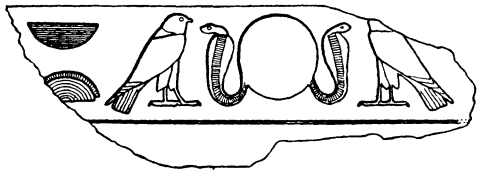
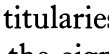


FIG. 3.

temple of Saḥurēʿ[2] where the titles of that monarch, beginning with the falcon in each case, stand to right and left of, and facing, the centrally placed sun with the two uraei. If anyone should doubt that the sun here, despite the absence of the wings, is equivalent to the Winged Disk, he may be confronted with a pyramidion of Ḥashepsōwet in the Cairo Museum,[3] where is similarly without wings, but has to right and left the epithet pointing outwards as when accompanying the wings. Sethe himself quoted the Ptolemaic use of as substitute for *nỉ-śwt-bỉt* 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt', but failed to draw the necessary conclusion; it is not enough to say that the symbol of the Winged Disk was invented as a kind of coat of arms for the united Egyptian kingdom, for it was undoubtedly a depiction, admittedly highly figurative and syncretistic, of the king himself. The Berlin Dictionary (II, 331, 13–15) takes back this use of to the Nineteenth Dynasty, and mentions also, though without giving chapter and verse, Graeco-Roman instances where the Winged Disk is employed as a hieroglyph with the same graphic function; I have found what I believe to be two examples of this dating from the reign of Ramesses II.[4] In his book on Oriental symbolism Prinz[5] has assembled a large collection of Winged Disks, but none among them is more interesting than a subsequently published example (pl. VI, fig. 2)[6] of the reign of Ammenemes III, where the *prenomen* of the king has crept up between the uraei (here curiously both with the crown of Lower Egypt) right into the symbol itself; the year-date above, and the words 'good god, lord of the Two Lands' so close to the symbol, are striking confirmation of my view. A further development is seen when the wings are absent and replaced by the sky, while the sun, from whose uraeus the sign of life is suspended, occupies a place behind the falcon of Horus surmounting the *śrḫ*-banner (pl. VI, fig. 6).[7] Here it is difficult to say where picture ends and

[1] *Urk.* I, 8, 1; 32, 17; 54, 1. 4. [2] Borch., *Saḥ.* I, p. 35, fig. 29. [3] Kuentz, *Obélisques* (*CCG*), pls. 7–9.
[4] *Ann. Serv.* XXX, p. 61, fig. 15, Nos. 5, 6. [5] Prinz, op. cit., pp. 11 f., 42 ff.
[6] Gardiner & Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 31, No. 100; from later dates, op. cit., pl. 65, No. 199; pl. 23, No. 271; Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (IV), pl. 106.
[7] Kuentz, op. cit., pl. 10. On the south side of the Lateran obelisk (Marucchi, *Gli Obelischi di Roma*, pl. 1, left), where there is a similar inscription, a small depiction accompanied by a legend of its own is placed immediately in front of the Horus-sign, and shows the god Amen-Rēʿ offering 'life' (☥) to the falcon's

titulary begins; we may be sure that an Egyptian spectator reading such a column of hieroglyphs would not have translated the sky-sign into words, but the evidence of many royal titularies, starting with  'Life (to) the Horus, the victorious bull, &c.' proves that the sign for 'life', present already on Djet's ivory comb, would not have been forgotten. Egyptologists are accustomed, in such cases, to regard the word as a verb 'Lives . . .',[1] but possibly an Egyptian reader would have preferred to understand *ʿŌnekh en Ḥōr* 'Life (given) to the Horus . . .' or similarly. Sethe, in rendering into German an inscription where the sun stands behind the falcon, gives as equivalent the single word 'Horus',[2] but it is at least conceivable that a subject of the Tuthmosids would have remembered the presence of Rēʿ, if indeed he did not actually translate the whole as 'Rēʿ-Ḥarakhti'. The evidence thus all goes to show that Winged Disk and name of king are so inextricably interconnected and blended that we cannot but regard the symbol as an image of the king himself, though simultaneously also of Rēʿ and of Horus, all three united into a trinity of solar and kingly dominion. For a final proof I hark back to the Medamūd doorway figured in pl. IV; here all the deities on the doorposts present life and prosperity to the king, who on each separate occasion is indicated by the hieroglyphic words 'to Sesostris' or 'to Khaʿkaurēʿ'; on the lintel the symbolically represented figures of Horus the Beḥdetite and of Seth of Ombos make a similar offering of length of years, but now the king is pictorially shown in human shape and ceremonial attire. It will be noted how ingeniously the sign for 'year' ( *rnpt*) or, when notched as here, for 'millions of years' has been used throughout the entire height of the doorway both to border the vertical inscriptions and to provide an inner margin for the separate compartments. Near the top, to both right and left, these *rnpt*-signs end in an inward curve, leaving the two uppermost compartments open to the centre of the lintel. Here a different treatment was clearly indicated, and the artistic problem has been solved with an elegance and symbolic aptness beyond all praise. The bird-deities Horus of Hieraconpolis (*Nḫni*) and the heron-god of Djebaʿet (above, p. 31) have been placed upon high perches like the Beḥdetite and Ombite in the central picture, so that their bodies are raised to the level of the Winged Disk. Notwithstanding the presence of the words 'to Khaʿkaurēʿ', with the cartouche which here, as in all the compartments, stands in front of the local deity indicating the recipient of the gift, it is to the Winged Disk that 'life' () and 'prosperity' () are actually presented.[3] Could there have been conceived a more telling way of conveying the identity of the Winged Disk with the reigning sovereign? That does not, however, prevent the Winged Disk sometimes being thought of as distinct from the king and conferring blessings upon him, as when we find the accompanying legend 'the Beḥdetite, the great god, he gives life and prosperity'.[4]

beak or 'nose'; here the falcon is at once a hieroglyphic sign and a picture. So too earlier, under Sesostris I, *Ann. Serv.* XXX, pl. II to Chevrier's article, top right.

[1] *Wb.* I, 193, 4–7.

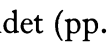
[2] Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Translation, I, p. 14.

[3] The lintel of Amenophis I from Thebes (*JEA* IV, pl. 4) agrees in this significant particular.

[4] E.g. Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. 10 (Amenophis III). Similarly, Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (IV), pls. 87, 95, together with op. cit. (II), pl. 43, reproduced here in pl. VI, fig. 3.

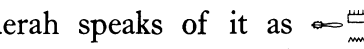
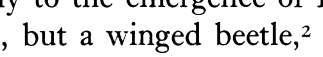
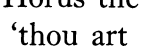
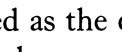
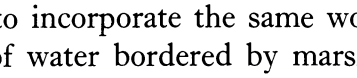
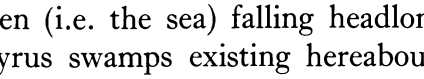
The hovering falcon likewise often receiving the epithet 'the Beḥdetite', the equivalence to the Winged Disk might seem to follow mathematically. But here is no question of mathematics and logic, but rather one of representational intention and misty theological suggestion. In this place it must suffice to stress the obvious fact that in the falcon symbol the falcon aspect predominates over the solar, the local over the universal, and I have also the impression that the relation to the king was one more of guardianship than of identity. A more minute investigation of these and the cognate vulture symbol[1] might well prove fruitful, particularly if undertaken in Egypt itself, where the orientation of the walls and doorways so adorned could be observed. The reason for the choice of each symbol might then be ascertained. For instance, since the Winged Disk exhibits the sun flying from east to west, its wings bracketing together, as it were, the Upper and the Lower country, this symbol is evidently most suitably placed on the central doorway of a temple with E.–W. axis, and on the eastern side thereof. If, however, it should occur on the western side of the doorway, the right wing would point southwards; in that case would the uraeus to the right wear the Upper Egyptian crown? On the other hand, it may turn out that the actual position was habitually ignored, and that the artist allowed himself to be influenced only by the underlying thought; in that case every Winged Disk, however physically situated, would in imagination be conceived of as following the natural course of the sun, and the crowns on the uraei would be accommodated to that idea. Again, was the choice between the hovering falcon and vulture purely capricious, or was this likewise dictated by some physical or conceptual reason? One can well suppose that in a visit of the king to Memphis from farther south he might more appropriately stand under the protection of Nekhbet of El-Kāb than under that of Horus the Beḥdetite. Such are a few of the considerations which a student of this topic would do well to bear in mind. Even if these questionings yielded merely negative answers, that would in itself be a gain.

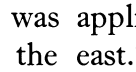
V. The 'hinterland of Beḥdet' and the problem of Chemmis

The inscriptions on the chapel of Sesostris I and on the Karnak cubits mention the  'hinterland of Beḥdet', and we must now inquire what sort of country lay to the north of the town. The attentive reader will have observed that mention has been made of the  *iḏḥ(w)* 'marshland' in connexion with both Beḥdet and Sambeḥdet (pp. 40, 45, 46), and a temple rite which was performed at Edfu and appears to have had specific reference to Amūn of Sambeḥdet was 'the presenting of papyrus reeds and rushes' (p. 45). The name of the *pḥw* of the XVIIth nome is  *Tꜣr* 'Tjar'[2] and this, connected with a word meaning 'cabin' or the like, conveys nothing of interest, but the text accompanying it in an Edfu nome-list nearly identical with one

[1] For early examples of the hovering vulture see Borch., *Saḥ.* II, pl. 8; Id., *Ne-user-Rēʿ*, p. 89, fig. 67; Jéq., *Pepi II*, ii, pl. 47; the unusual form with straight wings, op. cit., pl. 32 (=33) is restored in several other plates, whether rightly may be doubted. At first sight the antithesis of Horus and Nekhbet seems peculiar, since elsewhere the opponent of Horus was Seth, while Nekhbet had Edjō as her accepted northern counterpart. The explanation, however, is obvious: for this particular design birds were required, and Horus and Nekhbet were birds, while Seth and Edjō were not.

[2] Great Edfu nome-list, Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 335, top, and in the places named in the next note.

at Denderah speaks of it as  'carrying its papyrus (*mnḥ*, a synonym of *wꜣḏ*?) and its ways hidden in trackless papyrus',[1] and the following identification clause—for the sense of this expression see above, p. 35—points unmistakably to the emergence of Horus the Beḥdetite, often conceived of as, not a winged sun, but a winged beetle,[2] 'thou art  the youth that emerged as the doer of beneficent acts,[3] who served as the beetle who renews the birth of royal appearances' or 'of crowns'. The 'water' of the nome  *Ḥn(t)-smꜣ-r* appears to incorporate the same word  *ḥnt* which I have defined as signifying a piece of water bordered by marsh or fen;[4] and here the legend in the nome-lists at Edfu and Denderah which has just been used refers to its close proximity to the Mediterranean—'He brings thee Ḥensamro  with its Great Green (i.e. the sea) falling headlong into[5] the Grecian isles (*Ḥꜣiw-nbwt*)'. Also the papyrus swamps existing hereabouts are alluded to in the Ramesside story of the Blinding of Truth, where the fabulously large bull that was evidently a simile for the land of Egypt itself stood in Island-of-Amūn (Tell el-Balamūn, above, pp. 42 f.) and  'the tuft of its tail rested on the papyrus-marshes' (*pꜣ ṯwf*).[6]

Thus the 'backland of Beḥdet', stretching to the sea not far away, was a region of swamps and lagoons abounding in jungle-like growths of papyrus and reeds. For such country as this, and particularly for the papyrus which was its principal characteristic, the Egyptians had many terms; that which we have just read (*ṯwf*, cf. Coptic ⲥⲟⲟⲩϥ 'papyrus'), if it is preserved in the Biblical יַם־סוּף 'Sea of reeds', as we have every reason to believe, probably was applied also to the marshes fringing Lake Menzalah considerably farther to the east.[7] But the other term  *iḏḥw* 'papyrus-marshes' seems much more closely associated with the XVIIth nome. Though one cannot go so far as to restrict it to that area, it is strange that the Edfu texts should so persistently, perhaps even exclusively, connect it with Sambeḥdet; and just as Beḥdet and Elephantine are contrasted as the two limits of Egypt, so too we find *iḏḥw* and its inhabitants in the same antithesis.[8] It was amid such swamps that tradition located the birthplace of Horus, and the pictures of Isis nursing her

[1] Ch., *Ed.* IV, 35, No. LXVIII = Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.* IV, 123 (Denderah).

[2] Sethe (*Urgeschichte*, p. 128) even imagined this form might have been the original one, but the wings are definitely those of a bird, not of a beetle, nor does this image seem to have been known at any early period.

[3] Drioton, *Fouilles de Médamoud* (1925), 106, has *irt*  *ꜣḫt*, presumably with the meaning 'emerging as the beneficent eye'. The Denderah text, which has to give an identification for Ḥatḥōr, i.e. feminine, equates her with Tphēnis, daughter of Rēʿ, which of course is connected with the worship at Sambeḥdet of Onūris-Shu, see above, pp. 43 f.

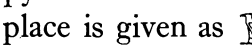
[4] *JEA* XXIX, 40.

[5] Var. Denderah *m* for *m-ḫt*; Blackman has shown me that in the Graeco-Roman texts *m-ḫt* often has the meaning 'in'.

[6] Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 35.

[7] *Recueil Champollion*, 212; for references see *JEA* V, 186, n. 1. Struve (*Griffith Studies*, 369 ff.) makes the philologically unsound attempt to discover this word in the famous warrior-class of the Hermotybies, which would involve its extension to the north-western Delta and to the altogether problematical Chemmis which Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* II, 18, 21, placed there.

[8] Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 89 ff., quotes all the best-known passages.

infant son amid a clump of papyrus are well known.[1] From the Pyramid Texts[2] onwards the name of the actual place is given as  *ỉḫ-bỉt*, which later ages wrote as *Ḫb* and pronounced Khēbe or Khebbe;[3] out of this the Greeks made *Χέμμις*, doubtless with some unconscious recollection of the totally unrelated name of Panōnpolis (*Ḫnt-Mn*, modern Ekhmīm) in Upper Egypt, though Hecataeus (fr. 284 *apud* Steph. Byz.) preserves a form *Χέμβις*, and *Ἀρχῆβις*, *Ἀρχῖβις* are common personal names in the Graeco-Roman period. Hecataeus (loc. cit.) and Herodotus (II, 156) both record that Chemmis was a floating island in the town of Buto, and the latter adds that here Leto received Horus as a charge from Isis and hid him from Typhon. Plutarch in the *De Iside* does not mention the Lower Egyptian Chemmis, but speaks of Isis as 'going to her son Horus who was being brought up in Buto' (ch. 18) and in another place (ch. 38) mentions that 'he was brought up by Leto in the marshes round about Buto'.[4] Neither do these classical authors name the birthplace of Horus nor yet do any others, and when the town of Buto is referred to it is merely said that he spent part of his infancy there.

In Sethe's hands—and he is not alone in this respect—Buto has become the 'home' (*Heimat*) of Horus, and Chemmis, definitely stated by Hecataeus to be 'in Buto' (*ἐν Βουτοῖ*) and clearly implied to be so by Herodotus, has become a separate place somewhere in the neighbourhood.[5] It is true that the second mention in Plutarch and the hesitating alternative in Epiphanius[6] lend some slight support to this modification, but Herodotus, writing as an eyewitness and full of admiration for the temple of Leto, is only a trifle less impressed with the island of Chemmis 'beside' it (*παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν*), though he failed to see the island floating or moving. In face of such evidence it is impossible to doubt that there was a Chemmis in Buto itself, but I shall proceed to argue that this was not the Chemmis where Horus was traditionally believed to have been born.

The goddess Leto, whose oracle at Buto, much belauded by Herodotus, is mentioned also by Strabo (XVII, 1, 18), was in Greek mythology the mother of Apollo and Artemis, whom she bore to Zeus on the island of Delos. It is usually thought that the identifica-

[1] All seem to be late; for one at Philae see Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, I, 155. Others, Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 372; pl. 310; Golénischeff, *Metternichstele*, pl. 3; for the word *idḥw* in connexion with the birthplace, see op. cit., l. 203; Leps., *Todtenbuch*, ch. 157, 1; Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, 56 *a*, quoted below, p. 56, n. 1.

[2] *Pyr.* 1703 'Thy mother Isis bore thee in Chemmis'; less direct allusions in 1214. 2190. Similarly in the Coffin Texts, below, p. 55, n. 4. Other explicit statements, *Metternich stela*, 168; Spiegelberg, *Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, p. 14 (*P. Spieg.* 2, 3 f.). In Graeco-Roman epithets of the god himself or of the king as equated with him, e.g. Ch., *Ed.* III, 24, 8; IV, 247, 17; Id., *Mammisi*, 92, 12.

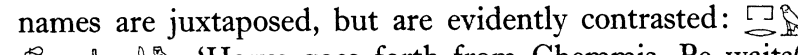
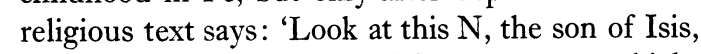
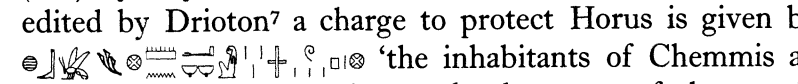
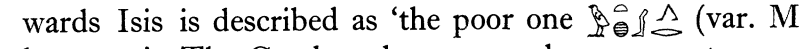
[3] For this vocalization, see *ZÄS* XXX, 113 ff. Since the variants (for Edfu Blackman has given a valuable collection above, p. 20) sometimes place the bee before the papyrus-clump, clearly for honorific reasons, Sethe assumes that the whole name signifies 'Papyrus-jungle of the King of Lower Egypt', *Urgeschichte*, § 169. However, this presupposes the reading *-bỉtỉ* and I do not see how the ending *-tỉ* can have disappeared out of the place-name.

[4] That there really were *idḥw* 'marshes' in *Pȝ-tȝ-n-Wȝḏyt* πτεπετω, the later Phthenetic nome (Gauthier, *Nomes*, 148 ff.) is known from the so-called Satrap stela, Sethe, *Urk.* II, 16, 10–2.

[5] *Urgeschichte*, § 169. I do not understand how Sethe reconciled this view with his theory regarding Damanhūr 31 km. south-west of Buto.

[6] Expos. fid. III, 2, 11 *apud* Hopfner, *Fontes*, IV, 608, *οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Βουτικὸν ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν Βουτὼ τὴν πολίχνην τὸν Ἀρποκράτην τιθηνοῦντες*.

tion with her of the goddess of Buto was due to the birth having in both cases taken place on an island, but the similar desinence of the two names may also have played a part. The form *Βουτώ* (or *Βουτός*) given to the Egyptian town-name by the Greeks has as its original  *Pr (Wꜣ)ḏ(yt)* 'Pu-tō', 'House of (the cobra-goddess) Edjō', or earlier 'Edjōyet', later pronunciation 'Etō'.[1] This is not the place to produce proof of the well-established localization in the great mound of تل الفراعين Tell el-Ferā'īn,[2] 12 km. due north of Shabās and about the same distance to the east of the Rosetta branch; the evidence will be given in another work now in preparation.[3] Nor is it necessary to demonstrate anew that the town originally consisted of two adjoining settlements, the early names of which were  *P* 'Pe' and  *Dp* 'Dep'. The goddess 'lady of Pe and lady of Dep' is usually referred to by Egyptologists as Buto, using the same name for both goddess and town; it is true that there is a very late analogy for this in Bubastis, but both appellations should be abandoned; for Buto all extant classical authors use Leto, and the sole authority for the practice here condemned is the geographical lexicographer Stephen of Byzantium, *circa* A.D. 500. We ought to accustom ourselves to using the form Edjō, unless the older Edjōyet be preferred.

The legendary role assigned by Herodotus and Plutarch to Leto (Edjō) receives little confirmation from Egyptian texts before late times. In the earlier periods Pe is never mentioned in connexion with the birth of Horus, and Khēbe is hardly ever named in connexion with Pe. In one passage of the Pyramid Texts (2190) the place-names are juxtaposed, but are evidently contrasted:  'Horus goes forth from Chemmis, Pe waits(?) for Horus, that he may purify himself there'; the second member of the sentence may conceivably refer to the childhood in Pe, but only after departure from the birthplace. A Middle Kingdom religious text says: 'Look at this N, the son of Isis,  conceived in Pe and born in Chemmis',[4] a sentence which leaves it obscure whether the two places were near one another or far apart. Some Nineteenth Dynasty references are of doubtful application: at Abydus[5] Sethos I is depicted as being 'nursed' (*rnn*) by Nekhbet and Edjō, and a stela of Ramesses II[6] accords to him the epithet 'nursed (*rnn*) by Edjō'. On the Metternich stela (245–6) and in an important parallel text edited by Drioton[7] a charge to protect Horus is given by Thoth jointly to  'the inhabitants of Chemmis and the nurses who are in Pe', but even here Pe is merely the scene of the nursing, and immediately after wards Isis is described as 'the poor one  who has fled from her town'. The Greek authors, as we have seen, stress only the upbringing in Buto, and ignore the birthplace. The hieroglyphs of the Graeco-Roman temples bring the

[1] *ZÄS* LV, 89 ff., where it is rightly pointed out that the *ου* of *Βουτώ* belongs to *pr* in its Lower Egyptian form, cf. *Βούβαστις* and Bohairic ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ 'king'. Various substantives from stems *primae w* dropped their initial consonant from the earliest times, and *Wꜣḏyt*, though often so written with , was probably one of them.

[2] Not to be confused with Tell Far'ūn (below, p. 58, n. 4), the site of an ancient town where, curiously enough, the goddess Edjō was likewise worshipped.

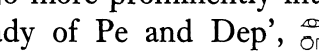
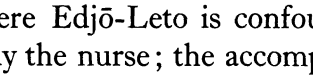
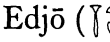
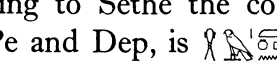
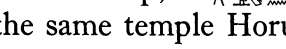
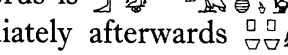
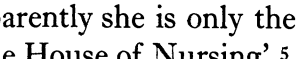
[3] Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 415 of On. Am.

[4] Lacau, *Textes religieux*, 38, 10–1.

[5] Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 31, *a*.

[6] Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 38, B, 3.

[7] *Rev. Ég. Anc.* II, 193 f.

goddess Edjō more prominently into the picture. Beside a Denderah scene[1] we read of Edjō, 'lady of Pe and Dep',  'making shelter for her infant amid the marsh-plants (*iyḥ*), bringing up her son Horus in the papyrus-marshes'; here Edjō-Leto is confounded with Isis, the mother of Horus, and is no longer merely the nurse; the accompanying scene shows the king presenting a papyrus plant  *wꜣḏ* to Edjō (*Wꜣḏyt*), whose name comes from the same stem for 'to be green'—according to Sethe the cobra-goddess is 'the papyrus-coloured'. At Edfu Edjō, lady of Pe and Dep, is  'the protection of Horus in Chemmis'.[2] Elsewhere in the same temple Horus is again  'the son of Edjō', the text continuing  'whom his mother nursed in Chemmis';[3] in a neighbouring legend Horus is  '(he) whom his mother bore in Chemmis' and almost immediately afterwards  'who was born in (or "for"?) Pe'. Much more precise are some epithets given at Denderah to the king as Horus,  'born in Chemmis, nursed by Edjō in Dep'.[4] This evidence could be multiplied by scholars more familiar with the late temple inscriptions. It is useless to try and reconcile their data. Edjō is sometimes identified with Isis, while sometimes apparently she is only the nurse, as hinted also in the epithet  *nbt Prmnʿ* 'lady of the House of Nursing'.[5] Nowhere is there a clean-cut story such as Herodotus tells; Egyptian religion delights in this sort of vagueness. As regards the situation of Chemmis one has only the general impression that it was somewhere in the northern papyrus-marshes and at some distance from Pe (Buto). But what, then, becomes of the testimony of Herodotus? To do him justice—and Sethe must benefit by the same admission—some late passages testify to a Chemmis closely associated with Pe. A Louvre papyrus with invocations to Osiris says: 'Pe is in joy at the sight of thee, Dep gives praise in thy presence, Edjō is exalted upon thy head (i.e. as the uraeus on the king's brow) and there are presented to thee the health-giving herbs (*snb*) that are in Chemmis'.[6] This is perhaps the most convincing passage, since in the composition here quoted the place-names are arranged in roughly exact topographical position. So too elsewhere the name of Chemmis is juxtaposed to that of Pe in such a way as to render their proximity, real or supposed, practically inevitable.[7] Edgar[8] even sought to identify Chemmis with the modern village of Shābah, 3 km. SE. of Tell el-Ferāʿīn; all around there is swampy ground, and those acquainted with the region do not reject the view that here was once a lake.[9] I am not sure that Shābah

[1] Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, 56 *a*.

[2] Ch., *Ed.* III, 15, 3. Another interesting example of a somewhat similar kind, but appearing to mention Pe as well (op. cit., VI, 149, 1), is quoted to me by Fairman, but cannot here be discussed.

[3] Op. cit., III, 135. 'Son' also op. cit., V, 101, 2.

[4] Mariette, *Dendérah*, III, 20, *t*. However, the small horizontal legend immediately adjoining this makes Dep the birthplace and Edjō the mother. Is there some corruption here?

[5] Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1173, from Armant. [6] P. Louvre 3079, 70 ff. = Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1064.

[7] E.g. Mariette, *Papyrus égyptiens*, I, pl. 12, l. 9 = *Rituel de l'embaumement*, 8, 9 of Maspero's numbering, 'Edjō comes to thee within Pe, and Horus within Chemmis, presenting to thee sprigs of health-giving herbs (*snb*), the goodly phylacteries of Horus himself'. Similarly the passages from the story of Petubastis and from the Metternich stela quoted above, p. 54, n. 2, and p. 55, n. 7 respectively.

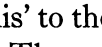
[8] *Ann. Serv.* XI, 88 ff. Elaborated further by Daressy op. cit. XXVI, 249 ff., but fantastically.

[9] Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, 22.

is not too far away to suit the description of Herodotus, and at all events the picture he conjures up is not one of a secret hiding-place, where Horus could have been kept out of the clutches of Typhon, but of 'a great temple-house of Apollo, and three several altars are set up within, and there are planted in the island many palm-trees and other trees, both bearing fruit and not bearing fruit'.

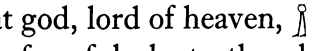
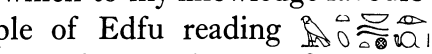
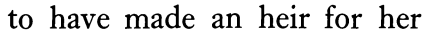
Taking all the facts into consideration, must one not conclude that the Chemmis in or very near Buto was a secondary creation, established there in order to enhance the importance of his later residence? In favour of this view we possess a highly significant passage, the interest of which has been hitherto overlooked. In the Heliopolitan section of the great Harris papyrus Ramesses III is represented as saying (29, 2–3):

> I restored House-of-Horus-foremost-of-Sanctuaries. I built its walls that were decayed. I restored the noble grove that is in it. I caused it to bloom with papyrus clumps within a Chemmis.

Though in the last words  that for Chemmis lacks the town-determinative ⊗, the allusion to the birthplace of Horus is clear enough, and we cannot doubt that Heliopolis thus possessed a reproduction of that sacred spot, possibly on a wooded island in the midst of a temple lake; the innermost sanctuary may well have contained the image of Isis nursing Horus in the centre of a clump of papyrus. Similarly in the Loeb demotic papyri[1] there is the mention of a mysterious Chemmis in the town of Ṭihna (Acōris). The Egyptians seem to have discovered Chemmis in the most unlikely places, and in that sense, at all events, Chemmis was a floating island. A nome-list at Edfu[2] which has a close parallel at Denderah[3] gives the name  *idḥ* 'papyrus-marshes' to the territory (*w*), and the name  *Ḫb* 'Chemmis' to the *hinterland* water (*ṗḥw*), of the ill-famed Sethian XIXth nome of Upper Egypt. The same name  'Chemmis', likewise determined with the sign for water, is accorded by the great Edfu nome-list[4] to the *ṗḥw* of the VIIth Lower Egyptian nome, that of the Western Harpoon, though the other two nome-lists just quoted[5] do not agree with it in this particular.

So far as I am aware, there is only one passage which definitely removes Chemmis from the realm of mythology, and gives it a concrete historical existence. This is in the Sixth Dynasty biography of the architect Nekhebu, of which an admirable edition has been recently published by Dows Dunham in *JEA* XXIV, 1 ff. To quote his translation of ll. 2–3, Nekhebu was sent 'to direct the construction of the *Ka*-mansions of His Majesty (Phiops I) in Lower Egypt, and (to direct) the administration; at the north  in the "City of Lakes" (and) in Akhbit-of-Horus (Akhbit = Khēbe); at the south in the pyramid (called) Menneferpepy'. The only topographical suggestion here is that Chemmis lay in the far north, nor do we obtain any further clue from a subsequent sentence (l. 6) stating, 'His

[1] Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, p. x.
[2] Ch., *Ed.* IV, 189, under Nos. LXXV–LXXVI.
[3] Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.* III, pl. 96.
[4] Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 332, 2.
[5] Ch., op. cit., IV, 27, No. XXVIII, Dümichen, op. cit., IV, 113, both with a piece of water called *Sšm*. See Brugsch in *ZÄS* XVII, 13 ff. for a discussion of the VIIth nome, particularly in connexion with the legends of the Metternich stela.

Majesty sent me to lay out (?) the canal of Akhbit-of-Horus, and ⟨to⟩ dig it'. Where then was this real Chemmis? The Chemmite nome mentioned by Herodotus (II, 165) is doubtless connected in some way with his Butic Chemmis, but is not mentioned by any other classical authorities, and need not detain us here.[1] It has not hitherto been noticed, so far as I am aware, that at least two passages at Edfu locate Chemmis in the XVIIth nome of Sambeḥdet. One of these quoted above, p. 35, comes from that list of supplementary districts where Sethe found his Damanhūr; in view of all that has been written above concerning this list, its relevance here can hardly be doubted. The second[2] occurs amid a series of local gods, and Amen-Rēʿ of Sambeḥdet addresses Horus of Edfu, saying, 'I have come to thee, Horus the Beḥdetite, great god, lord of heaven,  that I may bring thee a Chemmis of useful plants, thou being safeguarded and sheltered within them'.[3] Even if we render 'a Chemmis', instead of simply 'Chemmis', as the next words seem to counsel, the reference to the place as somewhere in the neighbourhood can hardly be gainsaid. When we recollect the insistence on the 'papyrus-marshes' in connexion, on the one hand, with the XVIIth nome and, on the other hand, with Horus in Chemmis, the likelihood that Chemmis ought there to be sought becomes considerable. Nevertheless, a few allusions like this in a Graeco-Roman temple can only show that such was the conjecture or supposition of the local priesthood, and other priesthoods may have held different views. The name  *Ỉmt(t?)pḥt* 'Iemt(et)-peḥet' 'Royal-Infant nome, back' of the XIXth Lower Egyptian nome, that of which the capital was at تل فرعون Tell Farʿūn, very arbitrarily called Tell Nebesheh by Petrie,[4] might urge us to push our inquiries thither, particularly since the goddess Edjō was also here at home; but the sole inscription which to my knowledge favours the claims of this part of the country is one in the temple of Edfu reading  'the female Horus, the lady of Imet, the eye of Rēʿ prominent in Khas-Ḥaʿaʿ, who nurses her son Horus in Iemt(et)-peḥet, Edjō'.[5] One cannot fail to be struck by the candour of the famous New Kingdom hymn to Osiris formerly in the Bibliothèque Nationale, where Isis is said to have made an heir for her husband and to have  'nurtured the child in solitude, and unknown was the place where he was'.[6] It is not clear whether the last words signify only that the hiding-place of mother and child was kept dark from Seth, or whether they constitute an admission that no one knew where to look for Chemmis. It has been shown that the place-name is not purely mythological; it may be that the locality was known to the authors of the Pyramid Texts and throughout the Old Kingdom, but was subsequently forgotten. Let us frankly confess that a definite decision on the issue is out of our reach.

[1] Gauthier, *Nomes d'Égypte*, 4 ff. The question is discussed also in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* under No. 415 of On. Am.

[2] Ch., op. cit., VI, 51, No. XVIII.

[3] Blackman takes the final *·s* as for *·sn* and referring to *ỉḫw*, for *Ḫb* is masc., as he points out above, p. 20, n. *b*.

[4] Petrie, *Nebesheh (Am)*, bound up with Id., *Tanis, Part II*. The evidence for the identification is summarized once again by Daressy in *Bull. Inst. fr.* XXX, 626 ff., and then amazingly dismissed in favour of an utterly impossible alternative.

[5] Ch., *Ed.* III, 241.

[6] *Bull. Inst. fr.* XXX, 743.

VI. Conclusion

Nearing the end of this investigation, I am painfully aware of various subsidiary questions which have had to be neglected for want of space. It would have been interesting to have studied the transfer of place-names from north to south or in the opposite direction:  'Beḥdet of Lower Egypt' was certainly at or near Tell el-Balamūn,[1] but  'Lower Egyptian Edfu' was Silē-Ḳanṭarah;[2] Sambeḥdet was a Lower Egyptian Thebes, as witnessed by several place-names expressing that idea in various ways;[3] in the VIth nome of Lower Egypt the backland was called  *Bḥd* i.e. probably Beḥdet. Leaving these points for others to elaborate, I hasten on to my finale, and here find it impossible to refrain from becoming mildly euhemeristic. In view of the evidence from the royal titles, from the Cairo fragments of the Palermo stone, from the Memphite Dramatic text, and from the persistent contrasting of Horus the Beḥdetite with Seth of Ombos,[4] I feel compelled to accept the theory of a predynastic conquest of Upper by Lower Egypt preceding, perhaps by a very considerable space of time, that which gave the final mastery to the Southerners. In the period immediately preceding the First Dynasty, the capitals were at Pe (Buto) and Nekhen (Hieraconpolis) respectively, and the falcon-god Horus was supreme in both. But our new results contradict the notion that the original home of Horus was at Damanhūr, 30 km. to the south-west of Buto, and it is certain it was not actually at Buto. The Egyptians themselves seem to have been conscious that the prominence of Pe was secondary; thus much is surely indicated by the question in Chapter 112 of the Book of the Dead, 'Know ye wherefore Pe was given to Horus?' That god's birthplace was fabled to be at Chemmis, at a remote spot amid the northerly marshes which we have found it impossible to locate. The legend that made the Butic goddess Edjō (Leto) his nurse, if not his mother, shows a disagreement with the simple tale of Isis tending her child among the papyrus swamps, and this again marks the secondary character of the connexion with Buto. That Upper Egypt once was ruled from Ombos is confirmed by the important prehistoric cemeteries at Naḳādah and thereabouts, and the Lower Egyptian counterpart of Ombos is Beḥdet, which we now know to have been situated at Tell el-Balamūn. Are we then to draw the conclusion that here was the oldest centre of the cult of Horus, and the earliest Lower Egyptian residence-city of which memory has survived? In my opinion such a deduction would be extraordinarily imprudent, and the fact it would seek to establish extremely improbable. Is it likely that there was in very early times a powerful and populous town hard on the edge of the marshes, a place far more likely to have been the dwelling-place of poor and fever-stricken fisherfolk? But if not, how to explain the epithet Beḥdetite? A provisional hypothesis is here offered. At some very early moment Beḥdet became

[1] Coupled with Sambeḥdet in *P. Louvre 3079* = Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1065, ll. 85–6. In Ch., *Ed.* VI, 134, 7–9, the well-known passage of the Myth of Horus, it is clearly a series of separate towns that are mentioned, disproving Brugsch's theory of the identity with *Ṯrrw* (Silē) which follows it.

[2] One reference suffices: op. cit., VI, 51, No. XIV. See, too, above, p. 23.

[3] Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische Randglossen zum Alten Testament*, 31 ff.

[4] That the antithesis of Horus and Seth cannot date from later than Dyn. I is proved by the occurrence of the queen's title 'She who sees Horus and Seth', i.e. who beholds her husband as the embodiment of these two gods, as early as the reigns of Djer, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 27, Nos. 95, 96, 128, 129.

known as the northernmost town or village of Egypt, and there, as at several other Delta towns, the cult was that of a falcon-god. Conceivably the exact place where the worship of Horus originated was forgotten or for some reason undefinable, but at least it was clear that he was the principal deity of the people who overcame the Upper Egyptians championed by Seth of Ombos. The earliest royal titles and the Old Kingdom pictures show a great love of symmetry; I submit as a distinct possibility—no more can be claimed—that 'Beḥdetite' was taken as the epithet of the national god Horus merely to stress his northern origin and to provide a counterpart to  *Nbtî* 'Ombite'. One great advantage accrues from this suggestion: it would explain—and I know of no other suggestion that would—why Beḥdet is never mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, while Ombos is occasionally named, if not as frequently as Pe and Nekhen.

POSTSCRIPT

Two French books that have come to hand recently, after the above article had long been in print, render desirable some additions.

From J. Vandier, *La religion égyptienne* (1944), 28 f., we learn that the problem of Beḥdet has not lain dormant during the war-years. Mention is there made of a 'quite recent' book by Kees entitled *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, where he sets forth in even greater detail his objections to Sethe's synthesis in *Urgeschichte*. I translate some sentences from Vandier's summary of Kees's views: 'The cult of the falcon was very common in the Delta, as also in Upper Egypt, but each falcon preserved its own individuality and, accordingly, was not confounded with an assumed national god to whom prehistoric Egypt owed a first unification. The Beḥdet of the Delta (Damanhūr), in which Sethe recognized the model for the Beḥdet of Upper Egypt (Edfu) is not mentioned in any ancient text; on the contrary, Horus of Edfu, from Dyn. III on, is cited as a god who originated in Upper Egypt, and it is certainly he who served as model for the Horus of Damanhūr.' This takes us no further than Kees's position as criticized in my article. Kees could not have known the evidence from the reconstructed temple of Sesostris I, but he might have been expected to be acquainted with that of the cubits and of the New York sarcophagus, and to have estimated the entire matter more justly. Vandier himself, whilst showing some hesitation, in the end (p. 30) displays a decided leaning towards Sethe's theory of a unified kingdom prior to Menes. Neither he nor Kees alludes to the testimony from the first line of the Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone: for this see my note *JEA* III, 144 f. and the later article by Breasted, *Bull. Inst. fr.* XXX, 709 ff.

Mention was made above, p. 28, n. 1, of a case where the Jubilee festival may have been celebrated elsewhere than in Memphis; the allusion was to a scene at El-Kāb where, in the reign of Ramesses III, the shrine of the goddess Nekhbet is being brought by boat to Pi-Raʿmesse to participate in the festival in question (*ZÄS* XLVIII, 47 ff.). Montet, in his new book *Tanis* (Payot, 1942), p. 83, fig. 17, reproduces a block bearing as dedication the words 'He made a great temple of goodly white stone of ʿAyn (i.e. limestone) to the north of the Jubilee mansions (*ḥwt ḥb-sd*, see above, p. 27, n. 2), (namely) King Usimaʿrēʿ-setpenrēʿ.' This reference suggests that at least one Jubilee festival of Ramesses II was celebrated at Tanis, and in combination with the later El-Kāb scene, tends to confirm Montet's and my view that Tanis and Pi-Raʿmesse were one and the same.

THE REBELLION IN THE HARE NOME

By R. O. FAULKNER

AMONG the somewhat scanty records of the stormy First Intermediate Period, not the least important are the inscriptions left by the nomarchs of the Hare nome. Although their tombs are at El-Bershah, most of their records consist of hieratic graffiti inscribed in the quarries at Ḥatnub,[1] and these tell a tale of conflict with an unnamed king. It has been supposed that he was an Intef of Thebes, and that the nomarchs of the Hare nome were assisting the Heracleopolitan king against the Southern invaders, but there is reason to think that such was not the case, and that they were fighting, not against the Thebans, but against their own Heracleopolitan overlords.

The rulers of the Hare nome seem to have been a turbulent family, for an early member, one ʿAḥanakhte, though perhaps not openly at strife with the king, asserted himself with some vigour in the politics of his day; in his tomb he describes himself as '*one who did justice, sharp of tongue among the quarrelsome, who spoke with his mouth and acted with his hands, watchful of his step among the rulers. . . . I was a warrior of the confederacy(?) . . . a possessor of counsel in the council of the officials on the day of painful words.*'[2] It is thus clear that already all was not well within the State, but it was under a later nomarch, Neḥri I, that the friction with the Crown came to a head. In his fourth year Neḥri was still at peace with his overlord, for his overseer of ships Netjeruḥotpe travelled throughout Egypt from Elephantine to the Delta '*in order to perform the business of my lord in the affairs of the Palace*', and spoke of the esteem of the Council of State for his master.[3] But in the following year armed insurrection broke out in the Hare nome. In an inscription of Neḥri's fifth year[4] his son Kay, who appears to have been associated with his father in the government of the nome, tells us of his share in the conflict: '*I made ready my troops of young men, I went to fight in company with my city. I acted as its [rearguard] in Shedyt-sha,*[5] *though there was none with me except my retainers, Medja, Wawat, . . . Asiatics(?), Upper and Lower Egypt being united against me. I returned after a happy success . . . the whole of my city being with me without loss. I rescued the weak from the strong, I made my house into a tower for the fear-smitten on the day of strife.*' Kay's brother Dḥutnakhte, who was responsible for the religious affairs of the nome, also tells us that he was '*one who acted as its (his city's) rearguard in Shedyt-sha when everyone had fled*'.[6]

The first of these two quotations affords a fairly clear indication as to the date of the war and the identity of the opponent, for Kay tells us that the army opposed to

[1] See Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, 1928.

[2] Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II, pl. 13. [3] Graffito 14. [4] Graffito 16.

[5] The meaning of the term *šdyt šʿ* is far from certain, but in any case, as the Berlin Dictionary (IV, 567, 12) has seen, it must refer to some clearly defined locality where an action was fought, so that it has been treated simply as a place-name here. [6] Graffito 17.

him was drawn from both Upper and Lower Egypt. He could not, therefore, have been fighting against the Theban Intefs, who did not control Lower Egypt, nor could he have been their ally. It is also not in the least probable that he rose against the Mentuḥotpe kings, for these were not likely to have left in their wake any nobles strong enough to rise against them; furthermore, as Anthes points out,[1] the Ḥatnub graffiti are probably close in date to the inscriptions of Asyūṭ, which describe the Theban war. The only likely alternative that seems left to us is that the rebellion in the Hare nome took place a little before the uprising in the South, and that the opponent of the rebels was the Heracleopolitan king. That he was able to recruit Nubian troops for his army, and therefore must have controlled all Egypt, is confirmed by the discovery at Asyūṭ, a city most loyal to him, of a roughly contemporary wooden figure of a Nubian archer;[2] such recruiting would have been out of the question after Thebes had rebelled.

The result of this clash was definitely unfavourable to Neḥri, for although he recovered the capital from which he had been driven by the royal forces, he was compelled, as we shall see below, to disband his army, and a passage from an inscription of year 6[3] points to a submission to the king, Neḥri describing himself as '*one who turned the speech of him who would dispute with him and who said to the king what he commanded him when the day of consultation came*'. Nevertheless Neḥri and his sons continued to boast of their rebellion, and in this same inscription of year 6 the nomarch does not refrain from pointing out that he was '*one who opened his house to the fear-smitten on the day of strife, . . . a fortress within the province to which all folk clung*'.

Subsequent inscriptions are even more outspoken. Neḥri's son Kay, in a graffito probably to be dated to year 7,[4] speaks of replacing the troops who had been disbanded as a result of the rebellion: '*I raised its troops of young men in order that its forces(?) might be numerous, for its troops had entered into the citizens and dwelt in their houses,*[5] *and they had gone on no expeditions*[6] *in the time of the fear of the Palace. I saved my city on the day of plundering from the sore dread of the Palace; I was its fortress on the day of battle, its shelter in Shedyt-sha.*' Dḥutnakhte describes his share in the saving of the city in similar terms,[7] while Neḥri himself, in an inscription exactly dated in his year 7,[8] says: '(*I was*) *a valiant member of the camp, one watchful of* [*his step everywhere*]. *When the King said "Draw thou up in battle-array;*[9] *behold, I am arrayed also", the Residence-folk had confidence in his might.* (*But I was*) *a fortress in Shedyt-sha to which all folk* [*clung*], *one at whom the people trembled, the terror of whom was in* [*the hearts of men?*] *like Sakhmet in the day of battle.*' A curious point in the last quotation is the formal chal-

[1] Anthes, op. cit. 92 ff.; *ZÄS*, LIX, 100 ff., would date them after the capture of This by the Thebans, but we have just seen reason to reject that view.

[2] Scharff, *Die historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarê*, 21.

[3] Graffito 20. [4] Graffito 24.

[5] I.e. had become ordinary citizens and lived quietly at home; for *ḫ n* 'enter into' a state (here of citizenship) compare *ḫ n ỉwt* 'come to grief' (lit. 'enter into trouble'), *Prisse* 11, 13. This is not an early example of billeting!

[6] *N mšʿ·sn*; the expeditions were presumably to the quarries at Ḥatnub, where the soldiers, as usual, would provide the rough labour.

[7] Graffito 23. [8] Graffito 25.

[9] For this expression see *JEA*, XXI, 223 (*m*).

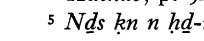
lenge issued by the king to his rebel opponent. We are reminded not only of the challenge which the Ethiopian king Piankhi ordered his army to deliver to the rebel Tefnakhte,[1] but also of the complaint in *The Instruction for King Merikarēʿ* regarding the Asiatic raider: '*He announces not a day in fighting, like one who undertakes(??) the suppression(?) of conspirators.*'[2] Anthes interprets the king's speech as referring to joint action against a common foe[3]—in his view the Thebans—but that is surely to misunderstand the situation entirely. The hostile note struck in the other graffito of year 7 quoted above,'*I saved my city on the day of plundering from the sore dread of the Palace*', and an inscription of year 8[4] which describes Dḥutnakhte as '*a valiant citizen who struck down the forces of the king*[5] *on the day of battle*', make it perfectly clear that Neḥri was in arms *against* his sovereign, so that the king's words cannot have been a summons to a trusty subject but were a challenge to a foe; furthermore, we have already seen reason to believe that the Hare nome was at odds with Heracleopolis. It is true, as Anthes points out, that before Neḥri goes on to speak of the royal challenge he describes himself as '*a friend of the king who has no equal, a man to whom the heart is opened; he was brought to consult with the Court unknown of men, and the Residence-folk were content with the counsel which he spake*',[6] but the contradiction is readily explained if Neḥri is now officially reconciled with his king, but in order to magnify himself in the eyes of his subjects cannot refrain from boasting of his rebellion against that same king in the past. That all the above-quoted passages refer to the single campaign which took place in year 5 is clear from the recurrent allusions both to Shedyt-sha[7] and to the protection afforded to the populace. If we are right in dating this rebellion in the Hare nome not long before the Theban war, it was just as well that the Heracleopolitan king succeeded in quelling it promptly and in becoming reconciled to the rebellious nomarch, for a hostile principality in the rear of the nomarchs of Asyūṭ at the time of the Theban attack would have cut their communications with the capital and have paralysed their resistance to the Southern advance. The point at issue between king and nomarch is nowhere stated, but it is worthy of note that Neḥri does not repudiate the nominal sovereignty of the reigning king, however obstinately he may have opposed the actual exercise of the sovereign power. In this respect he differs from the Intefs of Thebes, who from the moment of rebellion assumed the full royal style and laid claim to the throne of all Egypt.

[1] See op. cit. XXI, 219 ff.

[2] L. 94, transl. Gardiner, op. cit. I, 30.

[3] *Hatnub*, p. 94.

[4] Graffito 26.

[5] *Nḏs ḳn n ḥḏ-n-ḥr skw nsw*, lit. 'a valiant citizen of club-in-face-of the forces of the king'; the expression  *ḥḏ-n-ḥr* is apparently unique, but its sense is clear.

[6] Graffito 25. Phrases of similar tenor also used by Dḥutnakhte in the above-mentioned graffito of year 8.

[7] Another, unquoted, reference to Shedyt-sha occurs in the graffito of year 8.

A SCENE OF WORSHIPPING SACRED COWS

By NINA M. DAVIES

THE scene shown in Pl. VII comes from tomb no. 68 at Thebes, which belongs to a prophet of Amūn named Nespnefrḥōr and dates from the Twenty-first Dynasty.

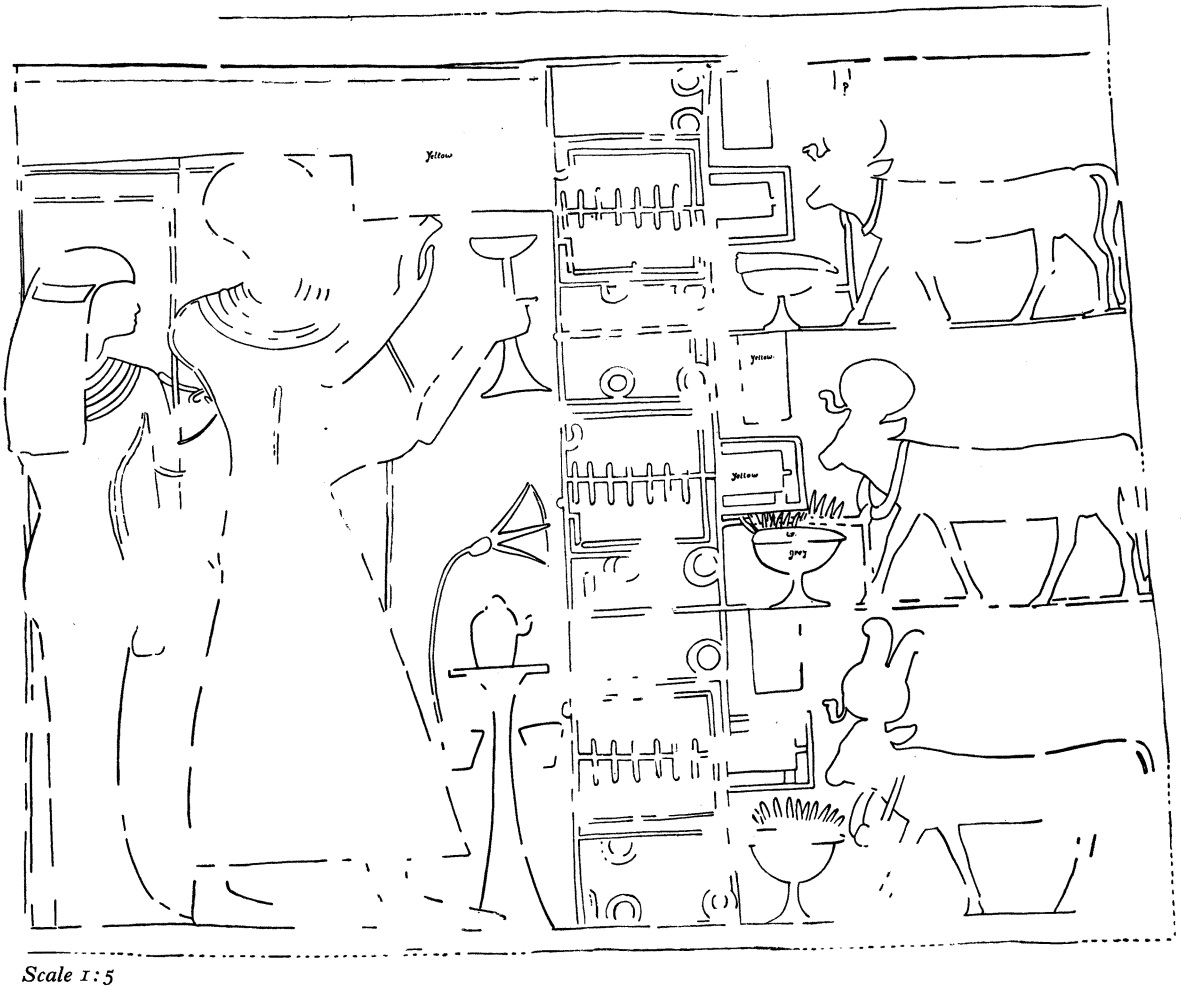
The scene is painted on the extreme right-hand corner of the south-east wall and appears to have been the last part added to the decoration and never completed. There are no outlines and the picture is merely blocked in with coarse, indefinite brush-marks as if painted in haste. Almost the entire design is in yellow on the whitish background. The vessels before the cows are grey with a white substance on top, out of which grey leaves emerge. The necklaces round the necks of the cows are also grey, as is the lotus-flower in front of the man. He is red and wears a white robe, over which a panther's skin has now either disappeared or was never completed. The ties of this can be seen behind his shoulder. The woman is coloured yellow and probably held a *menit* in one hand.

Behind the couple there is a series of similar rough, indefinite paintings of store-houses containing Amūn barks and statues. It may be that the figures are standing in some sort of building indicated by the vertical and horizontal lines. On the other hand, the mass of yellow surface over their heads could have served as the background for an inscription. This would be in keeping with the style of the period, but does not explain the vertical lines.

The cattle-stalls are elaborate in plan and consist of three compartments, in the innermost of which the cow stands. The curious paling(?) down the centre of the first chamber is difficult to interpret—it can surely not represent a stairway. The round objects may be drinking-troughs. A doorway, with both leaves open, leads from this into the third chamber, where the animal is tethered by a cord attached to the necklace or *menit*. One end is fastened to the foreleg and the other to the side of the stall. The yellow rectangles in front of their heads were perhaps intended as the background for a text.

The cow in the centre shows no trace of *atef*-feathers, but the one above her seems as if she might have borne them. There is no sign of the tethering-cords on the lowest cow—unless the blob of yellow paint on her necklace was the beginning of it.

No similar picture, so far as I know, has come to light in other Theban tombs.



Scale 1:5

SCENE FROM THE TOMB OF NESPNEFRḤŌR AT THEBES (No. 68)

WALTER EWING CRUM

EGYPTOLOGY has suffered heavy losses of late, and nowhere have they been more sensible than in the field of demotic and Coptic studies. The death of W. E. Crum removes a man who certainly ranked as the leading Coptic scholar of his generation. Born on July 22, 1865, the eldest son of Alexander Crum, of Thornlebank, Glasgow, educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, whence he graduated in 1888, he developed even as an undergraduate a taste for Egyptology, which he studied first at Paris, mainly under Maspero, and afterwards at Berlin, under Erman, to whom he always felt that he owed his real teaching, with whom he retained a lifelong friendship, and to whose elder son (killed in the last war) he stood godfather. It was at Berlin that he decided definitely to devote his energies to Coptic. Among his fellow pupils in this subject was Steindorff, with whom he was to collaborate later and with whom also he maintained an intimate friendship. Having once taken up Coptic in earnest, he was not long in realizing the need of a comprehensive and up-to-date Coptic dictionary, and for that great and arduous enterprise, to which he devoted the larger part of his time and no little of his resources, all his chief studies were in some degree a preparation.

The Coptic dictionary, which marks an epoch in that field of study, will keep his memory alive as long as men retain an interest in Egyptology; but it is very far from being his only memorial. A bibliography of his work appeared in *JEA* XXV, 134–8, and some additions to this appear below. I need not, therefore, recapitulate his publications here; even without the great dictionary they would be a most impressive achievement, ranging as they do from brief articles and reviews to bulky and laborious volumes.

It is, however, not so much of the scholar as of the man and the friend of nearly forty years' standing that I would speak; for most of Crum's work was to me alien ground. Those who knew him personally will understand what a gap his death means to his friends and how hard they find it to realize that his virile and forceful personality is removed. Virile and forceful it was, but at the same time singularly lovable and, for all his learning and brilliant ability, fundamentally simple. His masculine intelligence was wedded to a feminine sensitiveness and an exquisite courtesy. As an undergraduate he was an ardent musician, and he retained his love of music always, though he ceased to play his once beloved violin. He was an omnivorous reader, and read always with a critical and alert attention. A man of scrupulous rectitude, with a high sense of duty and utterly loyal to his friends and to his ideal of accurate scholarship, he was always ready to assist a colleague and to extend a helping hand to a younger or less experienced scholar. Simple in his tastes and an abstemious liver, he expended on the interests of learning resources which some would have devoted to self-gratification; a naturally early riser, he was regularly at work at an hour when many men situated like him would have been enjoying the luxury of a comfortable bed. Withal he was of a remarkable

modesty. Others than I must often have listened with an inward amusement to his depreciation of his own achievement.

This apologetic attitude to his own work made doubly welcome any recognition it received. The great dictionary was to have been a Berlin publication, a scheme terminated by the war of 1914–18, and the University of Berlin conferred upon him an honorary Ph.D. Even more welcome to him was the D.Litt. given to him by his own University. He was a Fellow of the British Academy, and only a few days before his death he learned with pleasure that he had been elected a Foreign Member of the American Philosophical Society.

H. I. BELL

ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY PUBLISHED *JEA* 25, 134 ff.

1904. Review in *Lit. Centralblatt*, 9 Sept. 1904, of Leipoldt's *Schenute von Atripe.*
Review in *OLZ* 7, col. 446, of I. Balestri, *Sacr. Bibl. Fragm. Copto-Sahidica*, III, *Novum Testamentum.*

1940. *A Bushmûric Word*, in *JEA* 26, 156–7.

1941. Review in *JEA* 27, 179–81 of Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot, *Codices Coptici Vaticani*, T. i.

1942. *An Egyptian Text in Greek Characters*, in *JEA* 28, 20–31.

1943. Review in *JTS* 44, nos. 173–4, pp. 122–8, of Worrell's *Coptic Texts in the University of Michigan Collection.*
Coptic Anecdota, in *JTS* 44, nos. 175–6, pp. 176–82.

NOTE. A portrait of W. E. Crum will be found in *JEA* 25, Pl. XII.—ED.

SIR HERBERT THOMPSON

THOUGH a member of the Egypt Exploration Society since 1898, Sir Herbert Thompson took little public part in its affairs. He served on the Committee from 1901 to 1908; but he made less than a dozen contributions to the *Journal*, and he delivered, I believe, only one lecture to our members. Yet his name will ever be honoured by us, not only for his distinction as a Demotic and Coptic scholar, but also for his unobtrusive generosity to our Society: no man could be more readily counted upon for a donation to our enterprises, whether in the field or in publication; and his gift of all his Egyptological books (other than Coptic and Demotic) at the end of the last war may be said to have provided the nucleus of our library as it now exists. If his reticence, so typical of the man, has resulted in Thompson being almost unknown to the majority of our members—and to many of the present Committee—this is the more excuse for the personal note in this brief account. His Egyptological career can almost be comprised in a summary of his publications.

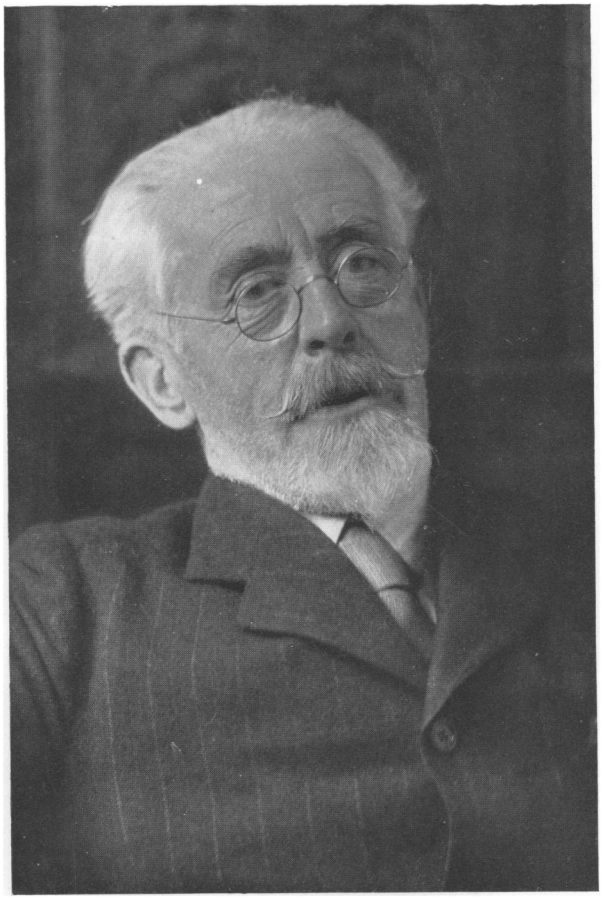
Thompson came belatedly and by accident to Egyptology. He had spent some years at the Bar, but was not happy there. He turned from it to Biology (the choice of subject was his father's)[1] and studied at University College, London. Within a short time he had so overstrained his eyes that he was forbidden to use the microscope. It was then that a chance request from Flinders Petrie for a report on some skeletal remains from Egypt roused his interest in the studies in which he was to become pre-eminent. He was then forty. F. Ll. Griffith and W. E. Crum were teaching at the College, and after a preliminary grounding in hieroglyphics and the earlier stages of the language he began specializing in the two branches of the study in which they were the masters—Demotic and Coptic. A year or two later he spent part of an extensive visit to Egypt at Ṣaḳḳārah with J. E. Quibell and subsequently edited the Coptic Inscriptions in the third volume of Quibell's publication of his excavations.

This was the only occasion of his visiting Egypt and of his taking any part in field-work. But beginning with the joint publication with Griffith of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of Leiden and London (1904–7) he proceeded to publish in the next forty years a notable body of Coptic and Demotic texts,[2] the most important of which was the (Demotic) Siut Archive, which appeared when he was over seventy. Nor was his contribution to Egyptian studies confined to his own editions of texts. In about 1930

[1] Sir Henry Thompson, Bart., the distinguished surgeon.

[2] Fairly evenly divided between the two fields; after the Demotic Magical Papyrus there followed: *The Demotic Papyri* in W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (1907); *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the Old Testament* (1908); the Coptic inscriptions from Ṣaḳḳārah already referred to (1909); *A Coptic Palimpsest . . . in the Sahidic Dialect* (1911); the *Demotic Texts* and *Coptic Texts* in *Theban Ostraca* (1913); *The Gospel of St. John according to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript* (1924); *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (with H. I. Bell and A. D. Nock), and *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (1932); *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum* (1934); and *Two Demotic Self-Dedications*, *JEA* XXVI (1941), 68–78.

PLATE VIII



SIR HERBERT THOMPSON
1859-1944

he completed for the British Museum a MS. Handlist of the Demotic Papyri in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department. His assistance in the final stages of Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* received a special acknowledgement from its author. He made a valuable preliminary study of the important find of Coptic writings of Mani, a part of which was subsequently published by Allberry. And there can have been few students working on Coptic or Demotic during recent years whose published results do not owe something to direct consultation with Thompson.

It is significant that he came late to the work in which he made his name, and would have retired early from it if he had had his way. His gift of his Egyptological library to the Society was made with the intention of a retreat from London to the country (which he achieved) and a return to the reading of the Classics. But the demands made on his scholarship, alike by the unexpected appearance of important documents which no one else was competent or willing to edit, and by his colleagues' requests for help in their own researches, kept him at Egyptian studies for another twenty years. And though during the present war, when he was over eighty years old, his mind was still vigorous enough to lead him to embark on a study of Magyar, it was to his earlier interests that he mostly turned—the Greek and Latin writers, medieval history, Icelandic, the literature of music and musical scores, Italian authors, and Classical painting.

Nor were those interests confined to the study. He had been an enthusiastic attendant at the Theatre, Opera, and at concerts. He had travelled much in Europe, and for many years regularly spent a long holiday in Rome. His father entertained a great deal in his London house and there Thompson made friends with many of the most distinguished figures of the latter half of the nineteenth century. He was fond of the country, knowledgeable about natural history, and a tremendous walker. Walking largely provided the opportunities for his great delight in and knowledge of architecture. To all these activities he applied an able and well-trained mind, a remarkable memory, a sensitive judgement, and a practical and business-like efficiency. But he remained essentially a student and a dilettante by nature. Only a strong sense of duty constrained him to the discipline of forty years' preoccupation with Egyptology.

The splendid breadth and depth of Thompson's culture, coupled with his legal and scientific training, lent wisdom and balance to his published work. After Griffith died he was without question the leading demotist of his day, and among the first few copticists. Most of his editions of texts will remain standard works as long as the subject is studied. But in no sense can this be said to have been his first love, and the true quality of his learning was exhibited to better advantage in fields in which he was under no obligation to claim professional standing. And for those who knew him well even the charm of his scholarship came second to his rare and lovable personality—fastidious, courteous, generous, self-effacing to a fault, devoted to his friends, and of a singular unselfishness not less in small matters than in large.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE

A REPLY TO H. I. BELL: P. GISS. 40 AND THE *CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA*

By A. SEGRÈ

H. I. BELL in *JEA* XXVIII (1942), 39–49 reviewed very faithfully A. Segrè, *Note sull' editto di Caracalla* in *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, XVI (1940), 181–214. His review touches upon only the first part of the article, pp. 181–97, dealing with the implications of the grant of Caracalla in the sphere of public law.

Bell disagrees with the main point of my study even when it embodied opinions which have hitherto been unchallenged, as, e.g., in the case of the deditician condition of the Egyptians. Often Bell shows even more scepticism than a genuine disagreement. Such a high authority as Bell deserves a reply. Possibly this answer may induce him to formulate his doubts more vigorously and to attempt a reconstruction of the whole matter on the basis of his own assumptions. Such a reconstruction would be the best proof of the soundness of his opinions. Meanwhile I feel that no vital point of my article has been affected by the criticisms of Bell.[1] A fundamental difference exists between me and him in the interpretation of the political condition of the different classes of the inhabitants of Egypt under the Roman rule.

Bell asserts (1) that all the inhabitants of Egypt, except the citizens of the Greek towns and possibly some particular categories of Greeks, were *Aegyptii*; (2) that the *metropolitae* who paid the reduced *laographia* were *Aegyptii* like the mere *laographoumenoi*.

I divided the inhabitants of Egypt into (*a*) citizens of the Greek towns; (*b*) *metropolitae*; (*b'*) some particular classes of Greeks; (*c*) Egyptians, genuine *Aegyptii laographoumenoi, dediticii*. I considered the categories (*a*), (*b*), (*b'*) as Greeks, (*c*) as *Aegyptii*.

It may be useful to emphasize that in the Greek towns and in the metropoleis probably the bulk of the population was often Egyptian, *laographoumenoi* or villagers. The census drew a distinction between the Egyptians and the better people.[2]

The assumption that the *metropolitae* were Egyptians and not Greeks and that the

[1] Bell is surely right (pp. 40 ff.) where he asserts, on the basis of the evidence collected by Bickermann *Archiv* IX that the *metropolitae* ἀπὸ γυμνασίου were a particular *tagma* of the *metropolitae*, whereas I supposed wrongly that all the *metropolitae* were ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. Probably the higher class of the *metropolitae* had in this way an easier access to the *honores*. In Alexandria all the ἄστοι appear to have been ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. This correction does not change anything in the classification of the *metropolitae* in a different class from the *Aegyptii*.

[2] Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 121 says: 'why the receipts for the payment of the poll-tax at the rate accorded to the citizens of the metropolis should be found in so many of the villages and towns of the nome is a puzzle'. *Metropolitae* did not necessarily mean persons living in the metropolis. *Metropolitae* could live in the villages of the nome, as well as outside the nome.

metropolitae were too fine a people to be *dediticii* led Bell to the conclusion that the Egyptians and consequently the mere Egyptians were not *dediticii*.[1]

I do not quite understand how far Mr. Last shares this view. Bell and Last find that my view that the Egyptian *laographoumenoi* were *dediticii*, formulated op. cit. 182 ff., is based on a faulty syllogism.[2] The opinion that Egyptians were *dediticii*, however, is not based on my syllogism, but on the syllogisms of P. M. Meyer, Wilcken, Gino Segrè, &c., and it is based on the texts quoted op. cit. 181 ff. The *onus probandi* that the Egyptians were not *dediticii* falls upon Bell, and his demonstration based on the assumption that the *metropolitae* were *Aegyptii* is far from convincing. The second major point on which Bell differed from me originates from the doubt whether the *laographia* was paid after the *C.A.* by the Egyptian *metropolitae* as well as by the mere *laographoumenoi*.[3]

The payment of the *laographia* is connected with the much more important point, that the grant of Caracalla did not imply a grant of Roman *politeuma* (*Rend. Pont. Acc.* XVI, 198 ff.), which I may also call *ius Italicum*.

The reasons why I assert that the *laographia* was paid after the *C.A.* are:

(*a*) the evidence of the texts;[4]

(*b*) the incontrovertible existence of the *tributum capitis* in Syria before and after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*;[5]

(*c*) the whole fiscal policy of Caracalla.

[1] Jones, *JRS*, XXVI (1936), 232, following the general opinion (p. 188, no. 29 I misquoted him), supposed the Egyptians to be *dediticii*, but he adds further that the inhabitants of those provinces which like Egypt (and it may be added Cappadocia and others) were administered on bureaucratic lines did not receive autonomy and therefore remained permanently *dediticii*. I think on the basis of the well-known texts quoted on p. 182 f. that only the Egyptians were *dediticii*.

Jones further, p. 233, supposed the *metropolitae* to be *dediticii* until the introduction of the city councils by Severus. I agree with Bell that this ingenious and plausible theory is not fully convincing.

[2] I do not quite understand the faultiness of my syllogism and why I did not understand the meaning of Gaius I, 26 on p. 182. However, the faulty syllogism and the misinterpretation of Gaius did not cause me to depart from the generally accepted view that Egyptians were *dediticii* and that they were not granted Roman citizenship directly.

I do not see the implications of Bell, p. 46, on the wills of the *metropolitae*. Egyptians and *metropolitae* made the same kinds of will. There is no contradiction between Ulp. XX, 14 referring to the incapacity of the *dediticii ex lege Aelia Sentia* for making wills and the capacity of the Egyptians for making wills according to the Graeco-Egyptian law.

[3] The *tributum capitis* was not connected with the deditician condition; therefore the *metropolitae* were not in the least *dediticii* because they paid a reduced *laographia*.

[4] Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 134 and p. 413, gives the following evidence for the payment of the *laographia* after the *C.A.*: *O. Theb.* 86 from *Ταυρ.* ( ) and dated A.D. 213, *S.B.* 5677 from Hermopolis Magna and dated A.D. 222, *O. Strass.* 118 from Memnonia and dated A.D. 243 (the presence of the Aurelii in this ostrakon and in *Theb.* 86 seems to preclude an earlier date (p. 413)), *P. Ross.-Georg.* IV, 20, a collector's detailed report of collections of the poll-tax (*κατ' ἄνδρα λαογραφίας* dated A.D. 223) coming from Corphetu in the Heracleopolite nome and including the taxpayers who were temporarily absent. Moreover, the *metropolitae*, until the age of Diocletian, were called the *metropolitae δωδεκάδραχμοι* in the Oxyrhynchite nome and *ὀκτάδραχμοι* in the Hermopolite nome. I do not consider successful the attempts of Bell to invalidate the evidence.

[5] Ulpianus, *de censibus* (written under the reign of Elagabalus, Fittig, *Schriften roem. Juristen*, p. 97) *D.* L, 15, 3, aetatem in censendo significare necesse est, quia quibusdam aetas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur: veluti in Syriis a quattuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminae, usque ad sexagesimum annum tributo capitis obligantur', shows that the *capitatio* was paid in Syria after the *C.A.* Two other sources may be of some use for the *capitatio* in Syria: Paul. *D.* L, 15, 8, 5 'Divus Antoninus Antiochenses colonos fecit salvis tributis'

It is *a priori* unbelievable that the *C.A.* could have abolished the *tributum capitis*. As will be shown in the forthcoming essay on Byzantine economy II, *Byzantion*, 1944, the *laographia* in the first and second centuries, measured in purchasing power, was as important for the Roman budget as the land tax. At the time of M. Aurelius and Septimius Severus owing to the declining purchasing power of the Egyptian drachma the *laographia* amounted in purchasing power to about one half of the land tax. The deficit of the budget (in purchasing power) was replaced partially by other taxes and particularly by the *annona*.

Caracalla, who, according to Dio Cassius, bestowed Roman citizenship upon everybody in order to increase the entries of the fiscus would not with a stroke of the pen have renounced the *capitatio* not only in Egypt but in Syria, in Palestine, and in every place where a *tributum capitis* might have been assessed.

Therefore the famous sentence [μ]ένοντος [παντὸς γένους πολιτευμ]άτων may be understood by the Fiscus as *salvis tributis*.

After the *C.A.* all the Egyptians became Aurelii,[1] but the Aurelii Egyptians remained Egyptians and were considered as such, as shown by *P. Giss.* 40, II (215), 1, 16 ff.—W. *Chr.* 22.

Possibly Bell may be right in supposing that Caracalla was not so affected by constitutional scruples as I supposed when I suggested that the abolition of the status of *dediticius* might be a *prius* to the grant of the citizenship. Moreover I had already supposed that the Egyptian soldiers could become Romans directly when granted *honesta missio*.[2]

The third main point of difference between Bell and me lies in the theory of the double citizenship after the *C.A.*

I considered the existence of two Roman citizenships, a general one which, mostly, had implications in private law, shown in the second part of the article, pp. 198–214; the other, Roman citizenship, the Roman *politeuma*, possibly called *ius Italicum* by the Romans. Bell seems to deny this duality. Military diplomas which grant the soldiers of the *auxilia* citizenship after the *C.A.* show, however, that as a rule the Romanized *peregrinus*, the Aurelius, was not a full Roman citizen.[3, 4]

refers to a grant of Caracalla which may be dated between 215 and 217 (see Dio LXXVIII. 20, 1 and N. H. Miller, *CAH*, XII, 49). Antioch was *civitas libera*, Plin. *N.H.* v. 79, *Chron. Pasch.* 354 f. ed. Dind. (Benzinger *PW*, s.v. 'Antiocheia', 2442 ff.). Hence I do not know if the exemption from the *tributum capitis* paid by the *Antiochenses* was applied to the full citizens of Antioch or, as more probably, to the Syrians living in Antioch. Those possibly had become *latini coloniarii* and still paid the *tributum capitis*. A grant of the condition of *Latinus coloniarius* did not necessarily imply exemption from the *tributa* as is shown by Paul. *D.* L, 15, 8, 7 'Divus Vespasianus Caesarienses colonos fecit non adiecto ut et iuris Italici essent, sed tributum his remisit capitis, sed divus Titus etiam solum immune factum interpretatus est'. The citizens of Caesarea, the capital of Iudaea with a mixed population of Greeks and Jews (Fraenkel, *PW*, s.v. 'Caesarea', 1921 ff.), were probably considered as πολῖται. Caesarea and Aelia Capitolina, Ulp. *D.* L, 1, 6, had not been granted *ius Italicum* (A. v. Premerstein, *Ius Italicum*, *SW*, X, 1245). These two passages of Paulus show that a *Latinus coloniarius* paying the *tributum capitis* before the *C.A.* went on paying the *capitatio* after the *C.A.* if not granted *ius Italicum*.

[1] A Segrè, *Riv. di fil.* LIV (1926), 474 ff.; De Sanctis, ibid. 496. [2] *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, XVI, 190 f.

[3] A. H. Jones, *JRS*, XXVI (1936), 228, thinks, incorrectly, that they were *barbari* serving in the auxilia. Soldiers who served in the praetorian and in the urban cohorts were granted *conubium* with women *peregrini iuris*, A. Segrè, *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, XVII, 169. I think that these women were *peregrinae* as far as their *politeuma* was concerned. *Politeuma* affected the *conubium* even after the *C.A.*

[4] In *Riv. di fil.* LIV (1926), 484 I had already shown that in *IGR*, III, 90 Gaius had been granted Roman

The theory of the dual Roman citizenship is a direct consequence of the fact that the *C.A.* did not alter the constitutional status of the cities. This was radically reformed by the provisions of Diocletian taken in the years about A.D. 297.[1]

At the end of his review Bell (p. 49) further formulates his doubts: 'There is a good deal to be said for Segrè's view that the Aurelii were citizens *sui generis*, but it does not clear up the as yet unsolved problems of poll-tax in the third century'.

I thought I had made clear that the Romanized *peregrini* who did not receive the Roman *politeuma* were still considered as belonging to their own *politeuma*. The implications of the *C.A.* as far as private law is concerned had been shown in the second part of the article on the edict of Caracalla and in a following article still unpublished on the literal contract where the relations between the *instrumentum* and the *stipulatio* are investigated.

While I am very grateful to Bell for having reviewed an article not easily accessible to British readers, I confess that I am not convinced by his views (*a*) that the Egyptians of the metropoleis were *Aegyptii*, (*b*) that the *Aegyptii* were not *dediticii*, (*c*) that the *laographia* was abolished by Caracalla, (*d*) that the Aurelii did not need the grant of a Roman politeuma to become full Roman citizens.

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING

By H. I. BELL

I AM very glad that Prof. Segrè has replied to my article, as it is desirable that the important and very puzzling questions involved should be thoroughly discussed, but I have really nothing essential to add to what I said before and therefore cannot respond to his wish that I should formulate my opinions 'more vigorously'. Since, however, he completely misunderstands me on several points and therefore, inadvertently, misrepresents my views, I should like to correct him on certain details.

(1) In the first place, he is not justified in stating that in what I said of the *dediticii* I was opposing 'opinions which have hitherto been unchallenged'—a statement which I find it hard to reconcile with his own remark, *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, XVI, 188, note 29, where he says, quite incorrectly, that Jones 'segue *l'opinione generale errata* [the italics are mine] che gli egiziani non erano dediticii perchè ricevono la cittadinanza romana'. There is, it is true, a possible ambiguity in the use of the word *dediticius*. If it is

citizenship by the divus Antoninus with all the honours of the citizenship. This grant was effected after the *C.A.*

[1] The scholars who in the sentence [μ]ένοντος [παντὸς γένους πολιτευμ]άτων interpreted πολίτευμα as constitutional status of the cities held that the *C.A.* did not touch the *politeumata* (see, e.g., Gino Segrè, *Boll. Dir. Rom.* (1922), 206, n. 5). A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, 1940, p. 134, opposes this view: 'The universal grant of Roman citizenship by Caracalla in A.D. 212 should presumably in theory have raised all the cities of the East which were not colonies to the rank of *municipia*', and p. 173 'The *cives* of the several cities thereby (i.e. with the *C.A.*) became *municipes*, and local citizenship was converted into *origo*', and p. 175 'Similarly it is probable that before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* only citizens could be magistrates, while liturgies were imposed on all residents: the Jews complained that in Greek cities they were compelled to take part in liturgies. After the *Constitutio Antoniniana* this last distinction lapsed', &c. A. H. M. Jones does not give a demonstration of his assumption or even a refutation of the traditional opinion that the constitutional status of the cities had not been touched by the *C.A.*

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citizenship by the divus Antoninus with all the honours of the citizenship. This grant was effected after the *C.A.*

[1] The scholars who in the sentence [μ]ένοντος [παντὸς γένους πολιτευμ]άτων interpreted πολίτευμα as constitutional status of the cities held that the *C.A.* did not touch the *politeumata* (see, e.g., Gino Segrè, *Boll. Dir. Rom.* (1922), 206, n. 5). A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, 1940, p. 134, opposes this view: 'The universal grant of Roman citizenship by Caracalla in A.D. 212 should presumably in theory have raised all the cities of the East which were not colonies to the rank of *municipia*', and p. 173 'The *cives* of the several cities thereby (i.e. with the *C.A.*) became *municipes*, and local citizenship was converted into *origo*', and p. 175 'Similarly it is probable that before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* only citizens could be magistrates, while liturgies were imposed on all residents: the Jews complained that in Greek cities they were compelled to take part in liturgies. After the *Constitutio Antoniniana* this last distinction lapsed', &c. A. H. M. Jones does not give a demonstration of his assumption or even a refutation of the traditional opinion that the constitutional status of the cities had not been touched by the *C.A.*

taken to mean, as in Gaius 1, 14, 'hi, qui quondam adversus populum Romanum armis susceptis pugnaverunt, deinde victi se dediderunt', then obviously the Egyptians were *deditícii*; but so were the Greeks, so were all inhabitants of provinces which had been conquered by force of arms. It is surely obvious that I was throughout using the word in the sense postulated by Segrè, on the strength of the passages he quoted, *for the period of the C.A.* and stated by me on p. 39 of my article, namely *cives nullius certae civitatis*. In this sense I had, with everybody else, supposed the 'Egyptians' to be *deditícii* until the appearance of Bickermann's *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40*. He convinced me at the time that the 'Egyptians' could not be *deditícii* of this kind; and the whole purpose of what I said on this theme was, not to assert dogmatically that the 'Egyptians' were not *deditícii* (surely my remark in the summary, 'the case is less clear with regard to the question whether "Egyptians" were *deditícii*. Personally I incline to doubt it', should have shown Segrè this), but to register my feeling that neither Segrè's arguments nor the more cogent ones of Jones had for me invalidated the force of Bickermann's reasoning.

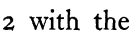
(2) The most extraordinary of Segrè's misunderstandings is his treatment of my views on the poll-tax. He states that my attempts 'to invalidate the evidence' for the payment of this after the *C.A.* are not successful. I made no such attempts; the very evidence adduced by him from papyri and ostraca in support of his view was all of it cited by me as proof of the same view! My intention in that part of my article was to call attention, not for the first time, to the curious paradox that, whereas it is quite certain that the *C.A.* did not mean the abolition of the poll-tax, the abundant stream of receipts for this tax suddenly dries up after Caracalla. Before him we have a very large number of such receipts; after him only two receipts, one return of tax-payers, and a few indirect references, of which those which mention δωδεκάδραχμοι, as I pointed out, are not *necessarily* proof of the continued existence of poll-tax. There is certainly a mystery here, which requires explanation; and I had hoped that someone with more knowledge and leisure than I possess would undertake the necessary research. I suggested the increasing reliance on extraordinary levies like the *annona* as a possible factor but doubted its adequacy. There may be some obvious explanation; but I cannot recall that anyone has offered one.

(3) I did not deny the duality of citizenship supposed by Segrè. On the contrary, this was the one point in his article which I found very plausible. I said explicitly on p. 49 'There is a good deal to be said for Segrè's view that the Aurelii were citizens *sui generis*'; but I was not prepared to be more positive than that.

(4) As regards the power to make wills, there may be some legal subtlety here which, being no jurist, I have misunderstood. But Ulpian does seem to imply that *deditícii*, in the sense of the word given to it by Segrè for the 'Egyptians', could not make (legal) wills; yet we know that the 'Egyptians' did make wills, no doubt by Graeco-Egyptian law as Segrè says, but they were recognized by the Roman administration and could be cited in law-suits before courts presided over by the prefect or his delegate.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A Mother-of-pearl Shell Disk of Sen-wosret III

IN *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 388 ff., there is a paper by H. E. Winlock on *Pearl Shells of Sen-wosret I* describing 28 mother-of-pearl shell disks, of which 15 are inscribed with the prenomen  and 12 with the nomen  . From this he concluded that, since the prenomen of no other king Sen-wosret has turned up, it is safe to assume that all 27 shells bear one name or other of the same king Kheper-ka-Re Sen-wosret I. He mentioned one other disk of that king's successor Amen-em-hat II and said that there, as far as he knew, the series ended. It is, therefore, interesting to place on record that, among the Sudan Government's share of the finds made by the Harvard-Boston expedition in 1928 at Uronarti (Gezîrat el-Melik) in Wadi Halfa district, there is an exactly similar shell disk perforated with two holes, on which is incised, more roughly than those depicted in Dr. Winlock's pl. 62, a cartouche supported on each side by a uraeus and containing the prenomen of Sen-wosret III  . This is registered in the Khartoum antiquities collection catalogue as No. 3044.

A. J. ARKELL

A Suggestion regarding the Construction of the Pyramids

WHEN visiting the Société Nationale du Papier at Aboukir near Alexandria recently, I saw several pyramids, 40 to 50 feet high, constructed of bales of rice straw. Rice straw is one of the principal raw materials of this important factory and large amounts have to be stored ready for use in the manufacture of various grades of strawboard. As we passed these pyramids I noticed that there was an entrance, about 4 or 5 feet wide and 6 or 7 high, on one side of each pyramid. I asked the manager, Mr. Donald Parkin, if this was the entrance to a shelter in which the workmen rested, but was told that it was through these entrances that the bales were carried during the construction of the pyramids, which were built from the inside. I therefore made a closer examination and found that what looked like a small chamber was a sloping passage or tunnel leading right into the interior of the pyramid. Apparently, in constructing the base of the pyramid, an opening is left in one side and a sloping passage is made from this opening nearly to the other side of the pyramid. All the bales are carried up this internal ramp (which had a slope of about 20°) and the building of the pyramid is continued from the inside. When the structure has risen about 6 or 7 feet above the floor of the passage, a few lengths of timber or iron are placed across the passage, which is then roofed in with the bales which will form part of the next layer. The result is a sloping tunnel through the lower part of the pyramid. The passage is then made to turn on itself at an acute angle till the next layer of the pyramid has been built and is again roofed in. This goes on till the top of the pyramid is reached, all the construction having been carried out by taking the bales up this sloping, zigzag tunnel, which is like an internal staircase without any steps. Mr. Parkin informed me that this was the local Egyptian labourers' own method of construction; they had been told merely to stack the bales. Have they unwittingly adopted some hereditary, traditional method of construction, handed down through the centuries from the building of the Pyramids, and does this throw any light on one, at least, of the methods by which those enormous monuments were built? It will be seen that the method is much more economical in labour and materials than one based on external ramps, which must have reached enormous dimensions. I shall be interested to learn if this suggestion is new to Egyptian archaeologists.

J. E. G. HARRIS

The Elephant's Trunk called its *drt* (*ḏrt*) 'Hand'

THE Lieutenant-Commander of the Soldiers Amenemḥab relates in his biography (*Urk.* IV, 893–4) that while Tuthmosis III was hunting a herd of 120 elephants in Niy,[1] he engaged 'the largest among them and cut off its *drt* (*ḏrt*) "hand" while alive'; for this brave deed he was rewarded by his sovereign with a gift of gold and raiment. This is the earliest name for the elephant's trunk and is exceedingly apt. Aristotle (*H.A.* 497 b, 25 ff.), describing the animal, wrote: 'It has a proboscis such in properties and such in size as to allow of its using the same for a hand. For it eats and drinks by lifting up its food with the aid of this organ into its mouth, and with the same organ it lifts up articles to the driver on its back; and with this organ it can pluck up trees by the roots.' Latin writers called the trunk 'the hand' (*manus*); Cicero (*De natura deorum*, II, xlvii, 123) wrote 'the elephant is even provided with a hand (*manus etiam data elephantis*) because his body is so large that it is difficult for him to reach his food'. Silius Italicus (*Punica*, IX, 625 ff.) relates how Mincius at the battle of Cannae drew his sword to attack an elephant, 'but this brave deed miscarried; for the trunk (*manus*) of the trumpeting monster . . . wound its angry coils round him and lifted him up; then it brandished his body in that dreadful grasp and hurled it high in the air, and dashed the crushed limbs of the poor wretch upon the ground'. The ancient Egyptian officer must have been skilled in hunting the elephant and probably knew that by cutting off the trunk the animal is at once rendered harmless and soon dies. The most expert elephant-hunters of modern times—the Hamran Arabs who inhabited the country to the south of Kassala between that town and the Base country—killed the animal with no other weapon than the sword. Sir Samuel Baker (*Nile Tributaries*, 4th ed. 1871, 117) records that should they discover the elephant asleep, 'one of the hunters would creep stealthily towards the head and with one blow sever the trunk while stretched upon the ground; in which case the elephant would start upon his feet, while the hunters escaped in the confusion of the moment. The trunk severed would cause an haemorrhage sufficient to ensure the death of the elephant within about an hour.' The term 'hand' is even more apt for the trunk of the African species than for that of the Indian which was hunted by Tuthmosis III. The African species has two tactile and grasping projections called 'fingers', placed above and below the two nostrils at the end of the trunk; a prehistoric drawing of an elephant on a jar which I published in *P.S.B.A.* XXI (1902), p. 251, Pl. i, No. 5, seems to show these two 'fingers'. Ray Lankester (*Science from an Easy Chair*, 2nd series, 1920, 132) said that he had seen an elephant pick up with equal facility a heavy man and then a threepenny piece.

P. E. NEWBERRY

The 'Formido' employed in Hunting by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom

IN the tomb of Ḏḥuṯḥotpe at Dēr el-Bershah (*El B.* I, pl. vii) there is a finely sculptured scene showing the owner of the tomb hunting wild animals in the desert. In describing this scene fifty years ago I wrote (pp. 13–14): 'We see two parallel lines of netting (placed upright on the wall), one end being closed by poles, and a cord or scare put in place by the huntsmen; the other end at the top of the wall is destroyed. The enclosed space is filled with sculptured details representing the surface of the desert covered with bushes, wild animals and huntsmen. The Egyptian draughtsman has arranged them all in distinct rows, one above the other; seven of these remain, while one or two at the top have been destroyed. . . . It is much to be deplored that the colours have entirely gone from this interesting sculpture.' The cord stretched on poles across the bottom end of the nets greatly puzzled me, for although I called it 'a scare', it is difficult to see how a single bare cord could have served such a purpose. Years later when reading Oppian's *Cynegetica* the explanation

[1] Another record of this elephant hunt is given on the Armant Stela of Tuthmosis III in Sir Robert Mond and O. H. Myers, *Temples of Armant*, 1940, pl. ciii, line 7, with translation by Miss Drower, p. 183. An earlier hunt in the same region was undertaken by Tuthmosis I (*Urk.* IV, 104).

became apparent. After describing the nets that were employed in hunting in his time, Oppian says (IV, 380 ff.) that on either hand in the two wings the huntsmen stretch 'a well-twined long rope of flax a little above the ground in such wise that the cord would reach a man's waist.[1] Therefrom are hung many coloured ribbons, various and bright, a scare to wild beasts, and suspended therefrom countless bright feathers of vultures, white swans and storks . . . with the roaring wind the ribbons wave aloft in the air and the swinging feathers whistle shrill'. Ḏḥuṯḥotpe's hunting scene is sculptured on the right-hand wall of the vestibule of his tomb and the ceiling above it has collapsed and left it exposed to the weather with the result that every vestige of colouring has disappeared. A study of the sculptured and painted tombs in Egypt has shown that the sculptors often left small details to be added by the painter's brush,[2] and I do not doubt that when the tomb of Ḏḥuṯḥotpe was in its perfect state the sculptured cord was painted with coloured stripes indicating feathers and ribbons as described by Oppian. This apparatus was called by Latin writers a 'formido', and it is mentioned by Virgil (*Aeneid*, XII, 750; cf. IV, 120) and others. The only illustration of it in Egypt is this Dēr el-Bershah scene which dates from about 1850 B.C. Whether there are any representations of it in the mosaic hunting scenes that have been found in North Africa or Italy I do not know, and should be grateful for any information on the subject.

P. E. NEWBERRY

Ineditum Campioneum Nottinghamense[3]

THE late Mr. E. W. Campion of Nottingham acquired a Greek inscription of Egyptian origin from a sailor forty-five years or so ago which has formed part of the Campion Collection in Nottingham ever since. It answers the following description: Yellow sandstone. Length 34·2 cm., height 40·5 cm., thickness 6·7 cm. The back of the stone was left unpolished. It was obviously set into the wall of the brass foundry mentioned in the inscription. Above *l.* 1, a stylized labarum. Letters of V/VII cent. A.D. The text is here printed in two columns to save space.

Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ β[ο]-
ηθῶ(ν) Ἅππα
Ἰωσηφίῳ ἐπὶ ( ) ὀκ-
τὼ οἰκοδομή-
σαντι τοῦτον (*sic*)
τὸν χαλκευτικὸν (*sic*)
ἐργαστήριον
εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκ-
κλησίαν ἐν ὀνόματι
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χρ(ιστὸ)ς (*sic*) ἀμήν: Ἐν μη-
νὶ Φαῶφι τῆς δ ἡ(μέρας), ἰν-
δικτ(ίωνος) ι.

l. 1. The β on the r. is only partly preserved, but certain.

l. 2. On the l., two dots.

l. 3/4. Either the symbol for a coin or, not so likely, the name of a fixed period of time appears to be omitted before or after ὀκτώ, e.g. (νο(μίσμασι), abbrev. Ⓜ) or (μῆνας).

l. 6/7. The expression χαλκευτικὸν ἐργαστήριον, 'brass foundry', does not occur in Greek literary or unliterary written texts known to me, and seems to be a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. It is the Greek equivalent of Latin *fabrica aeraria, officina aeraria, officina aerariorum*. Cp. *Thes. Ling. Lat. s.vv.*; H. Bluemner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, IV (1887), 324. This or a similar Greek expression may have been at the back of Quintilian's mind in *Inst.*, II. 21. 10.

l. 10. The name of Jesus Christ is given in a common abbreviation without regard for the genitive case.

[1] The cord in the Egyptian scene is placed much higher up than 'a man's waist', and was probably more effective than if placed lower down.

[2] N. de G. Davies, *Puyemre*, I, p. 47, has also pointed this out.

[3] It is my agreeable duty to thank Mr. G. F. Campion of Nottingham for his kind permission to publish the above inscription, and Dr. E. P. Barker, University College, Nottingham, Dr. R. Regensburger, The Library, Trinity College, Cambridge, and M. Leaf, Junior Boys' School, Church Street, Beeston, for advice on special questions.

l. 11. Professor U. Wilcken is inclined to attribute Byzantine dates in which the emperor is omitted to the time of the Persian occupation of Egypt. If he is right,[1] the date of our inscription would be 1 October 621 A.D. The lettering of the last two lines of the inscription has been rather crowded by the inefficient mason. The abbreviation η is indicated by two small vertical and parallel lines only.

The new inscription,[2] in the adulterated Greek of a country where the native Coptic language had regained its strength, throws some light on the economic position of the Church communities in Byzantine Egypt. Workshops of many kinds had been acquired or built as Church possessions. The Church had achieved a key position in the economic life of the country, the first beginnings of a well-known medieval development which, in the West, is closely connected with the history of the Benedictine monasteries.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

The Date of the Accession to the Throne of Diocletian

P. Oxy. 2187 (A.D. 304) resolves the controversial question of the date of the accession of Diocletian to the throne. The date of the vicennalia celebrated in Rome by Diocletian is November 17, 303, according to Euseb. Mart. pal. 1, 5, cp. 11, 4 *Δίου μηνὸς ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ αὕτη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πρὸ δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίου*. On this evidence Seeck[3] supposed the date of the beginning of the reign of Diocletian to be November 17, 284, against Chron. Pasch., which indicates the date September 17, 284.[4] Seeck asserts that this date is not correct on the basis of the coinage of the third year of Carinus and Numerianus in Egypt. The year of the reign in Egypt began August 29. Seeck argues that the coins of the third year of these emperors are not so rare as would be expected if the two emperors had reigned only 20 days of the third year. This argument is not convincing. Obviously the mint of Alexandria went on striking the coins of Carinus and Numerianus until the new dies with the image of Diocletian reached Alexandria. Moreover C. Iust. III, 7 has the date October 15, 284. Seeck says that this date transmitted by Haloander has very little authority. Now P. Oxy. 2187, 21 ff. shows beyond any doubt that before Hathyr 11 = November 7, 303, the amnesty for the vicennalia had been granted in Egypt. We conclude that Diocletian became emperor September 17, 284, that the amnesty for the vicennalia was granted September 17, 303, and that the vicennalia were celebrated later in Rome, November 17, 303.

A. SEGRÈ

[1] *Arch. f. Pap.* XIII (1939), 150 f.

[2] Cf. A. Steinwenter, *Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri*, in *Savigny Zeitschr. Kan. Abt.* XIX (1930), 1 f.; G. Ghedini, *I risultati della papirologia per la storia della chiesa* in *Münch. Beitr. z Pap.*, XIX (1934), 273 f.; W. Hengstenberg, *Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Aegyptischen Mönchtums*, in *Izvestiya na Bulgarskiya Arkheologicheski Institut*, IX (1935), 355 f.

[3] The date November 18 given by Lactantius, *D. m.p.* 17, i, is certainly due to a slight error in the Latin MS., see Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterganges d. ant. Welt*, I[3], 438.

[4] The date September 17 had been correctly accepted by E. Costa, *Diz. Epigr.* II, 1793–95. The criticism of Seeck, followed by E. Stein, *Gesch. d. spätröm. Reiches*, 94 n. 1, goes all astray.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Papyri from Tebtynis, II (*Michigan Papyri*, V, ed. E. M. HUSSELMAN, A. E. R. BOAK, W. F. EDGERTON). University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1944. Pp. xx+446; 6 pls.; 1 text figure. $ 5.00.

This instructive edition of 131 documents with its able, but slightly too concentrated, commentary sheds new light on problems which have been discussed since the first texts of Part I became accessible in 1923. The *grapheion* of Tebtynis and its officials are better known to us to-day than any comparable Egyptian institution of the first century A.D. We now know fairly well how Greek and Demotic contracts were drawn up with subscriptions and copies, and deposited there. Further we now know at least something of an unusually large percentage of the inhabitants of Tebtynis during this time, occasionally even with their handwriting and family tables. The social aspect of this archive is interesting enough. An upper class of medium landowners and medium tenants had sprung up, the main taxpayers and main participants in the transactions and social clubs of our archive. Individual violent quarrels about economic questions between this *bourgeoisie* and the poorer population show, I think, characteristics of a minor class war. No. 312 mentions, for the first time, the much discussed Ti. Claudius Balbillus as the owner of a large estate, and is therefore of general historic importance. Two new taxes, δημόσια αὐλητικῆς, and πρὸς μουσικήν, and the rare ψίλου τόπου, occur. The club of ἀπολύσιμοι οὐσίας of No. 244 can best be compared with the late Ptolemaic σύνοδος γεωργῶν ἰδίων if my interpretation of the Ineditum Adlerianum (*Mem. Andréades* (1939), 3 f.) be preferred to that of M. Rostovtzeff (*Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hell. World*, III, 1499). A third volume of these invaluable documents is intended to contain the merely fragmentary texts and those of palaeographic difficulty. May I conclude with the wish that this volume may include the following badly needed desiderata, a legal commentary on the archive which may lead to surprising discoveries, an up-to-date topographical survey of the Tebtynis region, and Addenda and Corrigenda in which all the literature and suggestions for the Michigan Tebtynis texts are collected together with considered notes by the editors as to their value.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

OTHER RECENT BOOKS. Of the many war-time productions that have now reached us it is possible to mention only a few of exceptional value.

Festival Scenes of Ramses III (Medinet Habu, vol. IV). By THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY. Chicago, 1940. Continuation of the brilliant publication by the Oriental Institute. Large fol., xii pp.+ 57 pls., 8 of them in colour, mainly dealing with the festivals of Min and of Sokar, including illustrative material from other temples. A work of fundamental importance.

The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Reʿ at Thebes. By NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943. Fol., vol. i, x+120 pp., 9 ills., 5 pls.; vol. ii, x pp., 117 pls. Unhappily to end the Museum's series of Theban Tombs. A very fine work, the author's last. Complete publication of the celebrated tomb of Tuthmosis III's Vizier. The coloured plates appeared separately in 1935.

Egypt in the Classical Geographers. By J. BALL. Cairo, 1942. 4to, vi+203 pp., 8 pls. and portrait of author, 18 figs. in the text. Posthumous work, seen through the press by G. W. MURRAY, who contributes a preface. Exceedingly useful analysis of the main ancient authors by an eminent practical geographer. Ptolemy's methods are particularly lucidly explained, his errors statistically treated. Identifications of sites seem generally very sound and distances indicated by the ancients are compared with modern survey results.

Late Egyptian and Coptic Art. Brooklyn Museum, 1943. 4to, 24 pp., 54 photographic plates. Introduction and most of the explanatory notes on the objects illustrated (paintings, reliefs, bronzes, pottery, textiles, &c.) by JOHN D. COONEY. An important conspectus of the chief objects in the collection.

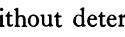
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO A. M. BLACKMAN AND H. W. FAIRMAN, 'THE MYTH OF HORUS AT EDFU—II', IN *JEA* XXIX–XXX.

JEA XXVIII, 33, n. 9: After 77, 7 insert; 89, 7.

JEA XXIX, p. 3, n. d: For further instances of *Ḥddt* = Isis see *E.* I, 265, 12; 273, 19; 315, 15; 359, 2; VI, 86, 3; VII, 120, 5; = Ḥathōr see *E.* V, 105, 9; perhaps *E.* I, 313, 1; = personification of Wetjset-Ḥor see *E.* VI, 278, 3–4. P. 4, n. c: Transl. 'of erect bearing', 'of upright carriage', finds support, in *dwn·i ḥꜣt·i ḥr ḫꜥy*, *E.* V, 142, 15. For *ḫy* replaced by *ḳꜣ*, written  , in *ḳꜣ ḥꜣt·i ḥr ḫꜥy*, 'I stand erect wielding the weapon', see *E.* V, 41, 13. P. 5, n. f: For weapon in right hand and rope in left see also *E.* V, 283, 10–12. P. 5, n. g: Possibly in original version of passage referred to reading was not, as we have suggested, *mi ir sḫty ḳn*, but *mi irrt sḫty ḳn*, = lit. 'like what a bold fen-man does'. P. 7, ll. 20–21 = *E.* VI, 65, 8–9: If emendation in Chassinat's n. 1 is correct (cf. *E.* I, 560, 13) we should transl. 'The second lance which attacked (*tkn*) the Caitiff as he drew near'. For this meaning of *m wꜣy·f* see *Wb.* I, 246, 10, and above cited passage, *E.* I, 560, 13. P. 9, l. 2 = *E.* VI, 68, 2: Transl. not 'wall of stone' but 'outwork (or 'shelter') of rare stone'; see Drioton, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, XXV, 11, n. f, who rightly reads *ibw* in this and other passages quoted by him, but is wrong in rendering  'roof'. As *E.* II, 121, 9 (cf. *E.* II, 107, 2) clearly shows it is a miswriting of  . P. 9, l. 8 = *E.* VI, 68, 4–5: For *ꜥḥ* 'palace' as fem. noun see also *E.* VI, 112, 5; 113, 3; *Wb.* I, 214. P. 9, n. h: *E.* I, 302, 10, suggests that this demon's name is after all *Kꜣ*- (or perhaps *Nb*-) *Mꜣꜥt* = Bull- (or Lord-) of-Truth. P. 10, n. j: After *Wb.* II, 475, read 4 not 41. P. 11, n. f: More exx. of *ṯswt* 'teeth' occur *E.* IV, 269, 15; 286, 5; VII, 152, 16. P. 14, ll. 26–27 = *E.* VI, 75, 8: Perhaps transl. 'I repel from thy seat them who come with evil intent'. P. 15, l. 13 = *E.* VI, 73, 2: For 'his temple' read 'the House-of-the-Falcon (*Ḥwt-Bik*).' P. 16, ll. 22 and 24 = *E.* VI, 74, 10: For  , transl. by us 'ready for the fray', see *Wb.* III, 147, 6, and for  , which we tentatively render 'inspiring fear', see *Wb.* III, 147, 13. P. 17, l. 30 = *E.* VI, 78, 8: Perhaps 'crunch' here rather than 'cut in pieces'. P. 17, n. e: For more exx. of title *ḥm-gmḥsw* see *E.* I, 359, 4; 544, 9; 571, 9; IV, 77, 5; VI, 102, 6; 153, 2; VII, 87, 14; *D.* IV, 18, 6. For priest in question as Shu see also *E.* VI, 152, 2; 155, 7–8; VII, 25, 13–14. For title *ḥm-Ḥr n Ḥr-nfr* see furthermore *E.* I, 571, 9; V, 148, 10. For yet other exx. of *ḥm-Ḥr* see *E.* I, 359, 4; V, 49, 12; VII, 30, 13; 31, 1; 33, 13; 59, 2; 81, 1; 87, 13.

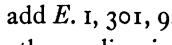
JEA XXX, p. 9, ll. 7–8 = *E.* VI, 84, 5: For use of spells to protect ships see also *E.* VI, 128, 4 (where reciter is again Thoth), and *E.* III, 347, 12; V, 125, 2. 7. P. 10, l. 9 = *E.* VI, 83, 10–11: For *ỉnsy* see Drioton, *Bull. Inst. fr.* XXV, 6 with n. h; also *E.* IV, 344, 2.

COMMENTARY, n. 2: Other exx. of *Dns* with hippotamus-determ. occur *E.* I, 20, 2–3; 456, 12(?); V, 154, 18; VI, 62, 3. For two more exx. with hide-determ. see *E.* I, 309, 12; *D.* IV, 24, 12. In *E.* I, 346, 12, *Dns* is written  . N. 4: For another ex. of = *ḫn* see *E.* VII, 19, 4. N. 6, (a): For another ex. of *ḥbyw* with  -determ. see *E.* V, 257, 2. N. 6, (c):  , *E.* IV, 273, 16, in view of preceding  , *ḥnwt*, possibly to be read *ḥnṯtyw* rather than *ḫꜣtyw*. N. 6, (f): For variant  , *E.* I, 464, 14, see *Wb.* III, 96, 1–2; also *E.* I, 470, 1; II, 234, 6–7. N. 6: Add (g) *bḳnw*; ex.  (demons who guard Osiris), *E.* I, 166, 17. To six occurrences of (var. ) as an ideogram already cited eight more must be added, namely *E.* I, 464, 12, where following *n ḥmt·s* suggests reading *ḥnṯtyw*; *E.* VII, 284, 2, where, in view of *nt ḥnwt Fꜥg*, *ḥnṯtyw* should perhaps again be read; *E.* I, 309, 2, where parallelism with *wpwtyw* suggests reading *ḥbyw*. In the five following exx., *E.* V, 104, 6; 206, 8; 302, 11; 355, 6; VII, 301, 15, presence of *ḫ* in adjacent words suggests reading *ḫꜣtyw*. N. 7: The temple library at Edfu is designated 'Library of Horus', *pr-mḏꜣ(w)t n Ḥr*, in *E.* III, 339, 9, and 'Library of Rēʿ', *pr-mḏꜣ(w)t n Rꜥ*, in *E.* III, 339, 12. In latter instance it is said to contain the 'Emanations of Rēʿ', in former, the 'Emanations of Atum'. So far we have met with one other ex. of this variant of normal *bꜣw Rꜥ*, *E.* III, 351, 11–12. With regard to the king it should be noted that as 'son of the lord of Hermopolis' he is, acc. to *E.* V, 41, 4–5, 'master of the Emanations of Rēʿ'. He holds latter title also as 'excellent son of Isdes', and, at same time, not inappropriately

bears appellation 'compiler (?) of the service-book (*sšm ḥbyt*) like the lord of the *hdn*-plant', *E.* IV, 57, 2. N. 9: A good ex. of  = *nrwt*, used in parallelism with *rnpwt*, occurs *E.* VII, 269, 8.  clearly reads *rnpt* in  , *n(n) ḳn-rnpt m ḥrw·k* 'there is no dearth during thy reign', *E.* VII, 79, 17. N. 10: For *ḳs* perhaps = 'erect phallus' see also *E.* V, 185, 1. N. 15, 4: For another ex. of *dbdb* = 'crunch' see *E.* VII, 324, 10. N. 19: Ex. of *ỉmyw-mw* without determ. also found *E.* I, 424, 15. In  , *E.* V, 55, 15, is cut over in red ink. N. 20: In final paragraph for 'like *Ḫtm* in exx. 5 and 10', read 'like *Ḫtm* in exx. 5–11'. Other exx. of *ḫt-mn* are *E.* I, 570, 5; IV, 119, 8; 120, 12; 309, 16; V, 44, 4; 59, 5; 63, 1; 64, 7; 80, 6; 84, 8; 157, 12; 260, 13; 285, 16; 322, 8; 326, 8; VI, 237, 9; 277, 6; 287, 1; 310, 13; VII, 86, 3; 103, 8; 115, 6; 121, 16; 142, 1; 170, 8; 319, 5; VIII, 62, 16; *M.*, 77, 1; 89, 18. N. 24: For Fen-goddess see also *E.* I, 464, 4; 466, 3–6; 555, 8; 565, 9; 567, 8. N. 25: Acc. to *Wb.* IV, 471, 11,  is to be read *Šmỉyt*, not *Tỉyt* as implied in our note. But see spellings of *Tỉyt*, *E.* II, 163, 15; 164, 7. In any case is clearly identified with *Tỉyt* in those passages quoted by us in which her name appears. N. 36, end: After 'without limit' add '; probably also the *Š-Ḥr* which supplied the god with ro-geese, *E.* I, 111, 4.10'. N. 38: For Ḥedjḥotpe as occupant of the *Ḥwt-mnḫt* at Edfu see also *E.* I, 388, 3–5. N. 41: Dr. Gardiner points out to us that *E.* VI, 51, No. XVIII, definitely connects Chemmis with the seventeenth Lower-Egyptian nome; so too probably *E.* VI, 48, No. XCIX. N. 41, 1: Other exx. with  preposed are , *E.* V, 209, 9; , *E.* V, 263, 8. N. 41, 2: To exx. cited add , *E.* V, 326, 6; , *E.* VI, 51, 10; , *E.* VII, 124, 2; , *E.* VII, 177, 14; (*sic*), *E.* I, 555, 15–16; , *E.* V, 236, 8. N. 41, 3: For see also *E.* V, 37, 13; 259, 16; 392, 1; VII, 176, 15; add , *E.* V, 338, 9. N. 41, 4: Add , *E.* VI, 48, 3; , *E.* VII, 83, 7. N. 41, 7: Another very similar writing occurs *E.* V, 100, 13. N. 41, 10: , *E.* V, 255, 12, is undoubtedly a writing of Chemmis.

FURTHER ADDITIONS. *JEA* XXIX, p. 5, l. 16 = *E.* VI, 61, 8. For the blade of four cubits see also *E.* III, 255, 15. P. 9, n. h. For *Kȝ-mśt* see also *E.* III, 209, 13; 212, 13; 296, 15. P. 12, ll. 9–10 = *E.* VI, 69, 9: cf. *E.* VIII, 27, 16–17. P. 16, n. i: Add *E.* II, 163, 11; III, 193, 3; IV, 120, 7.

JEA XXX, p. 12 n. a: Gardiner thinks emendation probable though he knows of no cult of Khnum nearer to Aṭfīḥ than Kafr 'Ammār.

COMMENTARY, n. 2: For yet another ex. of *Dns* with hippopotamus-determ. see *E.* VIII, 7, 4. Further exx. with hide-determ. are *E.* VIII, 8, 7; 20, 11; 27, 1–2; 77, 13. N. 6: Add (h) *šmỉyw* 'disease-demons'; ex.  , *E.* III, 317, 4. N. 6: To the eight more occurrences of  as an ideogram add *E.* I, 301, 9, where again parallelism with *wpwtyw* suggests the reading *hbyw*, and *E.* VIII, 109, 1, where the reading is doubtful. N. 9: For another instance of , probably reading *nrwt* see *E.* III, 248, 4. N. 17, 3: For this ideogram as title of king (reading *Wnty*?) see *E.* VIII, 34, 13; 37, 1. N. 19: Another ex. of *ỉmyw-mw* with crocodile and hippopotamus determs. followed by is *E.* VIII, 77, 15. For *E.* VI, 229, 5, read *E.* VI, 239, 5. 10–11. N. 41, 1: Yet another ex. with preposed occurs *E.* III, 193, 3. An ex. of the earlier spelling with not preposed is , *E.* II, 118, 2. N. 41, 5 (a): To ex. cited add *E.* III, 193, 4. N. 41, 10, last entry: For *E.* VII, 209, 5 read *E.* VII, 259, 5.

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