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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL FOREWORD	I
PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT AMARAH WEST, ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, 1947-8 H. W. Fairman ...	3
THE FIRST TWO PAGES OF THE <i>Wörterbuch</i> Sir Alan Gardiner ...	12
THE FOUNDING OF A NEW DELTA TOWN IN THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY Sir Alan Gardiner ...	19
ADVERSARIA GRAMMATICA Sir Alan Gardiner ...	23
A NEGATIVE WORD IN OLD EGYPTIAN Battiscombe Gunn ...	27
THE REPORT CONCERNING THE SLAVE-GIRL SENBET Paul C. Smither ...	31
THREE HIERATIC PAPYRI IN THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S COLLECTION John Barns ...	35
WRITING PALETTE OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMÜN, SMENDES ... William C. Hayes ...	47
THE <i>ΣΗΚΟΣ</i> OF APIS AT MEMPHIS Mustapha el Amir ...	51
MANETHO'S DATE FOR RAMESSES II M. B. Rowton ...	57
THE MACEDONIAN CALENDAR DURING THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY EUERGETES I T. C. Skeat ...	75
A LETTER FROM PHILONIDES TO KLEON REVISED (P. Lond. 593 = Crönert, <i>Raccolta Lumbroso</i> 530 = <i>Sammelbuch</i> 7183) ... T. C. Skeat ...	80
POPULAR RELIGION IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT: I. THE PAGAN PERIOD Sir Harold Bell ...	82
A PAPYRUS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE (Hamburg Inv. No. 410) ... Richard G. Salomon ...	98
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT	
GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1945-7) Marcus N. Tod ...	109
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: A Foundation Plaque of Ptolemy IV, <i>by</i> William C. Hayes, p. 114; King Wadjkarē of Dynasty VIII, <i>by</i> William C. Hayes, p. 115; Prince Mehy of the Love Songs, <i>by</i> Paul C. Smither, p. 116; The Serpent Hieroglyph, <i>by</i> M. A. Murray, p. 117; <i>Fy</i> 'cerastes', <i>by</i> Percy E. Newberry, p. 118; The hieroglyphs { and §, <i>by</i> Percy E. Newberry, p. 119; Zeberged, a Correction, <i>by</i> G. A. Wainwright, p. 119; Zeberged, <i>by</i> Oliver H. Myers, p. 119; Note on <i>ꜣwy-pt</i> 'Shrine', <i>by</i> Jaroslav Černý, p. 120; Organization of Ushabti- figures, <i>by</i> Jaroslav Černý, p. 121; Thoth as Creator of Languages, <i>by</i> Jaroslav Černý, p. 121.	
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS:	
H. E. WINLOCK, <i>The Rise and Fall of the Middle King- dom in Thebes</i> Reviewed by R. O. Faulkner ...	123
A. LUCAS, <i>Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries</i> .., R. W. Sloley ...	125
I. E. S. EDWARDS, <i>The Pyramids of Egypt</i> ,, Herbert Chatley ...	126
L. GRINSELL, <i>Egyptian Pyramids</i> ,, Herbert Chatley ...	128
D. DIRINGER, <i>The Alphabet: a Key to the History of Mankind</i> ,, Battiscombe Gunn ...	129

LIST OF PLATES

Plate I.	Ushabti figures of King Tutankhamūn.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Plates II–VI.	Excavations at Amarah West, 1947–8	<i>facing p. 4</i>
Plates VII–VIII A.	P. Berlin 10470	<i>between pp. 32 and 33</i>
Plates IX–X.	Northumberland Papyrus No. I	<i>facing p. 36</i>
Plate XI.	Northumberland Papyrus No. II	„ <i>p. 41</i>
Plate XII.	Northumberland Papyrus No. III	„ <i>p. 44</i>
Plate XIII.	Writing Palette of the High Priest of Amūn, Smendes	„ <i>p. 47</i>
Plate XIV.	Hieratic Inscription on the Palette of Smendes	„ <i>p. 48</i>
Plates XV–XVII.	Excavations at Mīt Rahīnah, 1941	„ <i>p. 52</i>
Plate XVIII.	P. Hamburg Inv. No. 410	„ <i>p. 98</i>



USHABTI FIGURES OF KING TUT'ANKHAMŪN

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE winter of 1947-8 saw the resumption by the Society of its long-interrupted excavations at Amarah West in the Sudan, under the directorship of Professor H. W. Fairman, whose report on the season's work appears in this volume of the *Journal*. The main result has been to show that Amarah was not only an important centre of the Egyptian African Empire, but was probably the capital of the province of Kush. It is therefore fortunate that work on the site can be resumed during the season 1948-9, though under new directorship. While we most heartily congratulate Professor Fairman on his recent election to the Brunner Chair of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool in succession to Professor A. M. Blackman on the latter's retirement, and wish him every possible success in his new sphere of work, we cannot but regret that the Society is thereby deprived of the services of a most able Field Director. But if we lose Professor Fairman as an excavator we gain him as author or editor of our publications. He has *City of Akhenaten*, vol. III, well in hand, and this will be followed by the memoir on Sesebi. We would also like to congratulate Dr. M. F. Laming Macadam on his appointment to the new Readership of Egyptology in the University of Durham. The coming season's excavations at Amarah West will be carried out jointly with the Sudan Department of Antiquities, who are very generously lending the services of Mr. P. L. Shinnie as director of the work.

In view of the ever-rising costs of both excavation and publication, it is with heartfelt gratitude that we are able to announce that the grant from H.M. Treasury to the Society's work is to be increased from £3,000 to £4,000 for the current year. But even with this welcome addition, it is still necessary for members to accord the Society the fullest financial support possible if all the charges upon its funds are to be met. Apart from the *Journal*, and the work on *City of Akhenaten*, vol. III, already mentioned, we are glad to announce that the Society is about to publish the late N. de G. Davies's *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, the second memoir of the Mond excavations at Thebes, which, owing to the regretted death of its author, has been edited by Sir Alan Gardiner. It is hoped that the new volume will be on sale by the end of 1948, at a price of £4. 4s. (£3. 3s. to members), and orders may be sent to the office of the Society.

An event that has given the greatest pleasure to everyone interested in Egyptology is the conferring of the honour of knighthood upon one of the most distinguished of the Society's Vice-Presidents. This public recognition of Sir Alan Gardiner's services both to scholarship in general and to this Society in particular is most timely, and he may rest assured that we are all united, not only in congratulating him upon the honour accorded him, but also in wishing him many years in which to enjoy it.

From July 23 to 31 there was held in Paris the 21st International Congress of Orientalists. The Egyptological Section was well represented by scholars from Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, England, and the United States, in addition to our French colleagues, who spared no effort in official and private

hospitality to make the Congress a memorable event to the visitors. Apart from a very full programme of interesting and important papers read by various members of the Congress, there were visits to museums and exhibitions, among which an evening visit to the Louvre to see the new and very effective system of lighting installed in certain galleries stands out in the memory.

Apart from our own excavations at Amarah West, there has been much archaeological activity in the Nile Valley during the past year. Excavations under the auspices of the Egyptian Government have been carried out by Zaky Saad in the First Dynasty necropolis at Ḥelwān and by Hamada at Kōm el-Ḥiṣn in the Delta. M. Lauer has continued his work of restoration at the Step Pyramid, while research still progresses in the pyramid-field of Dāhshūr. In Upper Egypt the Chicago House party has pursued its task at Karnak, while in the Sudan O. H. Myers has found on ancient sites near Wādī Halfa many new rock drawings, including the largest collection ever found in one place, which shed an interesting light on the ancient fauna of the region.

It is a matter for thankfulness that the losses by death to the already depleted ranks of Egyptologists during the past year have been less severe than recently, but we deplore the passing, at the age of 80, of one of the veterans of our science, M. Émile Chassinat, an erstwhile director of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale d'Égypte, whose best-known works are his monumental volumes of the Temple of Edfu, continuing the work begun by Rochemonteix in 1898, and the no less important records of the Temple of Denderah; these two publications are fundamental for the study of the later phases of Egyptian religion and ritual. We also regret to announce the death of Mr. Guy Brunton, who recently retired for reasons of health from the Cairo Museum. Apart from his many years of service to the Museum, Mr. Brunton was well known for his excavations in Egypt, of which the most outstanding were those published in his volumes on *Gau and Badari*, *Badarian Civilization*, *Mostagedda*, and, quite recently, on *Matmar*. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Brunton in her great loss.

We owe to Mr. R. W. Hutchinson some further details of the heroic death in Crete of our one-time field-director Capt. J. D. S. Pendlebury, who had been given the task of organizing the Cretan guerrillas. After describing how Pendlebury tried to break through the lines of the German parachutists to reach the guerrillas in the foot-hills of Mt. Ida, he writes: 'He was wounded by machine-gun fire and taken by the Germans to a near-by house, where he was attended by a German doctor who promised to send him to hospital the next day. In the morning, however, other paratroops came to the house, drove away the women who lived there and forced Pendlebury to come out. An eyewitness has described how the Germans questioned Pendlebury concerning the position of the British forces, heard him say "No" three times and saw them shoot him. The Germans buried Pendlebury in ignorance of his identity, and later paid him the very considerable compliment of disinterring his body to verify whether it really was Capt. Pendlebury whom they had killed. His body was later transferred by the Germans to the British cemetery near Herakleion and was finally interred at Suda by the British authorities'.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT AMARAH WEST, ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, 1947-8

By H. W. FAIRMAN

AFTER an interval of eight years necessitated by the war, work was resumed at Amarah West in November 1947. The party was composed of Mr. P. G. Fell, Dr. E. Iversen, Thabet Effendi Hassan, Antiquities Officer in the Antiquities Department of the Sudan Government, and Mr. H. W. Fairman.

Once again we are deeply indebted to H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Musée du Louvre, and the Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts for their financial support of our work, but their generous subscriptions alone would not have allowed us even to hope for a full season's work had we not also received a grant-in-aid from the British Government. Thanks to this help, we arrived at Amarah on November 17, 1947, work commenced a few days later and continued without interruption until March 7, 1948.

It is a great pleasure also to record our thanks to various officials of the Sudan Government for their ready and never-failing assistance, and in particular to Mr. A. J. Arkell, Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, Mr. P. L. Shinnie, Assistant Commissioner for Archaeology, Mr. A. E. D. Penn, the District Commissioner, Wadi Halfa, and Mrs. Penn, and to Mr. E. Wakefield, Director of Surveys, for the loan of a level for the whole season, a loan that was of immense value to us since our own level and stores did not reach us until a week or two before we closed down.

Throughout the war considerable concern had been felt over the safety of the Temple, which had been left without adequate protection from wind and weather. On our return to Amarah it was a relief to find that the Temple had sustained far less damage than we had feared. Nevertheless, it was obvious that further exposure might easily lead to serious losses and, after consultation with Mr. Arkell, it was decided to bury the building completely. The temple site served as our dump for the entire season and by the end of our work the Temple itself, all the buildings south, east, and west of it excavated in 1938-9, and the greater part of the Forecourt (see *JEA* xxv, pl. 13) had been buried more deeply than when we found them.

The need to bury the Temple largely determined the course of the season's work. In order that the burying might be performed expeditiously and economically we were compelled to excavate the unpromising area immediately to the south of the Temple and parallel with the east wall of the town (pl. II: Square D.14). It was soon possible, however, to divert some of our men and to work an area on the west side of the town. This area included the West Gate and a building which appeared to be the most important structure apart from the Temple and which we suspected might prove to be the palace of the governor (pl. II). All the work of the season was confined to these two areas.

It will be recalled that in our first complete season at Amarah¹ we had uncovered a small temple and two groups of storehouses to east and west of it. This temple had been built, and then remodelled and reorientated, by Ramesses II, and a number of kings of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties had made slight additions or had left inscriptions on its walls, the latest being Ramesses IX, who claimed to have completed the decoration in his sixth year. In contrast with this story of more or less continuous occupation, evidence was found which led us to suspect the existence of a chapel, or perhaps even a temple, and of other buildings previous to the reign of Ramesses II. Moreover, our preliminary tests in other parts of the town in 1948 had revealed earlier walls below the main levels.² There was at the time no hint as to the date of these earlier constructions apart from the occurrence of bricks of Sethos I in the town wall.³

One of the main objects of our recent work, therefore, has been to try and obtain more precise evidence about this earlier occupation of the site. It speedily became apparent that not only was this earlier level a fact, but that the history of the site was more complicated than we had suspected. Throughout the site we found four distinct levels, and in the governor's palace there were traces even of a fifth level some 60 cm. above the floor of Level One.⁴

Owing to rebuilding and the damage wrought by natives seeking for fertilizer, who had dug deeply into brick walls and floors, the area south of the temple (pl. II: Square D.14) is now exceedingly confused, but it is certain that as originally planned it was intended to be a series of workshops and storerooms, very probably attached to the temple. The earliest level (Level Four) was well and carefully planned. It falls into a northern and a southern division. The northern section is bounded by streets or lanes on all sides and consists of two parts: an eastern block of long, narrow rooms whose doors, in the west side, open into a narrow north to south lane blocked at its southern end; and a larger and less regularly planned western section consisting partly of rooms that open into the narrow lane that forms the western boundary of this part of the site, and partly of a series of inter-communicating rooms.

There was no precise evidence of the purpose of the rooms in the western section of this area, but the rooms of the eastern section seem to have been workshops. Thus, on the brick floor of D.14.6, and even under the walls of Level Three, were numerous lumps of red and yellow ochre: this must have been the place in which paint was prepared. On the floor of D.14.4 we found several slabs of well-worn stone, two stone grinders, and, sunk in the floor below a later wall, a large pot which proved to be filled with lumps of rich gold-bearing quartz (pl. III, 4): there can be little doubt that in this room quartz, extracted from some mine in the neighbourhood which we have not yet located, was crushed prior to being smelted. No room or area definitely devoted to the operation of smelting has yet been found.

The southern division of this same portion of Level Four is divided from the northern by the cross-street (pl. II: D.14.18) that forms the southern boundary of the latter.

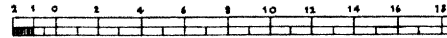
¹ *JEA* xxv, 139-44.

² *JEA* xxiv, 156 and pl. 11, 2.

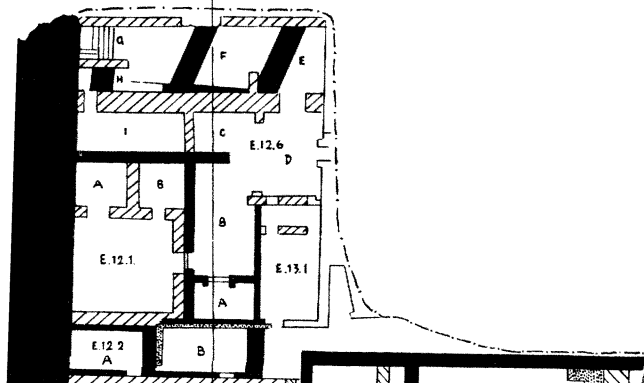
³ *JEA* xxv, 140.

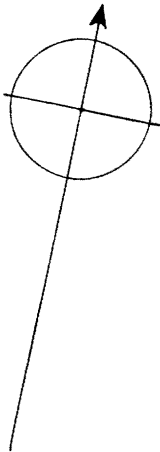
⁴ Levels are numbered from the surface downwards. Thus Level One is the most recent, Level Four the earliest, level.

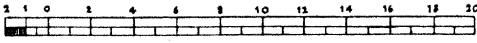
SCALE

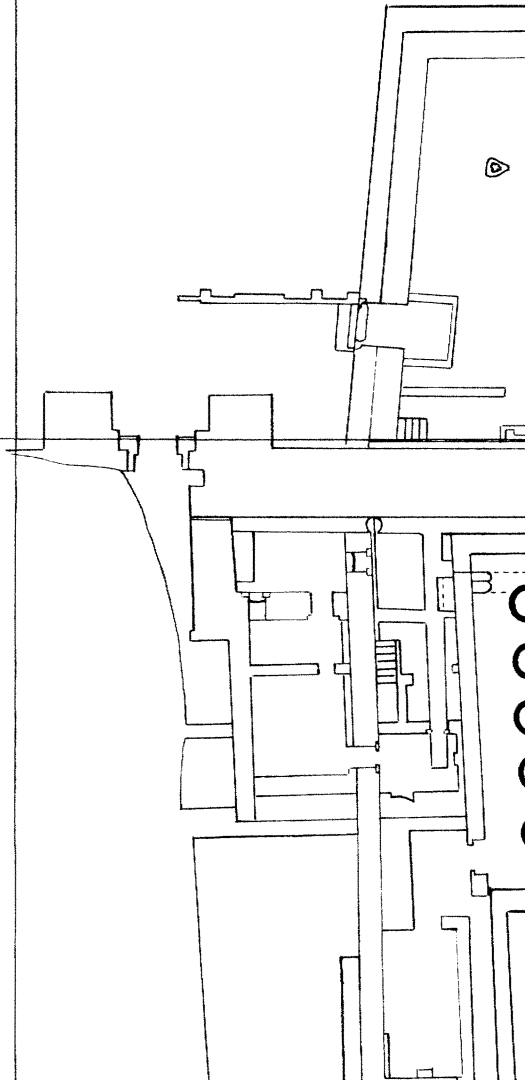


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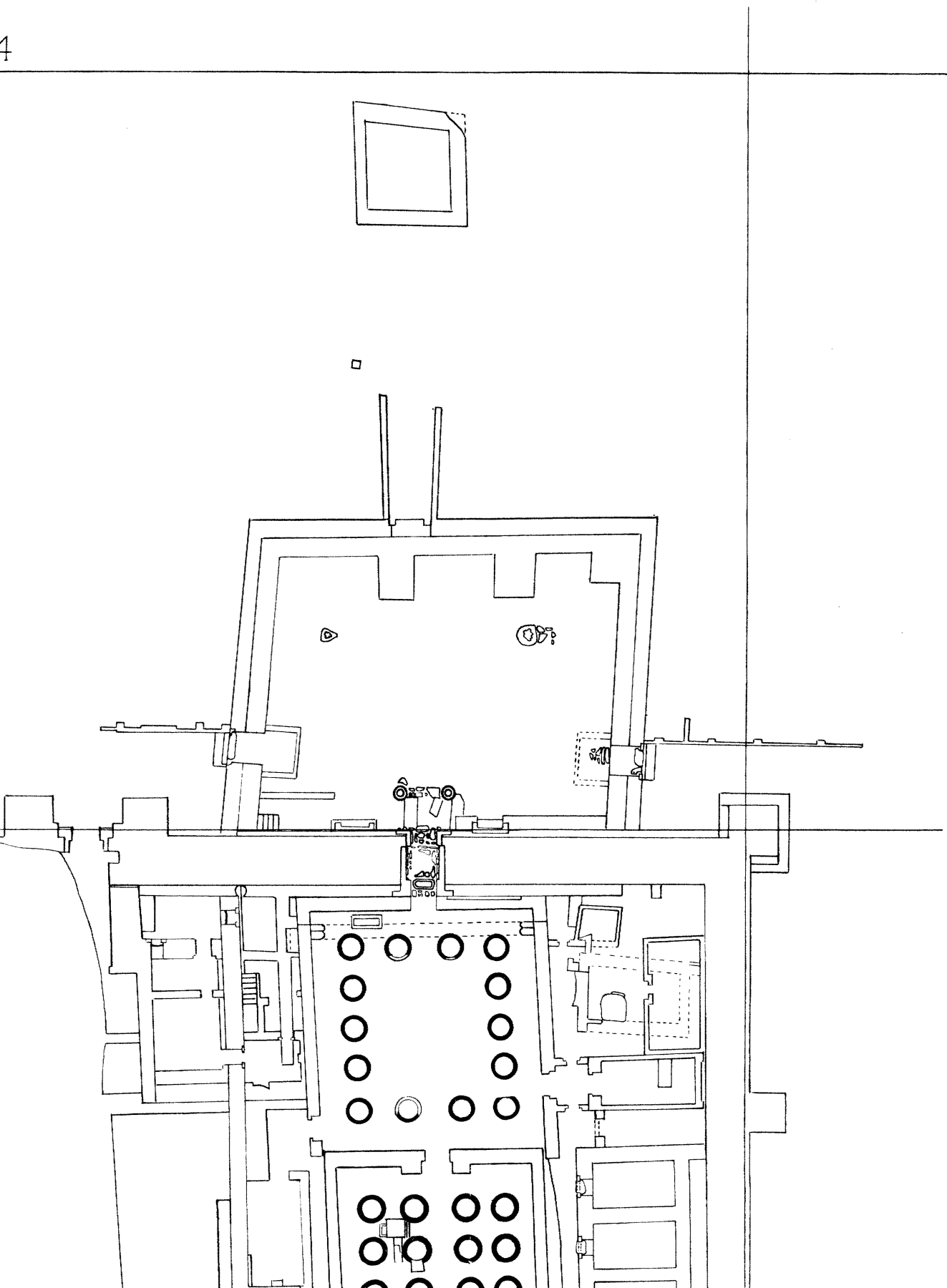


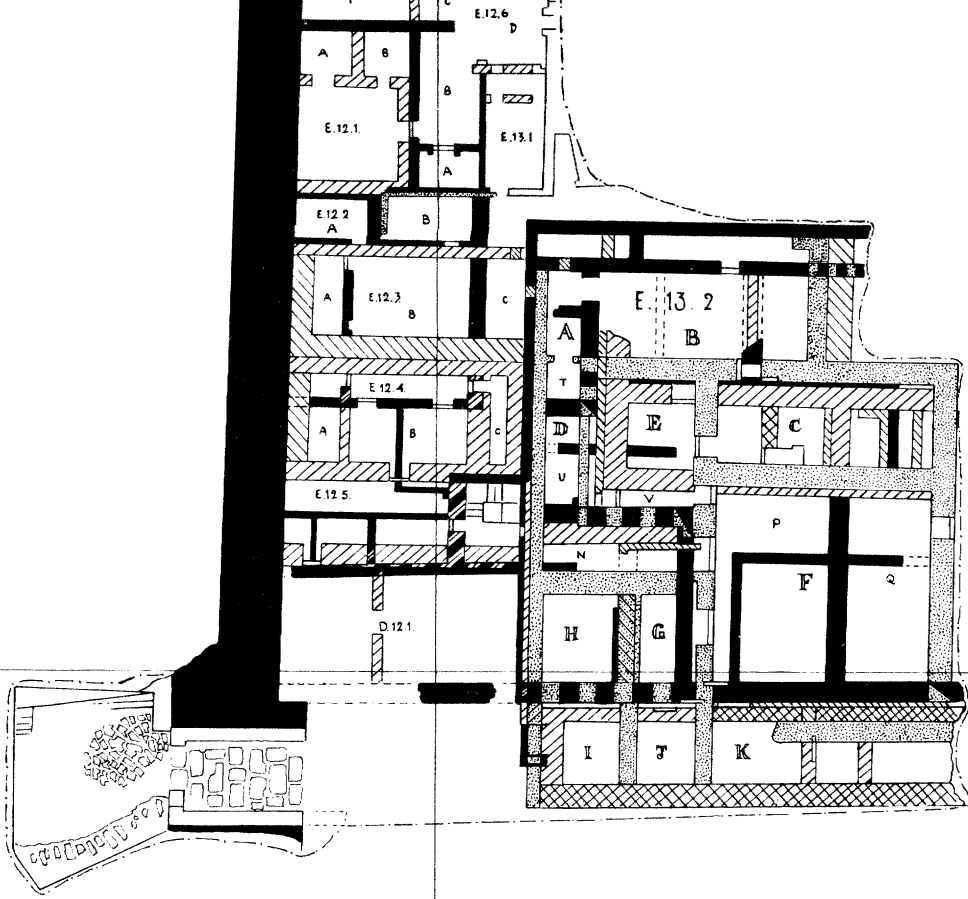


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4



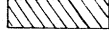









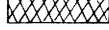
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KEY

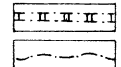
MAIN LEVELS

-  4 (First Period of Building)
-  3
-  2
-  1

REBUILDING ETC.

-  3 OVER 4
-  1 " 4
-  1 " 3
-  1 " 2
-  2 " 3 (In Square D.14 Door Blocking)

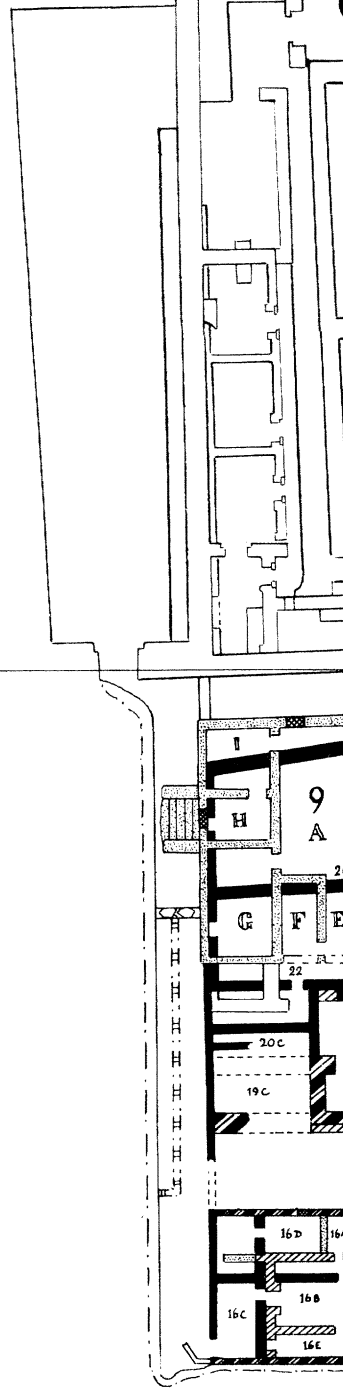
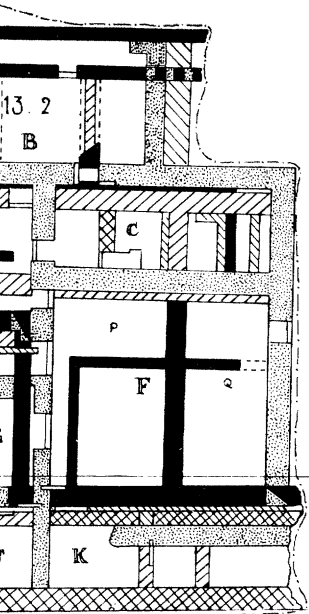
DRAIN



LIMIT OF EXCAVATIONS 1947-48

LARGE CAPITALS IN E.13.2 & D.14.9 REPRESENT

← D



LEVELS

4 (First Period of Building)

3

2

1

FOUNDATIONS ETC.

3 OVER 4

1 " 4

1 " 3

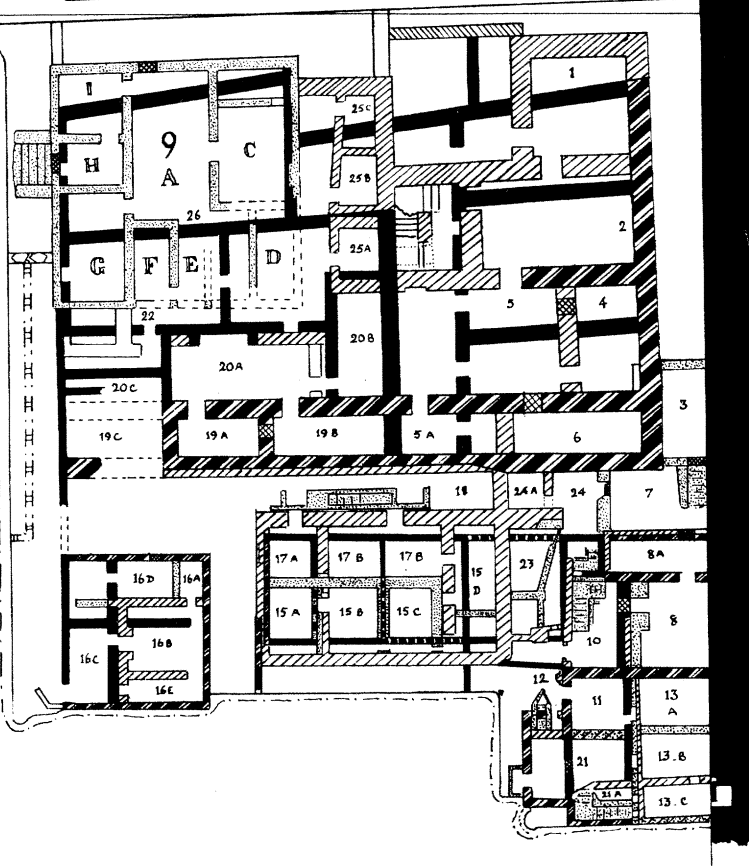
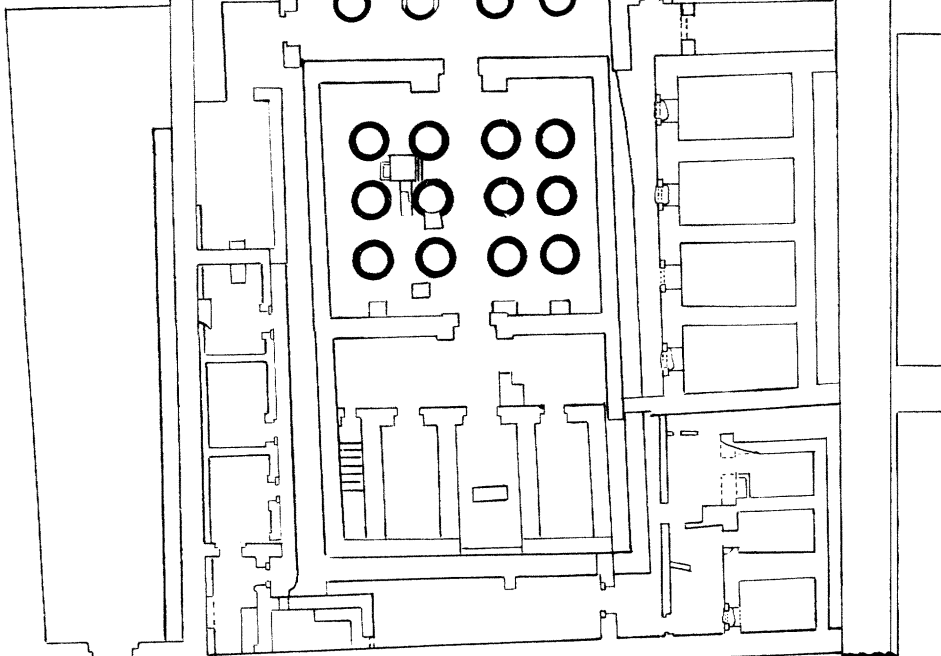
1 " 2

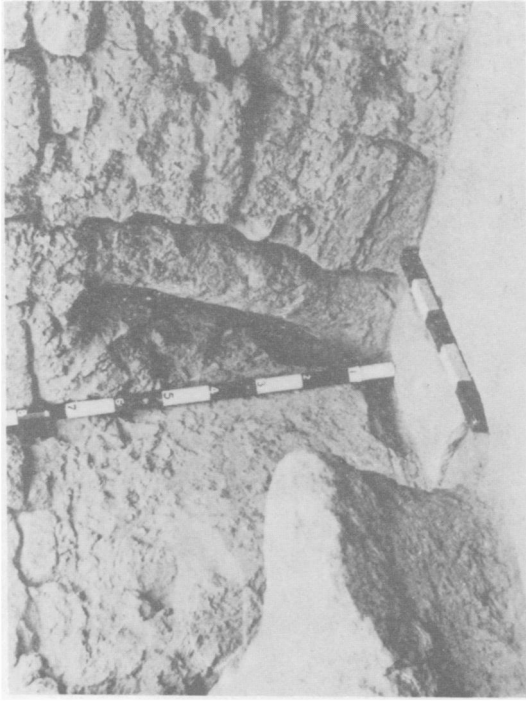
2 " 3 (In Square D.14. Door Blocking)

DRAIN

LIMIT OF EXCAVATIONS-1947-48

CAPITALS IN E.13.2. & D.14.9 REPRESENT UPPER LEVELS

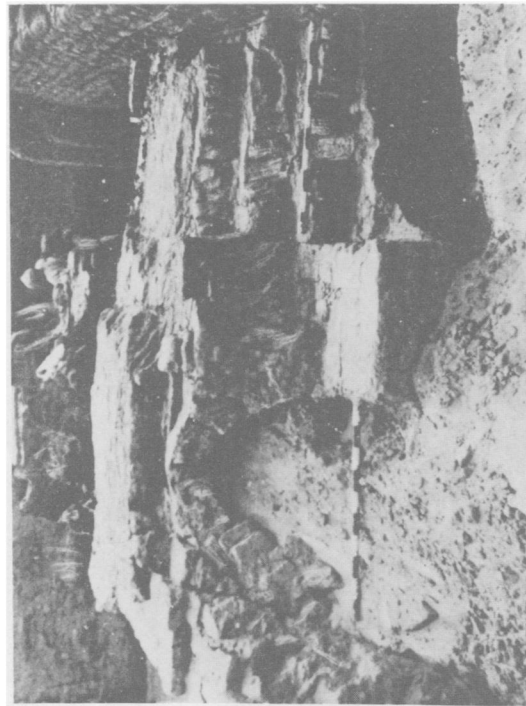




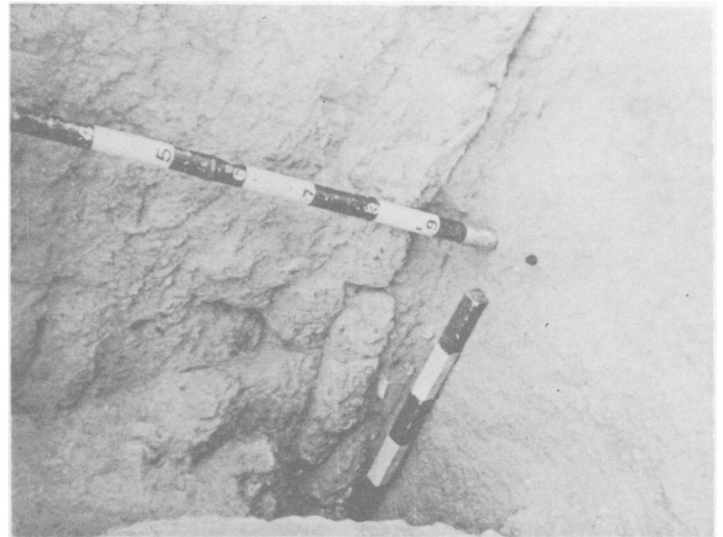
2. D. 14. 11: Level Four, east wall



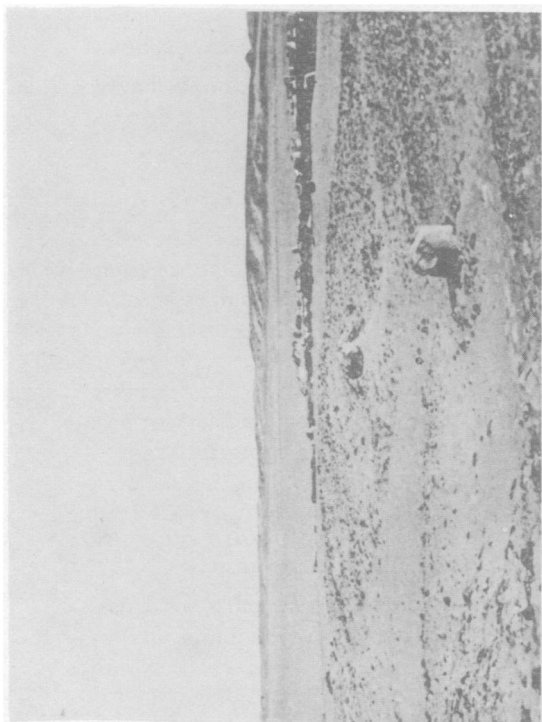
4. D. 14. 4: Level Four: the pot of gold



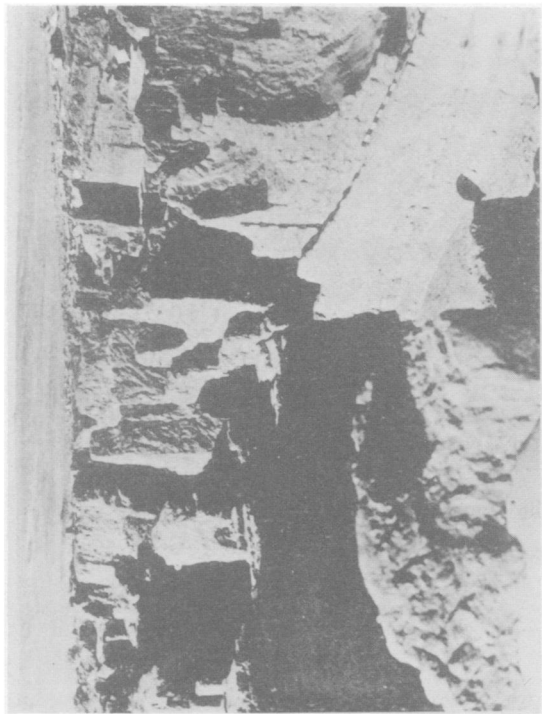
1. D. 14. 2A: first stage of clearance, from north



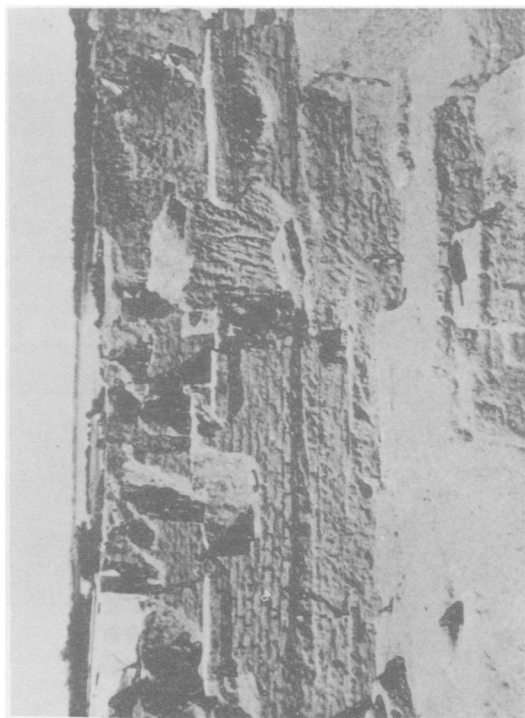
3. D. 14. 13: Level Four, north wall



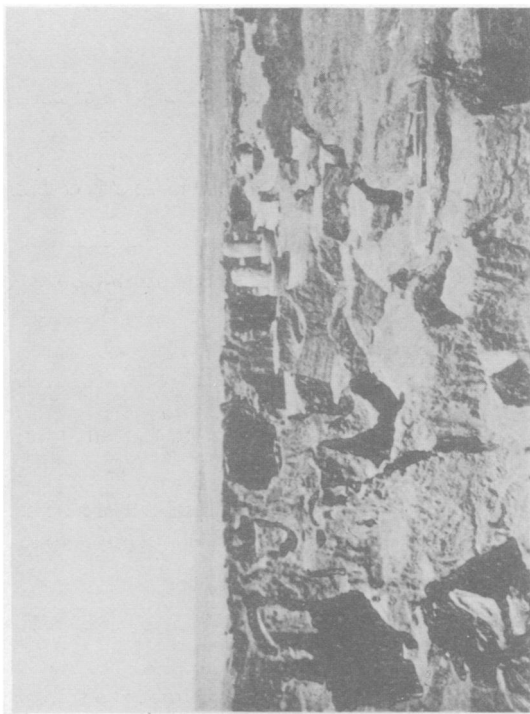
1. E. 13. 2: before excavation, from south-west



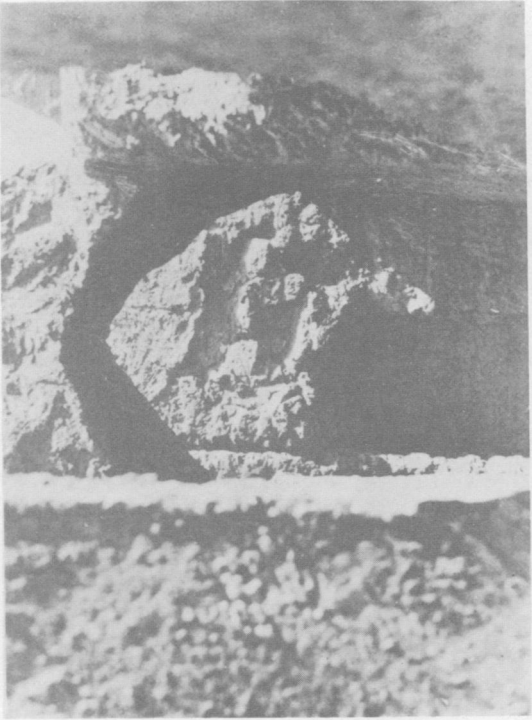
2. E. 13. 2: final state, from south-west



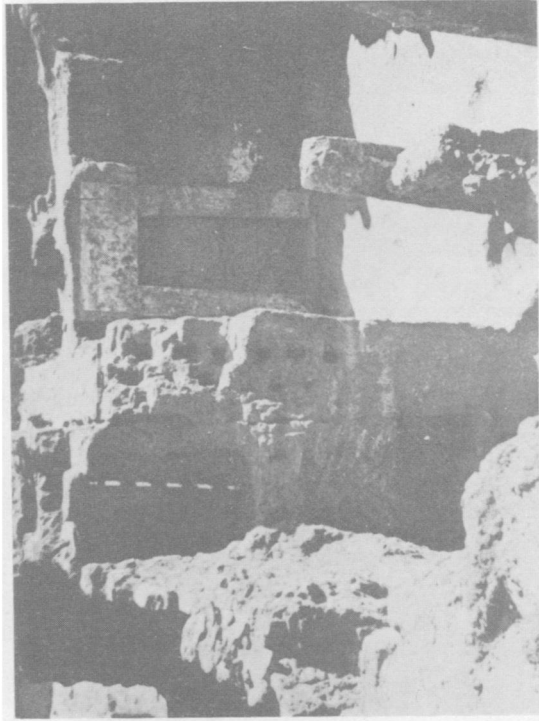
3. E. 13. 2: central section, final state; from east



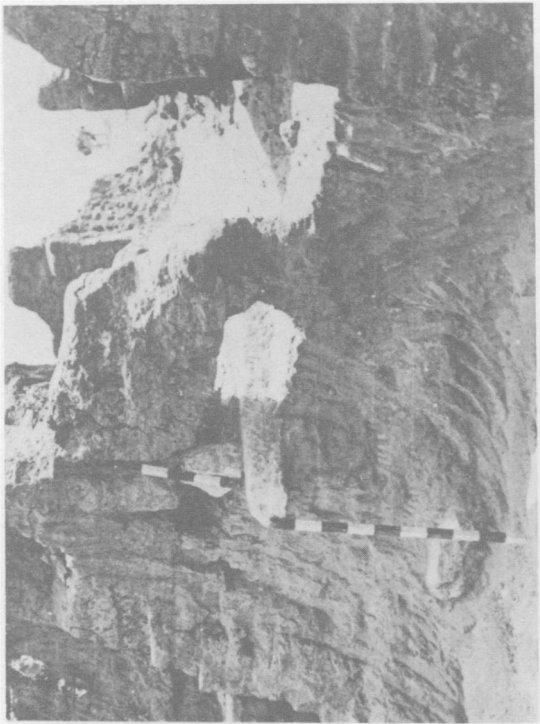
4. E. 13. 2: Level One, from south



2. E. 13. 2: Postern Gate, from west



4. E. 12. 4: north wall, Levels Three and Two, from west

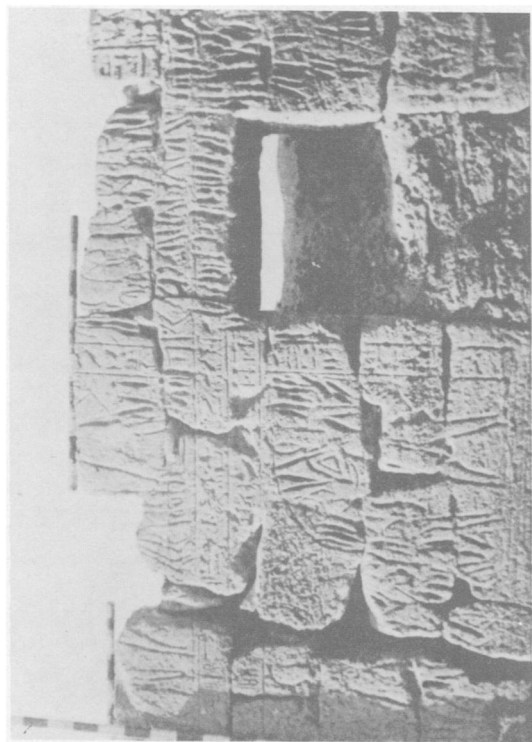


1. E. 13. 2: Level Two, jamb of Pesiur

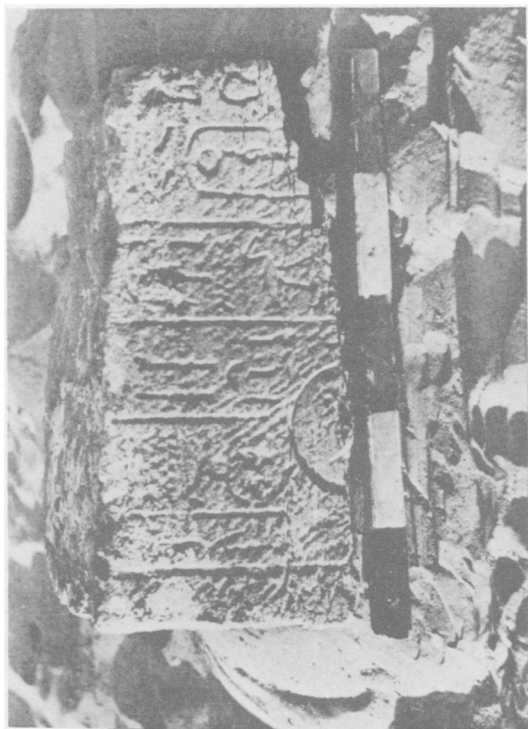


3. E. 12. 5 and 4: general view, from south

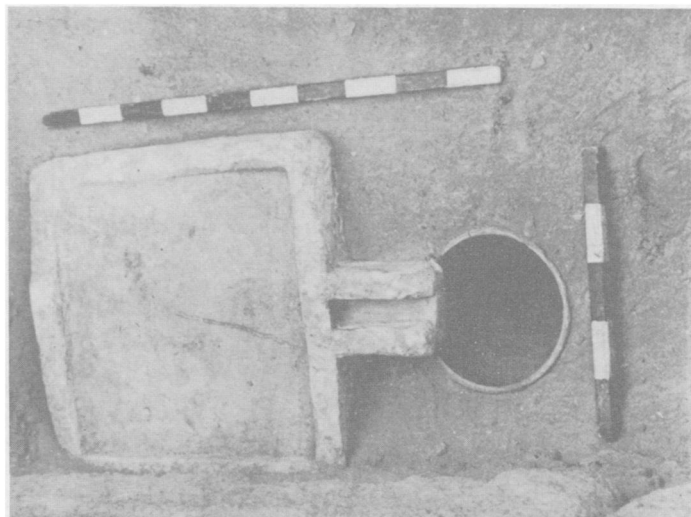
EXCAVATIONS AT AMARAH WEST, 1947-8



1. West Gate; north wall, west section



2. Sandstone block of Sethos I



3. E. 13. 2A: Level Four, bathroom



4. E. 13. 2U: door jamb of Level Four

Our excavation of this area was governed by the layout of the upper, later levels and for this reason the whole of Level Four, whose plan did not correspond with that of the later levels, has not yet been cleared, for the most southerly section continues under unexcavated buildings of later levels. The original plan consists, however, of a central block of small, narrow magazines placed back to back and flanked to east and west by other rooms and buildings some of which may have served as dwellings.

In excavating this level we had hoped to glean some information about the original temple approach. In this we were disappointed; there was no trace of any approach at any level. The absence of any cross wall or pylon to the south of the temple would appear to indicate that when the orientation of the temple of Ramesses II was changed¹ the temenos wall had not yet been completed, although the main fabric of the temple was complete. As for the temple of Level Four, it would seem that it must have been a small, stone chapel whose foundations are now hidden under the temple of Ramesses II. The low-level, early brick wall which surrounds the latter² must have been the enclosure wall of the early shrine, a wide open space separating this from the store-rooms and workshops. A hint of the existence of this supposed early shrine is afforded by the discovery of a small sandstone block of temple relief bearing the cartouche of Sethos I (pl. VI, 2).

The neat and careful planning of Level Four disappeared in the subsequent periods. When Level Three was built the walls of the preceding level stood on an average only from one to three courses high. We were at first inclined to think that this was the result of a deliberate razing of the earlier constructions in order to prepare for an approach to the temple. This explanation, however, is not satisfactory, for as the work progressed we found that this reduction of Level Four was general over the whole site and was not peculiar to this section. We are forced to suggest, therefore, that there must have been a general collapse of Level Four; such a collapse could hardly have taken place if the town had been in continuous occupation.

As a result of the rebuilding under Period Three the town assumed an entirely different appearance. Though the road parallel with the east wall was retained, the central cross street (pl. II: D.14.18) was blocked, and the most southerly series of magazines were entirely wiped out, D.14.15 and 17 being built over some of them, and a new east to west lane being driven over others. Over the earlier rooms, sometimes utilizing earlier walls as foundations but often ignoring them entirely, there now arose a series of much more solidly built constructions, consisting of blocks of rooms communicating one with the other and each block having only one external entrance. These rooms had vaulted roofs which were covered with lime plaster and decorated with squares or rather poor naturalistic designs in red, yellow, blue, and white paint. In D.14.2 A (pl. II) we found the vaulted roof intact, there being two small rooms here at right angles to each other. On the west side of this room a well-made brick stair ascended south and then took a sharp turn east over the vaulted roof (pl. III, 1: photo taken in the early stages of the clearing). This was clear proof that at this stage in the town's history the buildings were of two stories.

¹ *JEA* xxv, 141, 142.

² *JEA* xxv, pl. 13.

In this section of the town, as a general rule, there is no difference in plan between Levels Three and Two; the work of the latter period is to be seen mainly in the repair of existing walls and a marked raising of the floor-level.

Between the period represented by Levels Three and Two and that of Level One there must have been a considerable lapse of time. Wherever a clear stratification could be obtained we invariably found signs of a layer of wind-blown sand, succeeded by a thin layer of squatters' occupation debris and then a second layer of wind-blown sand with, in its upper parts, an increasing proportion of fallen brick. The debris separating the Ramesside levels from Level One was never much less than one metre thick. Everywhere the Ramesside vaulted roofs and walls had collapsed and even large sections of the massive town wall had fallen into ruin.

It was in the upper layers of this thick deposit below the intact floor of Level One in D.14.7 that we found a 'Saharan' sherd. In our previous season other Saharan sherds had been found in circumstances that, in our view, rendered it unlikely that they could be earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹ Our new discovery makes it quite certain that the sherd cannot be earlier than the end of the Twentieth Dynasty and it may be later. Mr. O. H. Myers has now admitted to us that sherds of Saharan type can be found in all periods in the Sudan and are valueless for dating, but he maintains that in Egypt they are early. The first part of this contention is indisputable, but it would be rash to accept the second part without further checking.

In this eastern section of the town there is no evidence of general and logical town planning at Level One, though this may only be due to the extremely ruinous state of the level. Occasionally we found evidence of planning as in the carefully laid drainage system with pottery pipes in West Lane (pl. II), or in the well-built house in the north-west corner of the area (pl. II: D.14.9). In general, however, there was no consistent plan. Most of the earlier rooms and streets were completely buried and the new occupants appear to have laid mud floors over the surface and to have built single-story houses. A characteristic feature, however, was the utilization of earlier rooms whenever the latter were not completely filled with debris; the filling of such rooms was never removed, it was merely levelled, mud floors were laid, and solid brick stairs communicated with the new rooms built on the ground-level. These basement rooms appear to have been very low and were usually kitchens or stores. The general impression of the inhabitants of this level is of a relatively humble and poor community, waging a losing battle against wind and driving sand, who may have gained a living primarily by fishing.

It is less easy to give a coherent picture of the governor's palace and its dependencies (pl. II: E.13.2 and the buildings to the west of it) because it has not yet been completely excavated. When excavation started no walls were visible and only the stump of a column (pl. IV, 1) led us to suspect the existence of a considerable and important building. In its present state (pl. IV, 2) it is impossible to give a final description or a satisfactory answer to all the problems that have been raised, but there can be little doubt that at all periods this was the house of the governor.

¹ *JEA* xxv, 143.

At Level Four the palace and its dependencies consisted of a block of offices or storerooms, built against the west wall of the town, and the palace proper which was separated from the offices by a narrow lane. The office block contained at least one pillared room (E.12.3) and the whole series could only be entered by a winding passage leading from the 'postern gate' (E.13.2 N; pl. V, 2), or by a door from the little square opposite the presumed west door of the palace. This series of rooms appears to have been flat-roofed and there was probably only one story.

In the palace itself, as far as we can judge at present, there were large official rooms in the central and southern sections and the private apartments of the governor in the northern part. Among the latter, for instance, was found a bath-room with stone slab and a small jar for waste water let into the floor (pl. VI, 3). On the south side of the palace a long narrow corridor leads to a door which may have been the main entrance, though this cannot be stated with certainty until further clearance has been made. We suspect a second entrance in the west wall, at present hidden by the walls of Levels Three and Two, because inscribed door jambs in room U were inscribed on their western faces (pl. VI, 4). The 'postern gate' (pl. V, 2) was obviously designed as the main link between the palace and its dependencies; the gate is so low and narrow that nobody could have passed through it erect, and before entering either palace or offices as the case might be one would have had to pass a door-keeper in the small room between the palace and E.12.5.


Most of Level Three was swept away either when Level Two was made or in more recent digging by the *sebakhin*. It is evident, however, that all walls were rebuilt and made considerably thicker, and that the ground-plan was completely altered. The west and south doors were blocked up and the main entrance to the palace will probably be found in the unexcavated area to the east. The lane separating the palace and the offices was abolished and the office block was remodelled and converted into a series of east to west rooms filling the entire space between the palace and the west wall of the town. Apart from E.12.3, which had a separate entrance, all these new rooms communicated one with the other (pl. V, 3), the entrance to the whole series being through the guard-room of the postern gate where a winding stairway led to the second story of the palace, the postern gate itself having been blocked in the course of the rebuilding of the interior of the palace. The ground-plan of the palace itself is still uncertain, so much having been destroyed subsequently, but the existing remains hint at an entrance somewhere to the east, and one can distinguish a central nucleus of rectangular rooms with passages and smaller apartments around them.

In Period Two the floor-level was raised by approximately a metre. The ground-plan appears to have been substantially unaltered, but the northernmost room of the office block (E.12.3) was now incorporated in the palace by making a door in the original west wall of the latter. Many of the walls of Level Three were still standing to a considerable height at this time, but fears were apparently entertained for their stability and even thicker walls were built against them (pl. V, 4) and must have reduced the size of the rooms considerably.

Whatever may have been the condition of the inhabitants of Level One in the eastern

portion of the town, the building erected over the earlier governor's palace was massive and opulent (pl. IV, 4). Many of the side chambers of this building have disappeared, but the characteristic features are the doubling of existing walls, very solid foundations, and the laying out of a new series of rooms with walls a metre thick. While the floors of these rooms were a full metre above the floor of Level Two, the walls themselves were sunk deep into the underlying debris (pl. IV, 3) and the space between them was filled with tightly rammed brick debris which formed a solid basis for the foundations of the columns of the central halls. The plan shows clearly, in the centre, three large pillared halls (pls. II: E.13.2 C, E, and F; IV, 4), the westernmost (E.13.2 E) being surrounded by a narrow corridor (E.13.2 D) to west and south and probably also to the north. As in Levels Three and Two, other rooms and the main entrance lie in the unexcavated part to the east. It is possible that at this period the office block was buried and disused, for no means of communication with the palace has been discovered, nor any indications of work of Level One, apart from traces of squatters in the upper debris.

Immediately to the south of the palace area lay the West Gate of the town. When the excavation began, half the roofing blocks were approximately in position and most of the gate is complete except for one course of blocks. Though the eastern approaches of the gate have not yet been completely cleared, it is evident that, except perhaps at Level Four, there was no street leading directly to the gate, although it was the main entrance to the town, and the centre of the town could only have been reached by following a somewhat winding route. Within the gate, on either side, are narrow doors leading into the thickness of the town wall (pl. VI, 1). A similar arrangement was found in the West Gate of Sesebi¹ and was obviously for the manning of the walls.

Though grievously damaged by gypsum and deeply scarred by the grooves made by knife-sharpening, the reliefs inside the gate are not without interest. On the south wall we have the hackneyed scene of Ramesses II charging in his chariot against disorganized Nubian hordes. The north wall depicts the Pharaoh's triumphant return: at the east end marching troops precede Ramesses II in his chariot, while behind him (to the west of the side door, see pl. VI, 1) three of his sons, Merenptah, Setemuia, and a third whose name is lost, lead Nubian captives. A short two-line inscription records that the campaign was undertaken against the Nubian land of  and lists over 7,000 prisoners. This brief text has every appearance of being a genuine historical record, yet this is the first record of any campaign of Ramesses II in *Yrm* or indeed of any genuine Nubian campaign of his. On the other hand, a stela discovered during our previous excavations did record a campaign of Sethos I in *Yrm*.² We have wondered, therefore, whether the gate was really the work of Ramesses II. While certain vague points incline us to suspect an original design of Sethos I, the texts, cartouches, and reliefs show no signs of reworking. It would appear, therefore, that either the decoration was entirely the work of Ramesses II, or that reliefs and texts only sketched out by Sethos I were taken over and completed by Ramesses II.


On the west side of the gate is a small court with stout brick walls to south, west, and north, and with a paving of schist blocks below which is at least one earlier wall.


¹ *JEA* xxiii, pls. 13, 19, cf. pl. 15, 1.

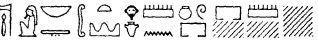


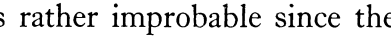

² *JEA* xxv, 142.

In the south-west and north-west corners of this court are the remains of brick stairs, with schist treads, leading approximately to the present ground level. The court, paving, and stairs are certainly contemporary with Level One. It is evident that though the rest of the town was heavily silted up at that time, the gate, protected by its stone roof, was more or less free and the court must have been built to keep it free and protected from blown sand.

It was only towards the end of the season that we found the evidence that enabled us to establish with reasonable certainty the dating of the various levels. The evidence was ultimately found in the governor's palace where a fragmentary door jamb found in position on Level Two, with a cross-wall of Level Three and a stone threshold of Level Four below it, bore part of the name of Pesiūr (pl. V, 1). Other inscriptions found during the work had already shown that Pesiūr was an *idnw n Kš*, and by a fortunate chance a stela found in 1939 and dated to the 11th year of Ramesses III bore the name and titles of the same official. Level Two is therefore securely dated to within a year or two of Year 11 of Ramesses III.

That Level Three must be contemporary with Ramesses II was evident from the outset, but no contemporary inscriptions were found *in situ*. On the other hand, the only Viceroy mentioned in any inscriptions of Ramesses II was Ḥeḳanakht, and a lintel bearing his name was dedicated by the *idnw n nb t:wy* . It is possible, therefore, that Level Three is to be assigned to Ḥeḳanakht's term of office and that Ḥatiay may have been the local governor. The exact dates of Ḥeḳanakht's term of office are uncertain,¹ but it is established that he was in power in the earlier years of Ramesses II. Accordingly, it seems reasonable tentatively to suggest that Level Three should be assigned to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Such a conclusion accords well with the evidence of the temple where we found that the Dream and Marriage Stelae,² which could not have been set up before the Year 33, were added well after the temple had been completed.

No royal names are definitely associated with Level Four. In the governor's palace this level is associated with the *idnw*  of whom four door jambs, parts of two of them being *in situ* (pl. VI, 4), have been found. We have found nothing to indicate any occupation of the site prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty. On the other hand, bricks of Sethos I in the town wall, and a fragment of temple relief with his name (pl. VI, 2) show that there was activity on the site during his reign. Provisionally, therefore, we assign Level Four to Sethos I, most probably to the early years of the reign.

Some support for the suggested date was found in a sandstone door jamb which bore the name of Ramesses II followed by  'great god, lord of Nubia, residing in the fortress House of Men . . .'. The front of  is damaged and there is room for , giving [, but this is rather improbable since the proportions of  are identical with those of the same sign in *mnw*. We therefore consider that the name of the fortress, presumably Amarah itself, was *Pr Mn-[mʿt-Rc]*. If this argument be correct, we have certain proof of the foundation of the town by Sethos I. Later in the

¹ Ḥeḳanakht was Reisner's Viceroy No. 12; cf. *JEA* VI, 40, 44-7; *Rec. trav.* XXXIX, 207, 208.

² *JEA* XXV, 140.

reign of Ramesses II the name was changed to *Pr Rꜥ-ms-sw-mry-Imn*, and still later (? under Ramesses III) to *Hnm-Wꜣst*.¹ This jamb is also of interest for its mention of the deified Ramesses II: the form of the name, which to the best of my knowledge has not previously been noted with reference to Ramesses II, is that adopted by the deified Amenophis III.²

The exact date of Level One is uncertain. The archaeological evidence suggests that there was a considerable interval between it and Level Two (see p. 6 above), but no distinctive objects and pottery and no inscriptions were found. Mr. A. J. Arkell has suggested that some chalcedony arrow-heads found on the surface may perhaps indicate an Early Napatan date. The evidence is slender and inconclusive and no reliable dating can yet be suggested, but there is a possibility that Level One is to be dated approximately to the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

The situation revealed by this preliminary dating of our levels is somewhat surprising. There is, of course, nothing remarkable in the presence of various levels in a site that has been occupied for several centuries. But it is remarkable that levels so completely different as Levels Four to Two should have arisen in such a relatively short space of time, for each of these had been reduced practically to foundation level by the time of its successor.

As far as Level Four is concerned, we are on safe grounds in suggesting that the main cause of collapse was bad or inadequate building. The walls of this level are thin and the good brick floors and lime-plastered walls only concealed serious defects in construction. Thus the north wall of D.14.13 collapsed because the foundations ran over a pit that had not been properly filled (pl. III, 3). In two other rooms (D.14.10 and 11) the entire east wall had tilted sideways and had been patched or buttressed before the rooms could be used in Period Three (pl. III, 2: D.14.11).

This explanation, however, cannot apply to Levels Three and Two, the walls of which were exceptionally solid and well made. The only explanation we can offer for their collapse is climatic conditions. Our own experience at Amarah has given us a vivid impression of the ferocity of the local winds and the destructive power of driven sand. But it is necessary to sound a note of caution. Conditions to-day are not an exact analogy with those of ancient times, for as long as Amarah was an island the effect of sand blast, the principal agent of destruction, must have been greatly reduced. Even to-day our experience proves that with regular maintenance a wall will stand indefinitely and that a wall a mere three or four feet high will prevent any room from being sanded up for years. Since it is certain that war and sack did not cause the collapse of the different levels, it appears that the conditions which conduced to the destruction of each level could only have arisen in times when there was general lack of maintenance or when the town was abandoned. Alternate periods of occupation and desertion are at present the only explanations of the conditions which we have found, the desertion leading to such complete collapse that each occupation had to build what was more or less a new town, though it must be remembered that the town was never forgotten or lost and the West Gate was in use at its original level at every period.

¹ *JEA* xxv, 142.

² See Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 203-5.

If this theory be correct, the repeated efforts to maintain and rebuild the town must indicate that the town had some special importance. Amarah is, in fact, outstanding among the Nubian frontier towns built after the pacification of Nubia in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Sedenga, Soleb, and Sesebi, for instance, are not in any strategic position, they have no hinterland, and obviously they were neither designed to withstand, nor were in danger of, serious attack. Amarah was equally deficient in adequate defences, but its island position and its situation as guardian of desert and river routes at once placed it in a more favourable strategic position than its fellows, and this may easily have invested it with political importance. In addition to these strategic advantages, the local gold-mining industry must have given Amarah an economic importance at a time when we know the Ramessides were seeking to develop their economic resources. It was probably this combination of strategic, political, and economic factors that made it worth while trying to keep the town in being in spite of conditions that can never have been exactly easy.


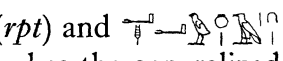

It appears, therefore, that Amarah was an important centre of the Egyptian African Empire. Our recent work renders it very probable, moreover, that in at least one of the four main periods of its history Amarah was the capital of the province of Kush and the seat of the provincial governor, the *idnw n Kš* 'Deputy of Kush'.¹ We make this suggestion because of the frequent mention of the *idnw n Kš* on door-jambs. This fact would not in itself prove that the *idnw* was resident at Amarah, some enterprising or ambitious subordinate may have used the name of his superior, but a lintel of Pesiūr giving also the names of his wife and daughter is such a personal monument that it could hardly have been erected if Pesiūr himself had not actually lived at Amarah. This makes us reasonably confident that at least in the Twentieth Dynasty (Level Two) Amarah was the capital of Kush. It cannot yet be proved that the town enjoyed the same status in the preceding periods; it is probable but not certain, since only the titles *idnw* and *idnw n nb tꜣwy*, and not *idnw n Kš*, have been found in the two earlier levels.



¹ For this title see *JEA* VI, 84, 85; *Rec. trav.* xxxix, 229-32; Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, 182.

THE FIRST TWO PAGES OF THE WÖRTERBUCH¹



By SIR ALAN GARDINER



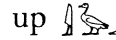
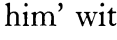

I AM a little apprehensive lest the title I have given to this paper may seem to betoken a smaller degree of admiration than the great hieroglyphic dictionary of Berlin imperatively demands and deserves. In the Preface to my *Onomastica* I have expressed my deep disappointment at the long delay in publishing the all-important references without which the *Wörterbuch* must remain a mere skeleton. But in those volumes where the references have already appeared we possess an incomparable mine of indispensable information. A golden harvest has grown where the ground was only scratched before. So great a benefit has accrued from this gift that there is a serious risk lest the younger generation of Egyptologists may be led to believe that the last word has been said in Egyptian lexicography, and may divert their efforts into other more easily cultivated fields. It is in order to counteract any such tendency that this paper has been written. In my considered opinion lexicography is among the most important tasks still confronting the student of the Egyptian language in its various phases. A splendid beginning has been made, but no more; and it will require years of careful thought, discussion, and perhaps prolonged controversy before the subject can be considered to stand on a truly satisfactory basis. What I have here to offer is based on a reconsideration of the evidence provided by the *Wörterbuch* itself, supplemented by a few bibliographical and other notes. I am hoping to learn much from the discussion to follow this paper, so that I shall cut my remarks as short as possible.



The *Wörterbuch* starts with the bird-ideogram , and it is a matter for rejoicing or for regret, according to the point of view, that the explanation in the main text has had to be corrected in the references as follows: *Nicht der weissköpfige Geier, sondern der Aas- oder Schmutzgeier (Neophron percnopterus)*—*vgl. Griffith, Hieroglyphs, Seite 19*. Only examples from the Pyramid Texts are quoted, but there is a well-known passage in the stela C14 of the Louvre which ought not to have been overlooked. Here the dedicator is describing his skill as a draughtsman and begins with the words 'I know the going of a male figure (*twt*), the coming of a female figure (*rpt*) and  *chꜣw nw ꜥ II*'. Sottas² emends quite unnecessarily; surely  here has the generalized sense of 'bird' and we must render 'the positions of the II birds'. Which birds the writer had in mind must be left to others to determine.

The enclitic particle  ꜥ follows, translated by the German *doch*. This is eminently a case where all the evidence needed to be adduced, since there are a number of passages where the force of the particle, if it have any at all, remains altogether obscure. *Wb.* rightly quotes Vogelsang's note in his Commentary on the Eloquent Peasant (p. 170), which can now be supplemented by one for Middle Egyptian in my *Grammar* (p. 184, n. 2) and by another in *Bull. de l'inst. fr.* xxxii, 58 ff. whose author is M. Weill. *Wb.*'s own choice of evidence is unsatisfactory. Giving various late references for  *mk ꜥ*

¹ A paper read before the Congress of Orientalists in Paris, July, 1948.² *Rec. trav.* xxxvi, 160.

it omits to observe that this combination occurs already in *Pyr.* 532, a passage of importance as showing that  ♂ followed by *pw* and preceded by the royal name in *Pyr.* 1417 is the same particle; in the latter place the N text omits ♂, just as apparently was done by most variants of the passage Kuentz, *Qadech*, 312. A particle which can thus be inserted or left out at pleasure can hardly have had more than a vague exclamatory force, as it clearly had after the particles of wishing *hꜥ* and *hꜥw*. The same conclusion is suggested by the common exclamation of the Pyramid Texts  *nfrw(i)* ♂ 'how beautiful is . . .' for which M. Weill gives the references passed over in silence by *Wb.* The chief difficulties in connexion with ♂ occur in Middle Kingdom passages to which *Wb.* makes no reference at all, particularly those in the Story of Sinuhe (B 217. 260) and in Griffith's *Kahun Papyri* (30, 39; 31, 10;¹ 32, 6; 33, 10). The last of these I have discussed in the Supplement to my *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 15. There are also a few apparent occurrences in Late Egyptian texts (e.g. *Anast. III*, 3, 13) to which only a passing allusion is here possible. Nor will I dwell upon the two following *hapax legomena* from the Westcar papyrus, the interpretation of which seems to me impossible in the lack of better evidence.

Each of the next three items records a feminine substantive *st* of which the most characteristic and frequent determinative is an animal's head. In the Eighteenth Dynasty this head is that of a hippopotamus ()² but in earlier times, for which I know of no accurate representation, it looks uncommonly like the determinative  of *phty* 'strength', which appears to be the head of a leopard.³ *Wb.* thus distinguishes three words, the meanings given to which are: No. 1, 'head-ornament (a lion's head with snake)'; No. 2, 'time in general, then a definite point of time, moment (*Augenblick*)', and then finally, 'a small division of time, between "hour" and "second", to be rendered "minute"'—this solely of Greek date in a Theban temple, but Brugsch quotes another example from Denderah;⁴ No. 3, 'strength' (*Kraft*) or the like, parallel to *phty*. The second of the three words is attested only from the Middle Kingdom onwards, while Nos. 1 and 3 are found already in the Pyramid Texts. A close examination of the passages quoted by *Wb.* makes it certain, in my opinion, that No. 1 is to be eliminated and the supposed examples of it transferred to No. 3. The only serious grounds for thinking that *st* ever meant a head-ornament (*Kopfschmuck*) are three sentences in the Pyramid Texts where a god or the deceased king is described as having *st* 'upon him', i.e. upon his head. The most persuasive of these sentences (*Pyr.* 1032c) follows up  'Geb comes, *st* upon him' with  'his ochre (if that be the right translation) upon his face', tempting us to believe that the whole description is visual. We learn nothing definite from *Pyr.* 973 

¹ Quoted in the text to *Eg. Gr.*, p. 115, n. 12. Gunn once suggested to me that  ♂ might here have negative meaning, like  *w* in certain other passages (§ 352A). This suggestion does not, however, appear to be substantiated elsewhere.

² Davies, *Tomb of Kenamun*, pl. 65. The painted facsimile now in the possession of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, shows the head as of chocolate colour, much more clearly the head of a hippopotamus than in the published line drawing.

³ Examples from Dyn. XVIII, as Mrs. Davies informs me, represent a lioness rather than a leopard.

⁴ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 195. 200.

of *phty*, it is reasonable to suppose that it referred in each case to a different attribute of the leopard. In *phty* it will have referred to the leopard's strength, in *st* to the leopard's sudden spring, its rapidity of attack. This is mere conjecture, however, since our texts are without any example of the word *st* in connexion with leopard or lioness. A former generation of Egyptologists seems to have interpreted the presence of an animal's head in the word meaning 'moment' as referring to the short space of time that a hippopotamus keeps its head above water.¹ This guess is, of course, ruled out now that we know that the earlier form of the sign represented, not a hippopotamus, but most probably a leopard. I have already produced testimony suggesting that the activity indicated by *st* became associated more with the uraeus than with the feline, and the only further conjecture which it remains to make is that the Egyptians came to think rather of the speed of that activity than of its quality, thus arriving at the meaning 'moment'. We can, I think, detect some stages along the road of this development. The word *st* 'moment' is actually found in connexion with the cobra-goddess—*Wb.* very strangely quotes $\overline{\text{Edjō}}$ who is in her moment (of action)² under the rubric *Kopfschmuck*—and certain passages of the Book of the Dead more or less clearly hint at the thought of a cobra in association with the same word, e.g. $\overline{\text{he shall not be taken away through the fiery breath of thy attack}}$ (*Budge*, p. 283, ll. 13–14, where 'attack' is clearly a better rendering than 'moment'); $\overline{\text{he shall not fall through the attack}}$ (here too a better rendering than 'moment') of the king, the heat of Ubast' (*op. cit.*, p. 295, ll. 12–13).

There exists an abundance of evidence to show that *st* 'striking power' and *st* 'moment' cannot be kept entirely distinct from one another, but I am still far from the end of p. 2 of *Wb.* and I must hurry on if I am to avoid being called to order by the chairman of this session. $\overline{\text{st}}$ on the famous Sabacon stone in the British Museum is undoubtedly a late writing of $\overline{\text{ist}}$, but this, as Loret pointed out many years ago,³ signifies 'mound', Arabic *kōm* and *tell*, not *Ort*, *Stätte* as stated by *Wb.* The writings with *st* for 'back' and for 'standard', 'support' (*Tragstange*) are correctly explained as later spellings of *ist*, and a like explanation is given for *st* 'club'. I do not feel happy about *Wb.*'s treatment of $\overline{\text{st}}$, $\overline{\text{ist}}$, and $\overline{\text{ist}}$ in the sense of 'ruin' (*Ruine*); each of these spellings is attested only once, and to have placed $\overline{\text{st}}$ to the left and the other two to the right seems to claim a superiority for the former which is without foundation; I suspect, though unable to prove it, that all three writings are but variants of $\overline{\text{ist}}$ 'mound', *kōm* already mentioned.⁴ Next comes the well-known $\overline{\text{st}}$ or *styzw*, a *hapax legomenon* in the biography of Aḥmōse of El-Kâb, stated by *Wb.* to be the designation of a rebel; it might have been worth while to quote the comparison made by Gunn and myself⁵ with the 'ate of Cush' named in the second demotic story of Khaḥemwēse as having brought a letter whereby Egypt was to be humiliated; Griffith conjectured⁶ that the word meant a

¹ I have been unable to find early printed authority for this notion, but Sethe, *Zeitrechnung* (II) 29, speaks of the *auftauchender Nilpferdkopf* as one of the determinatives of time.















² *Urk.* IV, 246.

³ *Revue égyptologique*, x, 87 ff.; revived by me in *Papyrus Wilbour*, Commentary, p. 33.

⁴ So too as regards $\overline{\text{st}}$ by Loret in the article quoted in the last note.

⁵ *JEA* v, 50, n. 3.

⁶ *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 162, n. on l. 29.

'foreigner' or 'negro'. There is no reference at this point to a word  *iw* which Brugsch¹ found in a late Book of the Dead, and which may in fact be a *vox nihili*. The discussion of terms in the medical papyrus is a matter demanding very special knowledge, and I have nothing to say about  except that it seems always to occur in the dual and ought therefore to have been transliterated *iwwy*, not *ij*; as regards  *is*, which follows next but one, Iversen has recently produced grounds² for rendering it as 'marrow' (*Mark*) rather than as 'brain' (*Gehirn*). Blame cannot be attached to *Wb.* for making no reference to divergent views on  *yst* in *Sinuhe* B 278, since Blackman's notes³ appeared many years later; he thinks this verb signified 'blench' (of the face) and identifies it with the verb of which we have the negatival complement written  *stw* in *Shipwrecked Sailor* 112; whether this suggestion is right I do not know. Concerning the word  which appears to be confined to the historical or rather adulatory inscriptions at Medīnet Habu, I need to ask a question rather than to make a statement.⁴ *Wb.* renders as *Kraft o. ä.* 'strength or the like' and Professors Edgerton and Wilson translate in the same way. If we lop off the initial monogram, which must read *st* rather than *st*, since in the latter case  would surely have been written, we are left with the normal writing at this period of *ir* 'to wash', so that I at first wondered whether the word might not be an abbreviation of *ist-ib* 'to slake one's passion' on one's enemies.⁵ But that phrase is found complete at Medīnet Habu—for the moment I can quote only II, 86, 33 'Joyous are his counsels, his plans having been accomplished; on with him to his palace,  his desire slaked'.⁶ It seems unlikely that an expression which was still in currency intact should be found simultaneously in abbreviated form; but unless that view be taken, how are we to explain the water-determinative  in the word under discussion? The following word in *Wb.* can be dealt with more confidently; as *st* it is attested only in two passages of the great Harris papyrus, and *Wb.* gives the spelling in one of them as . Any student of Late-Egyptian hieratic must know that *st* is impossible here; at that period this determinative is always written  with a following stroke, and there is no reason whatever, so far as I can see, why the normal  should not have been given in its place. *Wb.* offers as the meaning *Ausdruck für 'bauen' o. ä.* ('expression for "build" or the like') rejecting Brugsch's guess 'coated with plaster'.⁷ Keimer⁸ has shown that Brugsch was right, since the verb is obviously identical with  *ir* found once only at El-'Amānah,⁹ where it is said that the boundary stela on which the word is engraved 'shall not be smeared over with gypsum' and so rendered illegible. The penultimate word of p. 2 is one of which the precise meaning cannot, in my opinion, be elicited with the scanty evidence we have at our disposal, but *Wb.* might at least have presented the materials in more complete and helpful a manner. It is a verb  rendered as *beschuldigen* 'accuse' and first found in the Decree of Haremhab, then in the apodosis of two in-

¹ *Dictionnaire*, p. 1; cf. *Bull. de l'inst. fr.* XIX, 18.

² *JEA* XXXIII, 48 ff.

³ *JEA* XVI, 65 (6); XXII, 43 (29).

⁴ See the Postscript for this word.



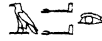
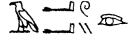

⁵ *Wb.* I, 39, 11, see especially Moret in *Rec. trav.* XIV, 120.

⁶ The editors rendered, in my opinion quite wrongly: 'Happy were his counsels, and his plans for his palace were effected before him, while his heart was refreshed.'

⁷ *Dictionnaire*, v, 4.



⁸ *Acta Orientalia*, VI, 301.

⁹ Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, IV, 107.

complete oaths of the well-known lawsuit of Mes, and lastly (if the note in my commentary on that lawsuit be correct)¹ in two sentences of the Twenty-first Dynasty decree in favour of Queen Isiemkheb. In this later decree the verb is determined with the eye  and was, therefore, probably connected in the scribe's mind with the verb  *rw* 'slumber'. Under the latter verb (*Wb.* I, 169, 8) no mention is made of the exact variant  in the text of Isiemkheb, though one closely similar, namely, , is given.² The *Wb.* text to the word for 'slumber' contains no reference to a transitive use, but merely says that the verb occurs only in negations. Hence the examples in Isiemkheb appear to be ignored by *Wb.*, though having written the relevant *Zettel* myself I know that this verb was included in the *Wb.* collections. To return to the meaning, I am convinced that the word conveyed something a good deal more painful than mere 'accusation', but time forbids me to follow up this conviction of mine. We now arrive at the last word of the two pages I set out to discuss, namely,  *ꜥꜥꜥ*, said to be *eine Berufsbezeichnung oder Ersatz für solche* 'designation of a calling or the substitute for such'. No hint is given that the word may signify simply 'foreigner', literally 'one who babbles in a foreign tongue', the counterpart of Greek *βάββαρος*. I have always interpreted this word in that way, see my original articles in *PSBA* xxxvii, 120 ff. and my recent note in *JEA* xxvii, 25, 4.

To sum up, out of the twenty words on the first two pages of *Wb.*, I have found all but three urgently calling for further elucidation. I am far from maintaining that all my own suggestions have hit the nail on the head; the important thing is that I have often been able to call attention to valuable treatments of individual words in earlier books and articles. If time for discussion remains, others among my colleagues present to-day will doubtless be able to supplement or correct my findings. The one plain conclusion that emerges is that vastly more bibliographical references ought to have been given by *Wb.* We are dealing with a non-traditional language, where meanings can be determined only through careful comparisons of the evidence and by prolonged argument; references to such comparisons and such argument are indispensable.

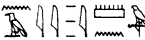
POSTSCRIPT

The above paper has been printed exactly as it was read to my Paris audience, if only for the reason that the present postscript admirably illustrates my main point, namely, that we stand not at the end, but very near the beginning, of serious Egyptian lexicographical research. For Vandier was at once able to show me that in my remarks on  I had been on the wrong tack. In the most interesting Eleventh Dynasty tomb at Mo'alla which he has prepared for publication he found the sentence  *Never had it happened since the time of Rēc through the valour (?) of (my) trusty victorious <troops>*. The scribe appears to have merged two thoughts into one, namely, 'This happened by the valour of my soldiers and never had the like occurred since the time of Rēc'; also it is regrettable that the

¹ Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, IV, 107.

² It is of course possible that the determinative of the eye in Isiemkheb is a mistake, as it certainly is in the isolated spelling of the word for 'foreigner', Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 12, bottom half, l. 16.

Western River, (after) it¹ had been (merely) a pool. I made it (into)² temples and shrines³ on the foundation⁴ of the House of Amūn. Amenmōse thus boasts of having reclaimed a piece of ground which was covered by water, and of having changed this into a prominent cult-centre affiliated to the estate of the great Theban god. Since another line on the base mentions the funerary temple of Ramesses III under its usual name (though without actually mentioning that king), the date is the Twentieth Dynasty, at all events not earlier. Even allowing for much exaggeration, so important a constructional feat in a remote corner of the country ill accords with our preconceptions concerning late Ramesside times.

Unhappily the location of the new town remains obscure. The wine-jars of the Ramesseum name  Na-Amūn as the site of some vineyards, and it is possible that this Na-Amūn may be identical with our Na-Amen-Rē⁵, what in the reign of Ramesses II had been only a wine-bearing district now being transformed into a town. The mention of the waterlogged condition of a place where, if we can believe it, temples and shrines subsequently arose, suggests the extreme north of the Delta, and the name Western River, with which I have dealt in my *Onomastica* under Nos. 405–6, points to the north-west. For a more precise determination new evidence must be awaited.

Hamada's version of the remainder of the texts commands all respect; he acknowledges some help from Drioton. It is inevitable that there should be some details on which other scholars will be unable to accept his findings. In view of the very considerable interest of the inscription readers of this *Journal* will probably welcome a rendering of my own, accompanied by some explanatory glosses. In giving this, I must premise that the divergences from Hamada's *editio princeps* are relatively small, and that for the hieroglyphic text his admirable article must be consulted.

Main text




TRANSLATION

- 1 The fan-bearer to the right of the King, the royal scribe of the dispatches of the Lord of the Two Lands, the overseer of the Treasury of Amūn, the great steward in the Western River,
2 who gave his possessions to Amen-Rē⁶, King of the Gods,⁶ Amenmōse, ¹ son of the worthy Puia, born of Nebiune, of Na-Amen-Rē⁶ in the Western River. He said:




I was overseer of works of the House of Amen-Rē⁶, King of the Gods, in all monuments of

¹ In the Old Kingdom the names of towns were treated syntactically as masculines, but Middle Egyptian changed the gender to the feminine, see the article by Clère in *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques*, 111, 47 ff. In Late Egyptian, if the present instance can be taken as typical, there was a return to the masculine.

² The omission here of the preposition *m*, by this time pronounced *n*, is just as unobjectionable as that of the genitival exponent commented on above, p. 19, n. 1.

³  is in all probability a writing of the plural of , see *Wb.* v, 107. The connexion with  suggested by H. is much more problematic.

⁴ For the word *sdf* see my Commentary on *Pap. Wilbour*, pp. 116 ff.; the placing of the *f* after the determinative is due to an easy confusion with the suffix-pronoun, and is possibly paralleled by A 29, 17 in the same papyrus, though the presence of the determinative there is a little doubtful.

⁵ H. reads  in l. 2 of the main inscription, and I am fairly sure from the photographs that , not , is the reading in both places.

⁶ The intrusion of this epithet between the titles of Amenmōse and his name is probably due to his pride in a very exceptional bequest, the nature of which is set forth at greater length in l. 4 on the base.

3 his house and in his ¹ house of gold,¹ its ceiling² and its walls being of gold and its pavement
4 of pure silver, the doors thereof of beaten (?) gold and the reliefs of good gold. ¹ I rendered
service³ to the statues that are upon the Great Seat,⁴ (these) likewise of good gold, the fans (both)
5 round and of single plume and the sacred eyes being of gold. I widened thy⁵ ¹ great doors of
gold at the entrance of thy portable shrine of seven poles.⁶

6 I was overseer of works for thy Ogdoad of sun-worshipping baboons,⁷ ¹ which is in thy Fore-
court.


I was overseer of works for thy columns⁸ of gold, which had been (hitherto) painted blue,
7 I was overseer for thy ¹ portable shrine and placed it on five poles, it having been on three
(previously). I repeated the making (?) . . . of it⁹ on seven, established eternally.



8 ¹ I was overseer of works for thy Ram,¹⁰ the great champion (?) of Thebes, established in thy Fore-
court for ever and aye. Thou bowedst down to him very greatly¹¹ on thy great portable shrine
9 together with ¹ thy Ennead. Thou praisedst me for it in the presence of the entire land. Thou didst
cause (?) me to be sated (?)¹² with . . . on account of it eternally on the west of Thebes, Mut,
Chons and Hāthōr being satisfied at (*the sentence has apparently been left unfinished for lack of space*).

Inscriptions on the base

1 I was overseer of works for the noble Staff of Amen-Rē^c,¹³ King of the Gods, I placing it on

¹ *Wb.* I, 517, 7 gives *pr nbw* and *pr n nbw* the signification 'treasury', but it is just possible that *n nbw* here is a mere *epitheton ornans* and that the temple of Amen-Rē^c as a whole was meant. However, the dual 'doors' suggests a single chamber, and the most probable view seems to be that the sanctuary or holy of holies was intended.



²  is a noteworthy writing of the word discussed in my *Onomastica* under No. 433 of On. Am. In Hamada's note (p. 17, n. 1) the words *Fussbodenplatten*, etc., have by some oversight been transferred hither from n. 3.




³ For  as read by Hamada of course  must be substituted; *śdm* *cs* as verb, see *Wb.* IV, 390, 7.


⁴ The exact meaning of *St-wrt* requires definition. For the Great Seat of Ptah at Memphis see my Commentary on *Pap. Wilbour*, p. 13, where it is seen to have been a separate land-owning institution. Perhaps the raised floor or dais of the innermost sanctuary was intended.

⁵ From this point onward Amenmōse addresses Amen-Rē^c directly.



⁶ *Fyvt*, see my *Onomastica*, I, p. 66. *Wb.* I, 574, 13 could quote only two examples; the four more on our statue are, accordingly, very welcome. The number of poles upon which such a portable shrine was carried was of importance inasmuch as the greater the number, the more priestly officiants were required, with a consequent enhancement of the dignity of the god. The great inscription of Tutankhamūn from Karnak should be read by way of illustration of the next lines on our statue; see *JEA* XXV, 9 f. with n. 29 on p. 12.

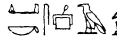
⁷ Hamada's proposal to read  as  *n wsh't* is contradicted by the following words, which say that these statues (?) stood in the Forecourt, and consequently not in the Broad Hall. The signs stand at the end of a line, and I believe that we have here an incomplete writing of *htt*, the word for the baboons that worshipped the rising sun, see *Wb.* II, 504, 4; for the identification of these baboons with the eight primeval gods of Hermopolis see Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, § 85.

⁸ Hamada read  and rendered 'thy standards', but not without noting that the first sign had a very small top. Surely  is to be read;  as applied to Amen-Rē^c has, I fancy, no sense. The determinative shows that columns of wood were meant, and *n nbw* must be taken to mean that they were gilded.

⁹ The photographs suggest that  should be read.

¹⁰ This appears to be the only known evidence for the colossal statue of a ram standing in the Forecourt of Amūn's temple at Karnak. The word *hpsy* elsewhere appears to mean 'sword-bearer' (*Wb.* III, 270, 6 and my Commentary on *Pap. Wilbour*, p. 82, n. 3); here it is perhaps used only figuratively.

¹¹ Hamada reads  and the photograph shows this to be not an unreasonable interpretation of the indistinct signs, except that they stand horizontally. I suspect, however, that  *sp sn* is the true reading.

¹² The photograph suggests , but a close examination of the original is needed at this point.

¹³ For the 'noble Staff of Amen-Rē^c', shown as ram-headed, see the article by Boreux, *JEA* VII, 113 ff., as

a carrying-platform of 2 poles for the very first time,¹ (for) it was (previously carried on) the shoulder of a single priest.

- 2² I was overseer of works (in) Na-Amen-Rē^c in the Western River, (after) it had been (merely) a pool. I made it (into) temples and shrines on the foundation of the House of Amūn.
- 3 I was overseer of works for the Mansion of Millions of Years United with Eternity in the House of Amūn on the West of Thebes³ in his Tabernacle,⁴ his Ennead resting inside to all eternity.
- 4 I gave all my possessions to Amen-Rē^c, King of the Gods, consisting of slaves male and female, houses, vineyards and cattle of all that I had made (by way of increment). It is established (on documents) in every record-office of the Palace and likewise of the House of Amūn.

well as the fundamental paper by Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* xxv, 184 ff. Note that, whereas *fꜣy* in ll. 5, 6 evidently signifies a portable shrine, here it can only mean a portable platform into which the sacred staff was fixed. With regard to the fem. collective *tꜣ fꜣyt* 'carriers' of a portable shrine, for which *Wb.* i, 574, 8 could quote only Ostr. Petrie 21, Černý adds the references Ostr. B¹M. 5625, vs. 7; Ostr. Cairo (ed. Daressy, collated) 25, 364, 2.

¹ Lit. 'at the beginning of an example of making'. Somewhat similar uses of *tp n* are known, see *Wb.* v, 267, 7-10, as well as *tp n šsp*, see *JEA* xxvii, 23, n. 4.

² The translation of this line is repeated from earlier in my article, where the footnotes supply the necessary comments.

³ For this name of the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu see my Commentary on *Pap. Wilbour*, p. 133, under § 64, where references are given to the previous discussions by Schaedel and Nelson.

⁴ For the term *sšm-hw* see my Commentary on *Pap. Wilbour*, p. 16 f., where great use has been made of the article by Dr. Nelson referred to in the last note.

ADVERSARIA GRAMMATICA

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

IN preparing a second edition of my *Egyptian Grammar* it has been my duty, not only to read and ponder all the reviews of the first edition, but also to study with the utmost care all the relevant articles that have been published since the appearance of my book. It is obvious that the revised work itself will be unable to mention all the views with which I disagree, but should I fail to discuss at least some of them elsewhere I might be reasonably suspected of having ignored the painstaking researches of colleagues, and of retaining my old opinions out of obstinacy or dislike of innovation. Hence the polemical articles of which this is the first. Those against whom I polemise will, I trust, not take my *démarche* amiss, my only intention having been to convince them and those in accord with them that I have not rejected their findings without the most careful consideration.


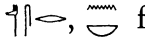
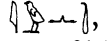








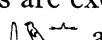


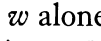
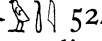
I. The Negative Relative Adjective

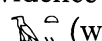


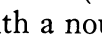
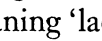
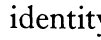
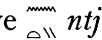
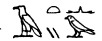



The essay by Mahmoud Hamza entitled *La lecture de l'adjectif relatif négatif* *et sa syntaxe comparée avec celle de l'adjectif relatif* (Cairo, 1929) consists of two parts, the first (pp. 1-17) discussing the reading of and the second (pp. 19-31) dealing with its syntax. I have failed to find much that is original in the second part, and here I shall confine myself to criticizing the new reading *inw-tj* proposed by Hamza. In advancing this revolutionary hypothesis he rejects the reading *iw-tj*¹ first indicated by Erman on the basis of certain variants in the Pyramid Texts² and thenceforward generally accepted. Hamza discounts such writings as and on the ground that they are so much less common than the others in which stands at the head of the word. This is indisputably true if the entire dynastic period be taken into account, since so far as our present evidence goes the examples with *iw* at the beginning are peculiar to the Pyramid Texts. In that body of texts, however, the two contrasted sorts of spelling show nearly equal numbers; instead of the 5 with *iw* at the head mentioned by Hamza, who has taken them from Erman's article, I have counted 13,³ while those with at the head certainly fall short of 20. It is, however, a fundamental mistake to seek the determination of a reading along statistical lines, since the value of a hieroglyph, as (e.g.) in the cases of , has often been decided by a very few variants, if not merely by a single one. It is a strong, nay, an irrefutable, argument in favour of Erman's reading, that the writings like illustrate a habit of the Old Kingdom scribes that was subsequently abandoned, namely the habit of placing the initial consonants of a word in front of the characteristic ideogram or phonogram, cf. for

¹ Erman wrote *iwti*, and though my own usage is the same for the Old Kingdom and *iwty* for the Middle, I here use the hyphen and the German *j* for *y* in order to agree with Hamza and to free the controversy with him from irrelevancies as regards unessential points.

² *ZÄS* xxxi, 82 f.


³ They are: *Pyr.* 141 in W; 665 (twice), 728 (twice) in T; 809 (twice), 1022, 1102, 1146, 1160 in P; 1102 in M; 1160 in N. The examples of the negative relative adjective and of the closely related particle for 'that not . . .' (see below) are here taken together.

later  for later . Hamza's own explanation of ,  proves, on careful analysis, to consist of two contradictory ones. At the top of his p. 6 he writes: 'L'écriture avec  en tête semble irrégulière et peut s'expliquer, selon nous, par une métathèse graphique "apparente"'; lower down on the same page, after enumerating a host of different spellings belonging to different periods, he states: 'À notre avis, nous sommes ici en présence de tentatives variées adoptées par les scribes pour disposer les signes d'une façon symétrique.' But Lacau's principle of 'metathèses apparentes', is, as his article on the subject¹ abundantly shows, one of conformity to very strict rules; it usually involves the transposition of only two signs, and among those examples where three are concerned,² there is none at all comparable to that presupposed by Hamza's equation  = *inw-tj*. M. Hamza's second explanation postulates pure aesthetic caprice—in fact, sheer anarchy. It seems, indeed, difficult to conceive why a scribe, plotting out vertical columns, should have found the arrangement  more attractive than . And here we may ask how it comes that Hamza, advocating as he does the reading *inw-tj*, fails to lay special stress upon the two instances in the pyramid of Phiops I³ where  actually follows ; he might easily have claimed that the signs  in these instances are the phonetic complements of a word which started with some different radical consonant or consonants. I have no wish to fall into the error above condemned of arguing along statistical lines, but in view of confirmatory evidence to be adduced below it may, I think, be fairly contended that these two instances are exceptional and due to some confusion in the scribe's mind between the frequent  and the other mode of writing, by no means rare in the Pyramid Texts, where  *w* alone follows  as a phonetic complement, e.g.  *Pyr.* 659 (T), 1102 (N);  524 (T), a mode of writing in perfect harmony with Erman's conclusion that the reading is *iw-tj*.

The confirmatory evidence in favour of the reading *iw-tj* above alluded to consists of (a) such variants as  (without determinative) and , together with the corresponding feminines and plurals, in certain Eighteenth Dynasty papyri of the Book of the Dead, and (b) the Coptic negative particle or adjective $\alpha\tau$ - 'without', 'not (being)'. Hamza attempts (p. 10) to account for (a) by denying that these writings are forms of  and by identifying them with a noun  *isdt*, var. according to the Berlin dictionary , meaning 'lack', 'need'; and he seeks to explain (b) by supposing that $\alpha\tau$ -, the identity of which with  he does not dispute,⁴ has suffered the loss of *n* in the same way that the affirmative relative adjective  *ntj* 'who', 'which' has become in Coptic $\epsilon\tau$ - (pp. 11 ff.). I cannot, of course, deny the existence of a fem. noun  *ty*⁵ meaning 'lack', 'need', nor that of an obviously kindred verb ,⁶ var. ,⁷ with the same meaning; and the presence in these words of the sign  shows that the

¹ *Rec. trav.* xxv, 139 ff.

² *Ibid.* 154 ff.

³ *Pyr.* 877, 1513. Hamza has overlooked the second of these, while quoting from Sethe's article *ZÄS* L, 113 a spelling  not there to be found.

⁴ Perhaps the most direct evidence is the equivalence of Copt. $\alpha\tau\eta\tau$ 'senseless' with Ramesside *iwty-hty* 'foolish', lit. 'without heart', Turin 102 = *Rec. trav.* II, 109; Israel stela 12.

⁵ P. Leyd. 370, vs. 2-3 = Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* 10, 11.

⁶ P. Turin 116, 12.

⁷ Anast. II, vs. = *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* 19, 8. 9.

Egyptians of the Nineteenth Dynasty associated them with the negative relative adjective. However, one point is that they are not that adjective itself, but a noun and a verb;¹ and what is far more important, the writings in the Book of the Dead mentioned above are incontestably *direct variants* of $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ and consequently mere divergent writings thereof and not synonyms from another stem. It follows that in the Eighteenth Dynasty the negative relative adjective had a consonantal value sufficiently well represented by *sty*, the *w* of the stem having been lost² and the initial Δ (on Erman's view) doubtless having had from the start the *aleph*-value which was one of the two values possessed by that hieroglyph.³ Since Naville first called attention to the variants $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$, $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ as characteristic of certain manuscripts,⁴ while the important papyrus of Nebseny (Aa) elects to use $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ and the like,⁵ the reason for these has become clear; they are due to the dislike of the sign for negation \sim , which will have suggested non-existence and have been deemed dangerous to the tomb-owner.⁶ Particularly interesting are the manuscripts which use \sim or $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$ for the simple negation, and $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ or the like for the negative relative adjective.⁷ It is evident from these observations that no serious importance can be attached to writings of the negative relative adjective with initial \sim if they occur in funerary or religious texts. Moreover, Gunn has shown that there are graphic reasons elsewhere for the alternation of \sim and $\overset{\sim}{\sim}$.⁸ Obviously, no demonstrative cogency can be attributed to signs so prone to interchange.

Strangely enough, it is not upon writings like $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$, $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ that Hamza mainly depends, though he quotes instances of the kind on his p. 15. On the contrary, he seems obsessed with the notion that an initial \sim must have the same value *n* or *in* as in the simple negation \sim . So far as I can see, he makes no real attempt to account for the *w* found in $\sim\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$, that other common writing of the Pyramid Texts, though he does not ignore it in his transliteration *in^w-tj*. As against the arguments already invoked in support of Erman's reading *iw-tj* I find nothing at all which lends countenance to the new suggestion *in^w-tj*, so that there seems no need to embark upon the further problem as to whether such a reading could have given rise to Coptic $\Delta\tau$ -. There remain, however, a few outstanding details which require notice. With regard to the form $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ found twice in a Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Asyūt I adhere to the explanation given in my *Eg. Gramm.* (§ 202); Hamza would be justified in taking the *n* here as the phonetic complement of his *in^w-* (p. 16) only if the portion *-iw-* had already disappeared and only if there were any solid foundation at all for that reading. Another matter is of greater interest. It will be remembered that at a given moment Erman deserted his own discovery and toyed with a reading *n^w-tj* based on the occurrence of $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ or $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ several times in the Pyramid Texts. He returned to his old view, however, after

¹ *Wb.* I, 35 (cf. also *ibid.* 23, top) places both these words under the rubric *id*. There are undeniably words written *id* in the New Kingdom which have the same or a very similar meaning, but in view of the etymological doubt it would have been wiser to keep those written *sty* under a different head.

² See Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 193. This loss is possibly reflected in $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$, a very rare spelling in the Coffin Texts, *Rec. trav.* xxxvi, 223.

³ *Op. cit.* I, § 88, 1.

⁴ See *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, Einleitung, pp. 56, 62, 77, 84; also the same author's earlier article *ZÄS* XI, 26.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶ See Lacau's remarks *ZÄS* LI, 64.

⁷ Naville, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2, 77.

⁸ Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, ch. IX.

A NEGATIVE WORD IN OLD EGYPTIAN

By BATTISCOMBE GUNN

THE word \neg 𓂏𓂏, which is found before $\acute{s}dm\cdot f$, $\acute{s}dm\cdot n\cdot f$ and $\acute{s}dmt\cdot f$, and also in predicative use, seems to be peculiar to Old Egyptian. I know one example in the Coffin Texts, and two others on a Middle Kingdom stela in a text which is probably quite old (these are dealt with below), otherwise my latest example is of the Sixth Dynasty.

Philologists have in general taken the view that it is nominal in character, to be translated into other languages with a relative expression; thus: Sethe in *ZÄS L* (1912), 113, ' \neg 𓂏𓂏 *ij-j* (statt *iw-j*) "welcher nicht"', having as feminine 𓂏𓂏𓂏 etc., '*iw-t* "welche nicht", "was nicht", "daß nicht"; *Wb.* I, 45, 7 (1926) '*iwjj* \neg 𓂏𓂏 "welcher nicht. . . ist", "welcher nicht"; Gardiner in *Eg. Gramm.* (1927), § 202, ' \neg 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *iwty* "which not", derived from the feminine of a more ancient adjective of like meaning \neg 𓂏𓂏 *iii* (for *iwi*), fem. 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏; Erman in *Äg. Gramm.*, 4th edn. (1928), § 525, 'ein relativisches Adjektiv: "welcher nicht", . . . im Masc. \neg 𓂏𓂏, im Fem. \neg 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏', and § 552, 'das negative Seitenstück zu *ntj*' (similarly in 3rd edn., 1911, § 529).

I gave, however, in a review in 1933 (*JEA* XIX, 106), my opinion that this word was indistinguishable in meaning and function from \neg ; I thought that in all examples where the context was intelligible to me it could be replaced by \neg —in three cases (exx. 7, 12, 17 below) it actually varies with that word. My view that \neg 𓂏𓂏 is not adjectival in character was adopted by G. Lefebvre in his *Gramm. de l'égypt. class.*, p. 376, n. 1, where it is described as 'un adverbe de négation'.

I do not now consider that \neg 𓂏𓂏 is a mere synonym, or variant writing, of \neg , although it interchanges with it occasionally. Its appearance in the same text with \neg a number of times is against its being a mere variant of this; and it will no doubt be agreed that as a general principle words belonging to the same phase of Egyptian should not be regarded as synonyms unless all efforts to find a distinction in meaning or function have failed—and hardly even then.

Now, in all the examples given below, where an intelligible context remains, \neg 𓂏𓂏 may be taken as introducing a subordinate sentence; and I suggest that instead of being adjectival (relative) in meaning, like 𓂏𓂏𓂏, or merely 'not', like \neg , it has negative-circumstantial force. At all events passages translated in this way seem to give a good sense in all cases; nowhere is it necessary to take \neg 𓂏𓂏 as beginning a new section.

I have rendered throughout a $\acute{s}dm\cdot f$ following \neg 𓂏𓂏 as past, a following $\acute{s}dm\cdot n\cdot f$ as present, in accordance with the general rule covering \neg followed by these forms.

The following are examples which I think I understand:

A. With $\acute{s}dm\cdot f$:

(1) 'The King's son Nika'ewrēc, . . . he made [testamentary dispositions¹?] *ꜥnh ꜥr*

¹ [𓂏𓂏] [𓂏] [𓂏] ? Cf. Sethe's n. and op. cit. 24, 15.

rdwy·fy, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *mn·f iht* while he was alive upon his feet, not having suffered at all.' *Urk.* I, 16, 17.

(2) *Ndm·n·f r iht nb*, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *mn·f iht nb r·f* 'he became perfectly well, not having suffered anything with regard to it (?)'. *Urk.* I, 183, 7.

(3) 'My Majesty has commanded that no *hntiw-š* belonging to these two pyramid-cities . . . shall be taken away by any Egyptians or any "pacific Nubians" to those with whom they have been (i.e. their former masters) \sim \llcorner \llcorner $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ without their (the masters) having (i.e. unless they have) had written title to them.' *Urk.* I, 211, 11. For $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ 'to have written title to' see *Urk.* I, 171, 2; 278, 4; 300, 5; 301, 6; 302, 1; 306, 5.6.7; Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1930–1931*, pl. facing p. 190; *Ann. Serv.* xxxvi, 36.

(4) *Hm W.*, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *rh W.* 'W. is ignorant, W. not knowing'. *Pyr.* 244, c. The T.-text has *hm·i* \sim \llcorner \llcorner *rh·f*. Sethe, *Üb. Komm. Pyr.*, translates 'indem ich nicht kannte den, der nicht zu kennen ist', preferring the T.-version, and compares \sim \llcorner \llcorner *rh·f* with Mid. Egn. *iwty hsf·f* 'unwiderstehlich', in accordance with his view that \sim \llcorner \llcorner + verb is equivalent to a relative clause. But T. probably has *hmi*, Old Perfective 3. masc. sg.

(5, 6) "'My son P. has come in peace", says she, namely Nüt, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *hr ndhr hr š·f*, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *hr iht dwt hr r·f* "without any whip¹ having fallen upon his back, without anything evil having fallen upon his hand". *Pyr.* 1021, b, c.

(7) 'Thou shalt fare to the Great City, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *ndr <t>w škrw* the Aker-gods not having taken hold on thee.' Two of the five texts have \sim \llcorner \llcorner , the other three \sim , followed by *ndr·n* (var. *ndrt*) *tw* (var. *tn*) *škrw*. De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, I, 280, e–f.

B. With *šdm·n·f*:

(8) '[As to] any [man] who shall take a stone away from this my tomb, *čky·fy r·f*, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *wcb·n·f* . . ., (or) who shall enter into it, not purifying himself. . . .' *Urk.* I, 250, 6.

(9) While Rēwer was beside His Majesty, the sceptre which was in His Majesty's hand was pushed (?) against Rēwer's foot. 'And His Majesty said, *mrü n hm·i wd·f wrt*, \sim \llcorner \llcorner *škr·n·f*, *šk šw* [špšš] *hr hm·f r rmt nb* "My Majesty desires (lit., desired is to My Majesty) that he prosper greatly", he (the King) not striking (him), for he was more [precious] to His Majesty than any one.' *Urk.* I, 232, 11. A somewhat difficult example.

C. With *šdmt·f*:

(10, 11) *Ms·n<k> N* \sim \llcorner \llcorner *hprt* . . ., \sim $\langle r \rangle h N snd$; *ms·n·k N* \sim \llcorner \llcorner *hprt² sdb*, \sim *rh N dt* '<Thou> didst beget N, . . . not having yet come into being; N knows not fear: thou didst beget N, frustration (?) not having yet come into being; N knows not slaughter'. Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine d. mittl. Reiches* (CCG), 20328, a, 11–12; an old, incorrectly written religious text.

D. In predicative use:

(12) 'Nuu has begotten M (var. N has been begotten by Nu) upon his left hand, *nhn* \sim \llcorner \llcorner $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ M (so M-text); *N nhn*, \sim \llcorner $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ (so N-text). *Pyr.* 1701, b. M seems to say 'he (M) being a child, M not having intelligence' (lit., intelligence of M being non-existent), and N 'N is a child, he has not intelligence', *nhn* being Old

¹ On *ndhr* see Sethe, op. cit., ad loc.

² The *t* is queried in the publication but is surely correct.

Perfective in both cases. Note the variation of $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ with --- . My interpretation is based on the very close parallel *iw·f m hwn, nn* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$, 'he being a youth, without intelligence',¹ Turin Statue of Haremhab, l. 3, quoted Gardiner, *Adm.*, 95.

The following are examples which, mostly through damage to the context, are obscure to me.

A. With $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$:

(13) . . . *mḥ·n·f šš, ʿ 8 m . . . hbn htmt, ---* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ *sp [ir·ti mr̄tt n b̄k] nb dr p̄st t̄* ' . . . he filled eight alabaster vessels with . . . ebony, sealed, [the like] never having [been done for] any [subject] since the beginning of the world.' *Urk.* I, 43, 5. The restoration is of course not certain.²

(14) . . . *m šht, ---* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ *rdi(·i) ḥpr iḥt nb(t) m̄s̄ddt·f dt* ' . . . in the field, without my ever having caused anything that he disliked to come about.' *Urk.* I, 88, 4.

(15) . . . *m̄s̄ddt·f nb(t) dt, ---* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ *rdi(·i) ḥpr ʿp·f nb ḥr n̄tr* ' . . . anything that he disliked, ever, without my having caused any . . . of his to come about with the god'. *Urk.* I, 174, 6. Before *m̄s̄ddt* restore, perhaps, with Sethe, --- *rdi(·i) ḥpr*.

B. With $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$:

(16) . . . *sm·w, ---* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ *gm·n(·i) rmt̄w nb(w) šm·sn m w̄swt n dr* ' . . . , without my finding any men who could walk on the roads because of the storm. . . . ' *Urk.* I, 182, 15.

(17) *Bwt·f d̄st ---* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ *ir·n·f* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ 'His abomination is crossing without making *isnwt*'. *Pyr.* 1157, c^p. *Isnwt* is not known elsewhere. The N-text has --- for $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$: 'he does not make *isnwt*'.

C. With $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$:

(18) . . . *ʿwi, ---* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ *wnt ḥp[r]* . . . ' . . . hands, without . . . having come about'. *Urk.* I, 42, 16. For *n wnt* before $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ cf. Gard., *Eg. Gramm.*, § 188, 2. Sethe's restoration after *ḥpr* is the merest guess, and the only value of the example is the presence of *wnt*.

D. With ?

(19) . . . *r wnn mr p̄hr šwt m šz hrw, ---* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$. . . ' . . . to be like the shadow turning after the day, without. . . . ' *Urk.* I, 185, 4. For *p̄hr šwt* see *JEA* xxiii, 176, to line 23, 11.

Now that the material is before the reader I will turn back to the views quoted at the beginning of this article, namely, that $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ is nominal-adjectival in character, usually to be rendered by a relative expression.

It is, of course, possible so to interpret the word in some examples, otherwise this point of view would not have persisted. Thus, we can render (1) as 'he made [testamentary dispositions?] while he was alive upon his feet, one who has not suffered at all'; (2) 'he became perfectly well, one who had not suffered anything with regard to it (?)'; (3) ' . . . those with whom they have been, those who have had no written title to them'; (4) 'W. is ignorant, one who does not know is W.'; so also (5, 6), and (8)












¹ *Šst* and *srt* are obviously the same word, probably *sst*.

² It is Sethe's except for *b̄k*, where he leaves a blank.

THE REPORT CONCERNING THE SLAVE-GIRL SENBET

By PAUL C. SMITHER

[EDITORIAL NOTE BY A. H. G. Some fifteen or more years ago Professor H. Grapow of Berlin honoured me with the gift of the photographs reproduced in Pls. VII, VIII, at the same time inviting me to publish the defective and difficult text. Being at the time busy with other tasks and also, if the truth be told, shrinking from an undertaking at once so formidable and so little promising, I declined the flattering offer, and the material slumbered on in one of my filing-boxes until Paul Smither, avid of all Middle Kingdom hieratic, carried it off to see what he could make of it. The result was the transcription and translation here printed in almost exactly the incomplete form in which he left them. Doubtless he would have improved upon this early effort had I not warned him that his essay ought not to be printed without the express consent of the authorities of the Berlin Museum; as a consequence he pursued the matter no farther. Circumstances have now changed in such a way as to make the publication not merely desirable, but also even a duty towards our science and to the memory of an exceptionally brilliant young scholar. The question then arose as to whether either Gunn, who had interested himself in the text, or myself should introduce modifications into Smither's readings or renderings or whether we should refrain from tampering with work so well begun. In deciding upon the latter course, we agreed that it would be preferable to allow our colleagues to see for themselves what talent we have lost through Smither's untimely death. Moreover, our own suggestions, made without intensive study, could have been but tentative¹ and might, to use the expressive German phrase, have been in some cases no more than *Verschlimmbesserungen*. Accordingly the Plates of transcription give Smither's results without change, words or signs left in pencil being underlined with dots. Reference letters to notes have been added, these notes incorporating the few observations of our own which we thought worth offering for the consideration of others. The translation has likewise been left intact, only a few footnotes being supplied by us, together with a tail-piece giving some final comments.]

¹ Smither's manuscript shows some queries in Gunn's handwriting, chief among which are doubts cast upon (1) the ligature for  in  in I, 6. 12. 13; 2, 2 and (2) the sign read  in I, 7. 13; 2, 3. As regards (2) I am decidedly in favour of Smither's view; the context demands a word for 'leather (document)' and the form of the sign, though strange, is explicable; in the least unconvincing example (2, 3) the characteristic short tail is visible and the thick vertical stroke to the right may be a perversion of the stroke at the front of the goat-skin which is found in some hieratic examples, see Möller, *Hier. Pal.* 1, No. 165. The problem of (1) is much more difficult. The initial sign suits  perfectly, and the supposed ligature for  is no more unacceptable than the certain  of  in I, 4. 12. However, the construction of the following word or words is difficult, and an adjectival predicate seems required. The reading  would supply this, but the form suits  much less well than , and one would expect .

TRANSLATION

1, 2¹ The Reporter of Elephantine Ḥeḳaiḅ in order to inform you that the *ḥri n tm* Itefesonb,² son of Ḥeḳaiḅ, [said to] them, saying: 'Senbet, daughter of Senmut, is a slave-girl of the tenants of the people of Elephantine, but she is (also) the slave-girl of Ḥebsy's son
1, 5 Seḫankhu, my lord, and let her estate be given [to me],¹ or to the city, according as her owners agree.' [So he said.] The conclusion is that it shall be done as her owners agree. So runs what he reported.³ This is sent [to in]form them of it. Then you shall act. the Government⁴. . . .

Copy of the leather roll which was brought from the Court of the Vizier, which the *ḥri n tm* Itefesonb brought on this day.

The Overseer of the City, the Vizier, Overseer of the Six Great Courts, Amenemḥēt. An order to the Reporter of Elephantine Ḥeḳaiḅ to this effect: 'An order was issued for the
1, 10 Vizier's Court in Year 1, first month of summer, day 27 of the time of Khu-ḅaḳ, 1.p.h. ¹ The order concerns the appeal⁵ which the *ḥri n tm* Itefesonb son of Ḥeḳaiḅ made, saying, 'Senbet, daughter of Senmut, is a slave-girl of the tenants of the people of Elephantine, but she is also the slave-girl of Ḥebsy's son Seḫankhu, my lord, and let her be given to me or to the city, according as her owners agree.' So he said. The conclusion is that it shall be done as her owners agree. So run the orders.⁶ Now the leather roll has been brought to you from the Vizier's Court in order that every. in it may be known.

Now they have been questioned about it and have also confirmed⁷ it. They are to take⁸ the
1, 15 oath on it, ¹ and what has been ordered shall be put before the slave-girl Senbet. Now the Count of Elephantine. has been written to and informed about it. This is to inform Then you shall do all that has been ordered, and you shall. (end of page or one line missing).

(Unknown number of lines lost at top.)

2, 2 ¹ such is what has been ascertained. This is to inform you about it.

A reply to this leather roll of the Vizier's Court has been brought,⁹ stating 'The attorneys
2, 5 of the people ¹ about whom you wrote have been questioned. They said, 'We agree to the giving of the slave-girl Senbet to the city [as her owners] agree, in accordance with the appeal¹⁰ which our brother the *ḥri n tm* Itefesonb has made concerning her.'

Now they are to be¹¹ made to take the oath upon it, and you shall put the orders before the
2, 10 slave-girl Senbet. ¹ Then you shall act accordingly in the Court of the Reporter of Elephantine.

The Reporter of Elephantine Ḥeḳaiḅ said, 'I have read what you have written to me about from
2, 14 the Vizier's Court, stating 'Now orders are to be¹² put before the slave-girl Senbet. ¹³

¹ Smither made no attempt to divine the sense of the preceding line, of which indeed only a word or two is left. Perhaps it contained a heading. A new paragraph or section may begin here in l. 2, though in that case *mk* following the name Ḥeḳaiḅ can hardly be correct.

² In view of Grdseloff's recent discussion of the word for 'father' (*Ann. Serv.* XLIII, 311) Itefesonb would be a more suitable representation of this personal name.

³ See p. 31, n. 1, at end.

⁴ A very free rendering; literally 'the King's House'.

⁵ Perhaps better 'petition'.

⁶ See above p. 31, n. 1, at end.

⁷ Perhaps rather 'approved of it'.

⁸ It seems more probable that the two passive *šdm-f* forms *rdi* here and in the next co-ordinated clause are to be taken as past tenses: 'They were caused to swear concerning it . . . and a charge concerning it was given to the slave-girl Senbet.'

⁹ Substitute: '. . . has been brought from the Vizier's Court.' A slip on Smither's part.

¹⁰ Or better 'petition', see above, n. 5.

¹¹ Again probably past tenses, see above, n. 8.

¹² Again a past tense, 'order has been put'.

¹³ Smither offers no rendering of the much-damaged lines 2, 14-16, and the following version adds nothing of interest: '. . . the men who came (?) from the. . . . [were?] questioned. . . . to cause (?) them to swear. Prevent (?) them from saying.' The word given beneath 2, 16 is on an unplaced fragment.

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P. BERLIN 10470

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rest of page lost

NOTES (EDITORIAL). 2,9^a The usual Φ seems preferable here again; see above 1,15, note ^a. 2,11^{a-b} Sm. surrounded these signs with a circle and marked them with a note of interrogation. 2,15^a See above note ^a 2,9. 2,15^a Perhaps here a true Φ , but what can the following signs be? ^b Perhaps after all $\bar{\omega}$ with a badly made $c-d$. Surely rather $\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\omega}$. 2,17^a These signs on an unplaced fragment; above them traces of a previous line.

3,1^a Gunn suggested $\bar{\omega}$. 3,6^a These signs and the following lines project two groups farther to the right than the preceding lines. 3,11^a Probably read Φ see above note ^a 2,9. 3,12^a Preferably $\bar{\omega}$ since individual persons are being enumerated.

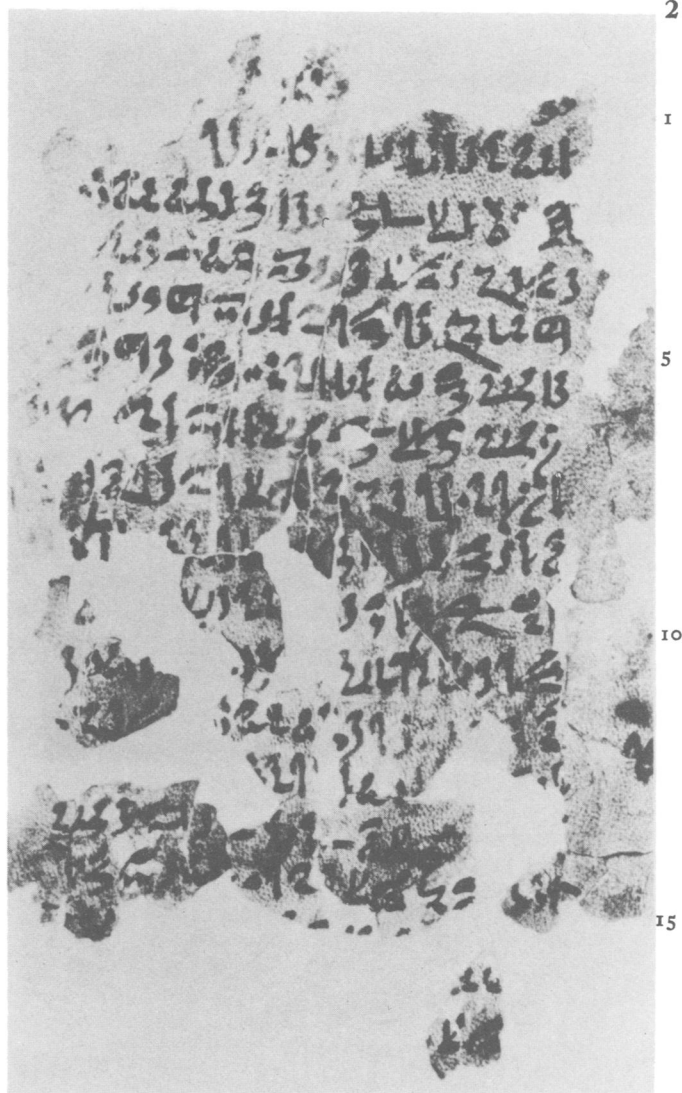


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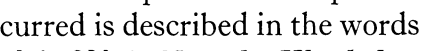
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P. BERLIN 10470
Pages 2 and 3

- 3, 3¹ district of Elephantine.....
 3, 5*hry n tm* Hēkaib's son Itefefsonb.....¹ district of Elephantine, Hēkaib, son of
 Bebisenbet, have been addressed, saying 'Are you agreed to the giving of the slave-girl
 Senbet to the city in accordance with the appeals of your brother the *hry n tm* Hēkaib's son
 Itefefsonb about her?' They said, 'We agree to it.' Then they were made to take the oath about
 3, 10 it ¹.....they.....about it. Then what had been ordered was put before
 the slave-girl Senbet also. Names of the councillors, judges, reporters¹ of Elephantine.....

[Smither's manuscript ends at this point; nor have we any further means, beyond some vague recollections, of knowing how he interpreted the legal proceedings which occasioned the writing of the Berlin document. However, readers of *JEA* could hardly rest content without some additional comments, so that these have had to be supplied by ourselves. It seems likely that P. Berlin 10470 was acquired only shortly before the photographs were sent to me in England, and that it was then straightened and put in order by Ibscher, since the photographs afford unmistakable signs of his admirable restorative skill. The brittle leather roll had evidently cracked in many places, so that the whole became a mass of fragments requiring to be joined together like a jig-saw puzzle. As a tiny overlap in our Plates shows, pages 1 and 2 emerged as a continuous piece; the contours of page 3, which appears to break off unfinished very near the end, prove this to have lain on the *verso* of page 2; in Pl. VIII page 3 stands about a line's height too low. Save for the lacunae and one or more lines lost at the top of each column, we appear to possess the document complete. Or at least the photographic reproduction of it, since the present whereabouts of the original, if still existing, is unknown.

The hieratic writing betrays at a glance its date midway between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties. This impression is confirmed by the very curious dating in 1, 9, for which we have parallels in the well-known stela Louvre C 12 and in the still more important Karnak stela Cairo, *entrée* 52453, of which as yet only a brief account has been published.² The Louvre stela is closely related to another in the same museum (C 11), both belonging to the same official who was commissioned to carry out building and cleansing work in the temple of Abydus, and C 11 is dated in the reign of King Khendjer, No. 20 of col. 6 in the Turin list of kings. Louvre C 12 relates how after the official Amenysonb had executed his charge by renovating a building formerly erected by Sesostris I of the Twelfth Dynasty, the deputy of the Overseer of the Seal chanced to visit Abydus and was full of praise at the splendid work that had been done. The occasion when this occurred is described in the words  *Now the Khu-baḳ proceeded to settle down in his place in this temple, the deputy of the Overseer of the Seal Sianhüre accompanying him.* The identity of the Khu-baḳ has always been a mystery, though Chabas has already made what will probably prove to be the right conjecture, namely, that the Khu-baḳ was a designation of the then reigning king.³ The way in which the Khu-baḳ is mentioned

¹ Surely the enumeration of the members of the Court begins here, and we must render: 'Names of the councillors and judges: the Reporter of Elephantine, the guardian of.....'

² By Lacau in *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. orient.* xxx, 881 ff. We await with impatience the full publication, which is, we believe, destined to appear in *Ann. Serv.*

³ In the article by de Horrack, the original commentator of the stelae C 11, C 12, *Mélanges égyptologiques*, 3rd series, vol. II (1873), p. 214 = *Bibl. égypt.* xvii, 80. De Horrack himself had thought that the element *hw*

THREE HIERATIC PAPYRI IN THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S COLLECTION

By JOHN BARNS

I AM grateful to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland for his permission to publish these three hieratic papyri from his collection. According to Mr. Adam Douglass, His Grace's agent, in a letter to Professor Gunn, the collection of Egyptian antiquities at Alnwick Castle was begun early in the last century, but 'they [the papyri] were probably acquired by the then Lord Warkworth during his travels in Asiatic Turkey and Egypt in the early 1890's'. I am indebted to Professor Gunn for his help in reading and elucidating the texts.

I. Letter

DESCRIPTION

This well-preserved letter, in a large, well-formed and practised hand, is written on a sheet of papyrus 24·7 cm. high and 18·7 cm. wide. The writer, who dips his pen about once every line, begins on what is according to normal use the wrong (V/H) side and on filling up the *recto* inverts the sheet in turning it over to begin the *verso*. Compare the two letters from Akhetaten published by Peet, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* xvii (1930), 82 ff. The writing on the *verso* is larger since the scribe realizes that he has more space than he needs to complete his message. The letter has been addressed and folded in the same way as the second of the two Akhetaten letters. Palaeographic considerations apart, it may be dated by certain of its formulae and by the use of the rare and ephemeral construction *hnc ntf sdm* (see n. on *rt.* 8, below) to the late XVIIIth or early XIXth dynasty. The arrangement of the address also is characteristic of this date. The sender, whom the formulae of address show to have been at least the equal of the addressee, is evidently a person of consequence, since his message to a *h'ty-r* is in peremptory and by no means complimentary terms. His style is lively and the letter contains some expressions to which I have not been able to find parallels elsewhere.

I am indebted to Dr. A. M. Bakir for permission to use his valuable work on Egyptian epistolography, whose publication is awaited, and his transcriptions of some unpublished letters.

As to the places of origin and destination of the letter: in the 'complimentary preamble'¹ of Meḥ's message, *rt.* 3 f., he prays for the addressee to 'Amūn, Ptaḥ and Rē-Ḥarakhti and the gods, lords of *Pr-Dḥwty*'; and in the supplementary message of the lady musician Nefrēse, in effect itself a letter within a letter (*rt.* 11-*vs.* 5) 'Thoth and the gods, lords of *Pr-Dḥwty*' are similarly mentioned. This 'House of Thoth' will certainly be at the place of origin, since in such formulae the writer prays first to the

¹ I use Dr. Bakir's terminology. Only the first clauses of our letter follow precisely the regular model of the complimentary preamble noted by him.

Recto.

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


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2a. A dot, apparently for . 3a. Very small and short; see photo. 3b. A mere dot. 4a. Plural strokes little more than a dot. 5a. Very summary writing. 7a. A mere dot. 8a. The \square of *dit* in this and the next instance is quite unlike the example at the end of the line. 9a. Very summary, if so to be read. 10a. Dot for . 10b. It seems impossible to read more than this, although the omission of the determinative ∞ is strange. 12a.  is little more than a dot.

Verso.

𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺𓵻𓵼𓵽𓵾𓵿𓶀𓶁𓶂𓶃

(Rt. 1.)

TRANSLATION

'The scribe Meḥ inquires after the scribe Yey the younger—in life, p(rosperity) and h(ealth)! in the favour of Amen(2)rasonther!—and says: What is your condition? How are you? What is your condition? Are you (3) all right? I am all right. I say to Amūn, Ptaḥ, Prē^c-Ḥarakhti (4) and the gods, lords of Pi-Djeḥuty: May you be well, may you live, may you be in the favour of Ptaḥ, your (5) good lord; may you do (things) and may they be successful, and may you get credit for all you have done. Fur(6)ther: Give your attention to the officer Merymose; now see, I am sending Mer(7)ymose to the mayor to say: Look for those (?) two boats (8) which Pharaoh gave him, and have them looked for everywhere for him. Also give your attention (9) to Merymose while he is there with you; don't let him be (treated) in the way you treated me (10) when I was here in Memphis, with half of the provisions being kept by you for their price in cash. (11) Further: the chantress of Amūn, Nefrēse, says: How are you? (12) How much I long to see you! My eyes are as big as Memphis because (*vs.* 1) I'm so hungry for the sight of you; but here am I praying to Thoth and the gods, lords (2) of Pi-Djeḥuty: May you be well! May you live! May you get credit for all you have done! (3) Further: Will you give your attention to Merymose and mark the business (4) about which the general wrote to you, and send him (a report) in your name, and (5) write to me all about your health; may your health be good!

Further: the scribe Meḥ says: (6) Will you get Merymose to bring me a roll of papyrus, (7) also pieces of good ink—and don't let bad be brought—and (8) write to me all about your health. May your health be good!

(Address) 'The scribe Meḥ, to/the scribe Yey the younger.'

NOTES

(Rt. 1.) *Yy pṣ šri*: in the address (see *vs.*) the determinative follows the name *Yy*, before *pṣ šri* ('the younger'): so the latter should not be regarded as forming part of the name. *Yy* is not uncommon, in various spellings; see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 55 (cf. *op. cit.* 7).

2. *hy ḳd·k*, etc.: P. Louvre 3230 A, 4 (ed. Peet, *JEA* XII, 70 ff.): *hy ḳd·k (sp 2) in iw·k mi šs*; Akhetaten letter 1 (see above), l. 2 f. (cf. also letter 2, l. 2): *hy ḳd·k in iw·k m šs r-nti tw(i) m šs r-nti mk wi dy hr dd n pṣ Itn m 3ht-Itn imi snb·k*, etc.; P. Brit. Mus. 10103 *rt.* 4 f. (ed. Glanville, *JEA* XIV, 294 ff.): *hy ḳd·k (sp 2) in iw·k mi šs mk tw·i mi šs*; Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 89, l. 2: *hy ḳd·t tw·t mi ih sp 2*; cf. *ibid.* 90, 2; see also P. Leyden I, 365, 4. For *hy ḳd·k* see Peet, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* XVII, 89, and literature quoted there.

tw·k mi ih: beside the examples just quoted, cf. P. Leyden I, 364, 8; *ibid.* 365, *vs.* 1; *L.-Eg. Misc.* 9, 14.

4. *ntrw nbw P.*: originally 'the gods, lords of'; later understood as 'all the gods of', but *nṣ* in *vs.* 1 shows that we should take it in the original sense here.

cnḥ·k{wi}: so again *vs.* 2; see Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 66.

5. *iry·k, imi hpr·sn*: the subject of *hpr* (used here in the sense of 'succeed', *Wb.* III, 262 (6) ff.) is the unexpressed object of *iry·k*.

hr ir·n·k nb: cf. below *rt.* 9; *vs.* 2; the use of the construction is another indication of the early date of the letter.

6. *sn(n)y*: cf. (e.g.) *Doomed Prince* 5, 11.

Mry-ms: see Ranke, op. cit., under *mr-ms*, *mrjj-ms'(j-w)*, where *exx.* are from the XVIIIth dynasty and later; see (under *Mermes*) Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 200.

ptri: the 𓂏 which follows, if the reading is correct, is evidently abusive.

6 f. *di-i M. iwt-f*: note the confused construction; perhaps for *M.*, *di-i iwt-f*, influenced by *di-i iwt M.*

7. *kr 2*: on this type of vessel, see Boreux, *Navigation (Mem. Inst. fr. L)*, p. 432, n. 7; Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1466; it is mentioned in several letters, e.g. P. Cairo 58054, 4. 6. 7 f.; P. Anast. VIII, 2, 4; 3, 13; Černý, *L. Ram. Letters*, p. 59, l. 10.

r dd: this introduces the message which M. is to deliver to the *hsty-c*; I take it that it extends to the end of l. 10.

py: the determinative seems to have been borrowed from *pf(y)*, which the writer perhaps intended.

8. *i-di n-f Pr-c*: I take *n-f* to refer to Merymose rather than to the *hsty-c*.

hnc ntk: cf. *vs. 7*; for this construction see Gardiner, *JEA* XIV, 86 ff.; it is found also in P. Cairo 58053-5; 58060; P. Brit. Mus. 10102. Note that *di hr-k n X* does not enjoin subservience to X, but merely attention to him.

9. *dy m-di-k*: here *dy* must refer to the place where the letter is to be read. Not so elsewhere, however; *rt. 10* and *vs. 1*, below; cf. P. Leyden 365, *rt. 7*: *bn st dy m-di-n.*

m di hpr-f: the suffix I take to refer to Merymose, although one might perhaps understand it impersonally: 'let it not be (i.e. in his case) like the way in which you treated me.'

10. *dr* (= *m-dr*) *wmn-i*, 'when I was'.

iw gs, etc.: the provisions here were presumably due to Meh, but were misappropriated and sold by the *hsty-c* during Meh's absence in Memphis; or possibly the latter means that the *hsty-c* would let him have only half of them without payment.

swnt-f: note suffix; Gardiner, *JEA* XXI, 143 (9).

11. *m dd*: here and in *vs. 5* used after *ky dd*. Here *m dd* seems to mean 'quoting', a sense which *r dd* could not bear. See Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 224.

12. *ib-i r ptri-k*: this and similar expressions are common in letters; e.g. Louvre 3230 A, 5; *L. Ram. Letters*, 1, 8 f.; 12, 6 f.; 15, 1; 40, 3; 66, 13.

r ih: the *Wörterbuch* (I, 123 (18)) gives only 'wherefore?', which would not make sense here; we should evidently take *r* as denoting extent.

irty(?)¹ i¹ mi c Mn-nfr: this graphic exaggeration, expressive of the lady's wide-eyed longing, has a proverbial look. Cf. *L. Ram. Letters*, 30, 11 f. For *mi c*, 'as big as', cf. *Blinding of Truth*, 9, 1. 5; 10, 2. 3.

Vs. 1: *hkr-k(wi) m ptri-k*: this figurative sense of *hkr* seems new; *Wb.* III, 175 (1) will hardly be a parallel and no case of the verb with *m* is there recorded.

hr tw-i dy hr dd, etc.: in the two Akhetaten letters we read *r-nti mk wi hr dd n ps Itn m 3ht-Itn imi snb-k*, etc.; there Peet insists (art. cit., p. 89 f.) that *dy* must be taken closely with *3ht-Itn* if we are not to credit the writer with a senseless truism. But the fact that we have *dy* without specification of the place is against Peet's view; so is *L. Ram. Letters*, 23, 11.


4. *hr·sn*, for *hr·s*.

¹ But see Gardiner, *Supplement*, p. 17 (top).

hr rn·k: cf. the exx. quoted *Wb.* II, 427 (7) f.; none of these refer to missives, but the parallel is close enough to put the meaning beyond doubt; cf. also *L. Ram. Letters*, 72, 16–73, 1.

4 f.: *mtw·k h3b n·i hr snb·k nb* (cf. l. 8, below): cf. Akhetaten letter no. 2, 4 f.

6. *ꜥw dꜥꜥ*: for widely divergent spellings of the former word, see Gardiner, *JEA* XXII, 182 f.; our example shows yet another variant.

7. *nktw*: there can be no doubt about the word, but the reading of the damaged sign or signs between  and the plural strokes (which are damaged also) is puzzling; the upper part of what looks like a single, nearly upright stroke must be a deformed \ominus . If, as seems inevitable, we must read what lies below as \times , it is strange that there is no visible trace of the other cross-stroke; perhaps the scribe forgot to add it.

iw m di in·tw bin: cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 792.

II. Baking Account

DESCRIPTION

A sheet of papyrus of good quality, 21·2 cm. high by 23·5 cm. wide. The *recto* (H/V) bears a finely written account of grain and meal used to make army provisions; the hand is like that of some of the contemporary documents published or republished by Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, but is not identical with any one of them. Brown paper has been gummed to the V/H side, except where there is writing; this consists of a list of names, against each of which the amount of two *hekat* of corn is entered. The total in the last line shows that there were eight names in the list, of which the last six and traces of another remain. The H/V text appears to be complete, although a strip at the bottom—the top of the V/H text—has been lost.

TRANSLATION

(*Rt.* 1) 'Year 3, month 2 of summer, day 29, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaꜥrēꜥ (l.p.h.), (2) Son of Rēꜥ Sety-Merenptah (l.p.h.), given life for ever and eternity like his father Rēꜥ.

(3) Amount made out in the harvest of year 2 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaꜥrēꜥ (l.p.h.), (4) being the amount of provisions for the army. Quantity thereof: emmer, 1 quadruple sack.

(5) Delivered therefrom, in wheat: $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{80}$ ($= \frac{47}{80}$) quadruple *hekat*; *ꜥmm*, 5 *hins*.

(6) Delivered therefrom, in flour 2 *hekat*.

(7) Delivered therefrom, in flour $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{20} + \frac{1}{80}$ ($= \frac{15}{16}$) quadruple *hekat*.

(8) *gmw*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *hins*.

(9) Delivered therefrom, in meal: making 383 *deben*, *sn-nwt* $7\frac{1}{2}$.

(10) Making 31 *ꜥkk*-loaves, each (at) 1[2] *deben*; making 372 *deben*; lost at one time (?), 11 *deben*.

(11) Delivered therefrom as coming from the fire, 31 *ꜥkk*-loaves, each (at) $10 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$ *deben*; making $333\frac{1}{4}$ *deben*, *sn-nwt* 6.'

NOTES

3. *mnt iryt*: cf. Spiegelberg, op. cit., pl. 4 B, l. 13.

4. *bty*: latest discussion Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 221* ff.

5 ff. *inyt im·f*: the suffix apparently agrees with *šmw*.

Recto.

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5a. Thus: , over erased sign in red. 6a. Thus: . See commentary. 7a-b. Thus: . See commentary. 10a. An upright stroke only remains. 10b. Thus: . See commentary.

5. Before $\overline{\text{nn}}$ is an apparently meaningless sign in black, over something, in red, which has been cancelled.

mm : the absence of m after b is peculiar. This seems to be yet another writing of a very variously written word which must be identical in at least some of the following places in the *Wb.*: I, 168 (3), (4); 169 (4), (15); 185 (5); 186 (3) f., (8).

6. nd : see Gardiner, *op. cit.* II, 227* f.

Two damaged and unidentifiable signs follow. The first is a tall sign like f ; the second seems at first sight to be c but is too short and very unlike other examples of that sign here. We should expect some word qualifying nd . f evidently stands here for f .

7. The unidentified word, which seems to be an adjective qualifying nd , begins with a tall sign, broken away on the left, which might be (e.g.) f . The lower of the two signs on the other side of the gap is certainly c ; the upper might be m , broadened (as it sometimes is) to match a broad letter below. The determinative hryt would lead us to expect hryt , but this reading is impossible.

8. gmw : a word exactly so written is found in P. Koller 3, 8, in a list of Nubian products: $\text{gmw n hyst m crf n insy}$. Gardiner, *Egn. Hieratic Texts*, p. 41, conjectures from the context that a mineral product ('precious stones'?) was meant. Cf. *Wb.* v, 170 (4)?

9 ff. In some manuscript notes of his on capacity measures in N.K. hieratic which Professor Gunn has kindly allowed me to consult and quote there is a revised interpretation of Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, pl. 3 A, 7. The passage reads:

$\text{f} \text{ o} \text{ r} \text{ e} \text{ i} \text{ n} \text{ f} \text{ l} \text{ o} \text{ u} \text{ r} \text{ e} \text{ 3} \frac{1}{2} \text{ f} \text{ l} \text{ o} \text{ a} \text{ v} \text{ e} \text{ s} \text{ 1} \frac{1}{10} \text{ o} \text{ f} \text{ p} \text{ (f) s} \text{ w} \text{ 1} \frac{1}{2} \text{ d} \text{ b} \text{ n} \text{ .}$

which he translates: 'Flour f f $3\frac{1}{2}$. Came from it 168 ckk -loaves, each at $13\frac{1}{2}$ dbn . $\frac{1}{10}$ of p(f)sw $1\frac{1}{2}$ dbn .' P(f)sw is here merely the *weight* of each loaf, of which one-tenth is lost in baking, as Gunn's interpretation of the passage shows. Approximately the same loss of weight is found in our reckonings, of which the main lines seem clear: after the loss $(\text{skw})^2$ of 11 dbn from an original amount of 383 dbn of meal the remaining 372 have made 31 ckk -loaves (a large kind, see Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, refs. in index), each of 1[2] dbn ; these when baked weigh each $10\frac{3}{4}$ dbn (having lost $1\frac{1}{4}$ dbn by evaporation): so the whole baking will now weigh only $333\frac{1}{4}$ dbn . In the example quoted above it is nd which has lost one-tenth of its weight in baking, but in ours it is stated to be šdt , which we should perhaps translate here 'meal' rather than 'dough', the latter term implying a wet, and therefore heavier, mixture than nd . Gunn notes from the passage which he has discussed that one f of flour will weigh about 65.52 kg.

There remain a few puzzling features in these lines: I cannot explain 2-nwt (plainly written with o in l. 9; less plainly in 11); it appears not to affect the reckoning. Professor Gunn, however, has called my attention to the mysterious Coptic word cene , discussed by Worrell, *Coptic Texts*, 260 f.; Gunn, review of latter, in *Bull. School Or. Afr. Studies*, XII, 265.

In l. 10 after w I read, very doubtfully, sp 2 , and understand the numeral as a senseless addition; m w sp , 'on one occasion', would make good sense.

¹ f is here to be read as p(f)sw , but elsewhere, e.g. Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, pls. 3 A, 18; 7 A, 15; 19, we must read it as ht : see n. on l. 11 below.

² Elsewhere (*Wb.* I, 21 (20)) of loss of weight in cooking.

11. *m pr m ht*: the correct explanation of this expression is given by *Wb.* I, 524, s.v. *prj*; the *Belegstellen* thereto quote, beside P. Ebers 42, 7; 76, 13 (where we have the full writing), *Rechnungen*, pls. 3 A, 18; 7 A, 15; 19; in the latter instances abbreviated to *m prt ht*. But in *Wb.* III, 218, where reference seems to be to the same passages of *Rechnungen*, a less accurate interpretation is given; furthermore, doubt is expressed whether is really to be read *ht* there. This doubt is dispelled by the fuller writing in our text; and the expression means here, as elsewhere, simply 'come out of the fire', i.e. the oven.

Vs. 3; 7 f.: the of the feminine ending of the name is omitted.

4. *3st-htp-ti*: not in Ranke, *Personennamen*.
5. *Sth-m-mrw*: also new; but cf. *Mit-Imn*, op. cit. 144, 2.
6. *Szw-m-mr(?)n-3st*: op. cit. 302, 7.
7. A spelling of the name *Nh(y)t*, op. cit. 206, 22; 26.

III. Exercises in Literary Composition

DESCRIPTION

A completely preserved rectangle of fine papyrus, 14.9 cm. high by 32.8 cm. broad. The writing on the V/H side is flowing and on the whole well formed and clear, with some lapses, however; points in red added high above the line divide the text into short clauses.¹ The orthography is rather negligent. The writing of the H/V side is evidently by the same hand, but is smaller, and very careless and irregular. The papyrus is dated by a reference, in l. 5 of the V/H text, to Sethos I.

The H/V text (B) is an unintelligible string of words and phrases; we may compare the jottings on the *versos* of some of the texts published by Gardiner in *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, though for a mere meaningless scribble it is surprisingly long. No continuous translation has been attempted. The V/H text (A) is composed of intelligible and sometimes well-known phrases; but whereas ll. 1-2 are addressed to a vizier, apparently deceased, ll. 3-5 consist of adulation of the reigning King, comparable with some of the texts in *L.-Eg. Misc.*, though not like any of them in detail. L. 6, which is separated from the last by a space, is less clear and its relevance to the preceding text is not apparent. On the whole it seems likely that A, though apparently more lucid than B, and more carefully set out, is like it a mere exercise.

A (Recto)

TRANSLATION

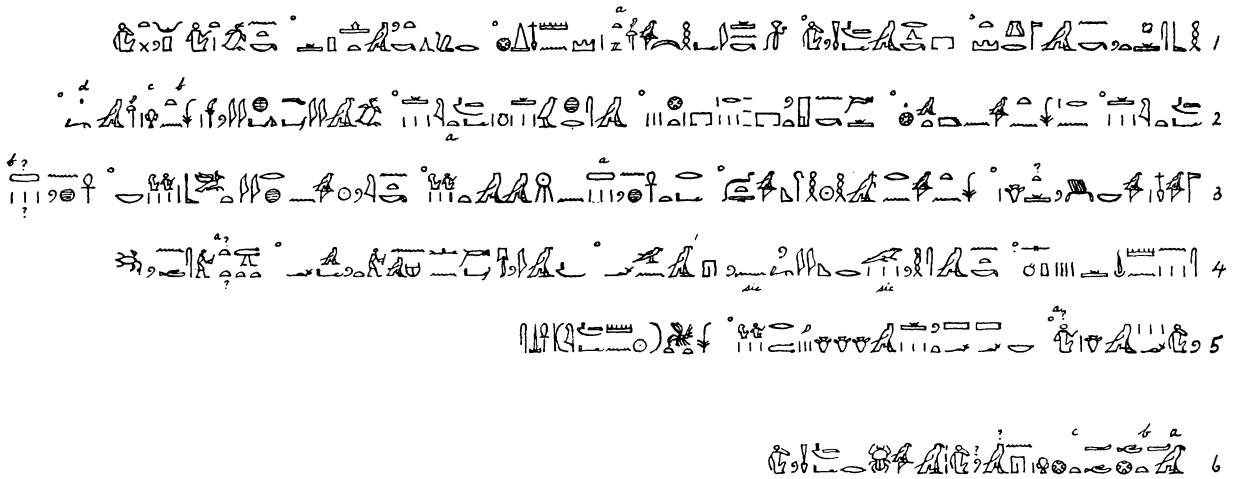
(1) 'May reckoning be made unto thee in the necropolis; mayest thou come forth justified; may the moon be favourable (?) to thee (on) the west of Memphis, till thou have arrived in peace;

¹ In my transcription these points have been put, for the sake of clarity, at the ends of the clauses which they were meant to terminate, although in some cases they were actually placed above the last sign, or even (e.g. l. 2, end) before this.

	<i>Verso.</i>	
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	(traces)	2
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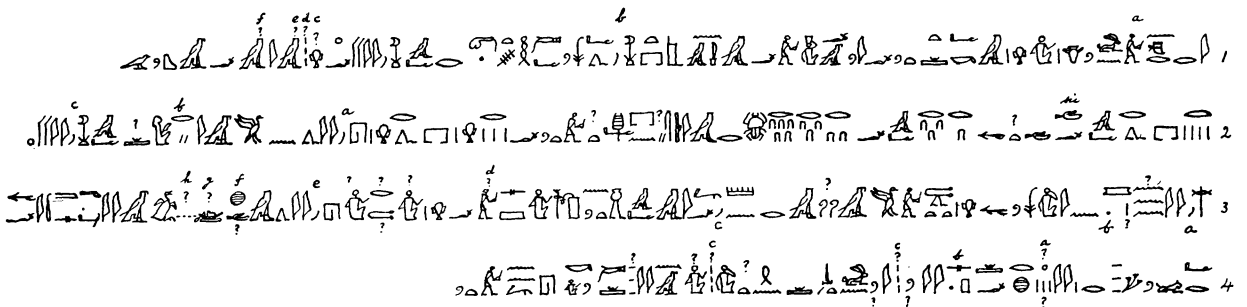
3a. Simply a vertical stroke with a dot above.
 4a. As last, but even more summary: dot and stroke joined. 5a. Spot of ink above sign, presumably fortuitous. 8a. Comparable form in *Mollen Palaeographie II* (from P. Abbott).

V/H: Text A.



1a. $\bar{\pi}$ ligatured. 2a. a nest abnormally written: see photo. 2b. $\bar{\pi}$ very negligently written; $\bar{\pi}$ a mere oblique smudge. 2c. $\bar{\pi}$ most defectively written. 2d. The dot is presumably for $\bar{\pi}$. 3a. The sign transcribed as \square looks much like \square , \square or $\bar{\pi}$. 3b. The determinative and plural strokes combined into a single indeterminate stroke. 4a, 5a: see commentary. 6a. A short oblique stroke against the right-hand top of \square is probably fortuitous and not to be read as 1. 6b, c. The writing of a resembles $\bar{\pi}$; cf, however, the first occurrence of the sign in l. 1.

H/V: Text B.



1a. This form throughout in B. 1b. For $\bar{\pi}$. 1c, d. Doubtful; but cf. A, l. 6. 1e, f. Doubtful; might be $\bar{\pi}$. 2a. As 1b, above. 2b. An ugly ligature which might be no more than well-formed \square . 2c. As 1b. 3a. For \square . 3b. Dot for $\bar{\pi}$? 3c. For $\bar{\pi}$ or \square . 3d. Very doubtful; if so read, perhaps written as correction over increased $\bar{\pi}$. 3e. As 1b. 3f. Possibly $\bar{\pi}$. 3g-h. Thus: $\bar{\pi}$. Apparently two signs, of which the first might be the eccentric or defective writing of $\bar{\pi}$ found in Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen* 13a, 3. 4a. If so to be read, very summary. 4b. Dot, for \square . Cf. P. Nockhous 3, 38 and P.-R., *Page Turin*, pl. 139, l. 36. 4c. A mere upright stroke.

thou art the vizier, revealing (2) truth, the Mouth of the King of Egypt; thou hast filled the fanes and temples and cities with the counsels of truth; bearer of the fan on the right of the King.'

(3) 'Fair god, lord of joy, King for ever, ruler for eternity, who givest victuals to the sun-folk; thou art Shu of the commonalty, and of all people; their victuals (4) are established fourfold (?); thou art a savage (?) crocodile which does not miss, a lion which takes hold and from which (the prey) cannot be taken; a seizer (?), fear (5) of whom is in my heart; a lord of reverence in the hearts of men, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menma $\bar{\pi}$ r $\bar{\pi}$ c (l.p.h.).'

(6) 'O H $\bar{\pi}$ r-Behdety, Behdet is rejoicing (because) Horus is become (?) justified.'

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NOTES

A. 1. *hbs*, for *hsb*: here, with *n*+suffix, used evidently of a reckoning in the favour of the deceased in the after-world. For a similar mis-spelling cf. *Griffith Studies*, 54, n. 48 (I owe this reference to Professor Gunn).

wꜥd (?) *n·k*: if it is so to be read, we may perhaps understand the word in the sense of 'fortunate', 'favourable'; see *Wb.* I, 265 (15). But perhaps (as often) for *wꜥd*: 'has been assigned' to thee. In either case the expression is unfamiliar and I do not understand the allusion to the moon.

It seems necessary to supply \diamond before *imnt*.

r pꜥt·k: *sꜥmt·f* form, which may well have relatively past force here; see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 407.

wꜥ mꜥrt: as epithet of the vizier, see *Wb.* I, 299 (10).

2. *r n nsw n Kmt*: for similar expressions see Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, p. 117 f.

ꜥꜥꜥ hꜥw, etc.: the expression occurs frequently in the adulatory compositions in *L.-Eg. Misc.*, e.g. p. 21, l. 5; 34, 2; 38, 9; 56, 15; 98, 19; 112, 12. Here, appropriately, of the vizier; cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 23*.

3. *ꜥnhw*: apparently the word cited by *Wb.* I, 205 (8). At its second occurrence here, at the end of the line, the word is very badly written, with a nearly dry pen and in insufficient space.

Šw n rhyt, etc.: the expression seems not to occur elsewhere.

bw nb: note that the determinative and plural strokes do duty for the preceding *rhyt* as well.

4. *IV sp*: the numeral preceding, cf. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten . . .* 52 f. I cannot explain this addition; as an adverbial expression modifying *mn* it seems to make little sense, and as a ritual instruction, '(repeat) four times', it would seem even more pointless.

rꜥꜥꜥꜥ: here apparently with the sense 'froward', 'fierce'. As a royal (and therefore complimentary) epithet it seems strange; but cf. the demotic Tefēnet legend, col. 8, l. 13? For the comparison of the victorious King to the crocodile, see Grapow, *op. cit.*, 95 f.

n whꜥ·n·f: $\overline{\text{---}}$ for $\overline{\text{---}}$. For the expression see *Wb.* I, 339 (10); here used, not of marksmanship, but of the unerring deadliness of the crocodile's attack.

mꜥꜥ mꜥ, etc.: I can find no parallel to this absolute use of *mꜥ*; an object is, of course, understood, as we see from the next clause. For comparisons of the King or a god to a lion jealous of its prey, see Grapow, *op. cit.* 70 ff., and cf. *Wenamūn* 2, 34.

ꜥꜥ (?): the group after $\overline{\text{---}}$ might be $\overline{\text{---}}$, or $\overline{\text{---}}$ —a confusion of *ꜥꜥ* and *dr*, followed by their common determinative?

5. *m ꜥꜥꜥꜥ*; since $\overline{\text{---}}$ and $\overline{\text{---}}$ are not always distinguishable in this hand, the latter would not be impossible here; but cf. B, l. 1, which is probably 1st sing. suffix.

B. 1. *ndr*: apparently the verb 'seize', 'take hold'; but I cannot connect it with what follows.

wnw ib-i hr mkt-f: for *hr mkt-f*, 'in its proper position', describing parts of the body, see *Wb.* II, 161 (8).

iw f:f m nmst, 'he weighs with the *nmst*'. The latter seems to be a weight; see *Wb.* II, 269 (9) f.; to the *Belegstellen* add *Horus and Seth*, 5, 2.

hrc sw, 'let it go'?

mht: I cannot identify this strangely determined word.

r mhry-f, 'to balance it'?

skw: perhaps a reference to loss of weight from some cause.

2. $\frac{1}{4}$ *pr*, etc.: apparently in the sense of 'to result'.

cdfdt: for *fdt*?

isy (?) n chct-f (?), 'chamber of his tomb'? The determinative of the latter word perhaps a mistake for Δ .

hr pr(t) hr hry n p: ir(y)-mhry(t), 'going up and coming down (?) to the keeper of the scales'?

3. *ndy*: in view of the determinatives, can this be connected with *ndj*, *Wb.* II, 377 (11) f.?

n i(w)sw, etc.: '.....of the hand-balance, seizing the zoo (?) with its arm'? For *rmn* as arm of a balance, see *Wb.* II, 418 (10), where an example with *iwsw* (*Peasant*, B 1, 166) is given.

imi in-tw sš, 'let a scribe be brought'.

sš-f hr-i (?): I do not know which *sš* is intended here; it might even be a phonetic writing of *sš* 'write', cf. Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, index, *s.v.*

rmt(?) hry m hd(?) t:ygst-f crw ry(t), 'a man (?) who is going northward (?), who takes his palette, pens (and) ink'?

I can make no sense of what remains, and, in fact, the whole text is most obscure. The only idea which gives it any semblance of coherence is the recurring theme of weighing and measurement.

WRITING PALETTE OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMŪN, SMENDES

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

IN 1943 the Cairo Museum acquired by purchase a late hieratic papyrus containing a Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days similar to that of Papyrus Sallier IV, but more complete than any version previously known.¹ According to its former owner—a well-known Cairo antiquities dealer—the papyrus was found in western Thebes in 1939 and with it were found a pair of bronze tweezers and the wooden writing palette illustrated in Plates XIII–XIV. In the summer of 1947 the tweezers and the palette (with 6 rush pens) were offered for sale to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and in October of the same year were purchased by the Museum and added to its Egyptian collection under the accession number 47.123 A–H.

Although completely simple and thoroughly utilitarian in design the palette is rather a handsome object—large, nicely made, and with a fine surface finish. Its length (48.6 cm., or about 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.) may have been one of many local variants of the *cubit* and its width (7.2 cm.) is just under the standard *palm*. The thickness from one end to the other varies only slightly, from 1 to 1.1 cm. With the exception of the thin 'slip', or sliding cover of the lower section of the pen-slot, the palette is carved from a single piece of hardwood, light in colour, and prominently grained.² Like a very similar palette in the British Museum, published some years ago by Professor Glanville,³ the present example is not provided with ink-wells, the black and red writing pigments being simply encrusted in two broad rectangular patches at the upper end of the front surface.

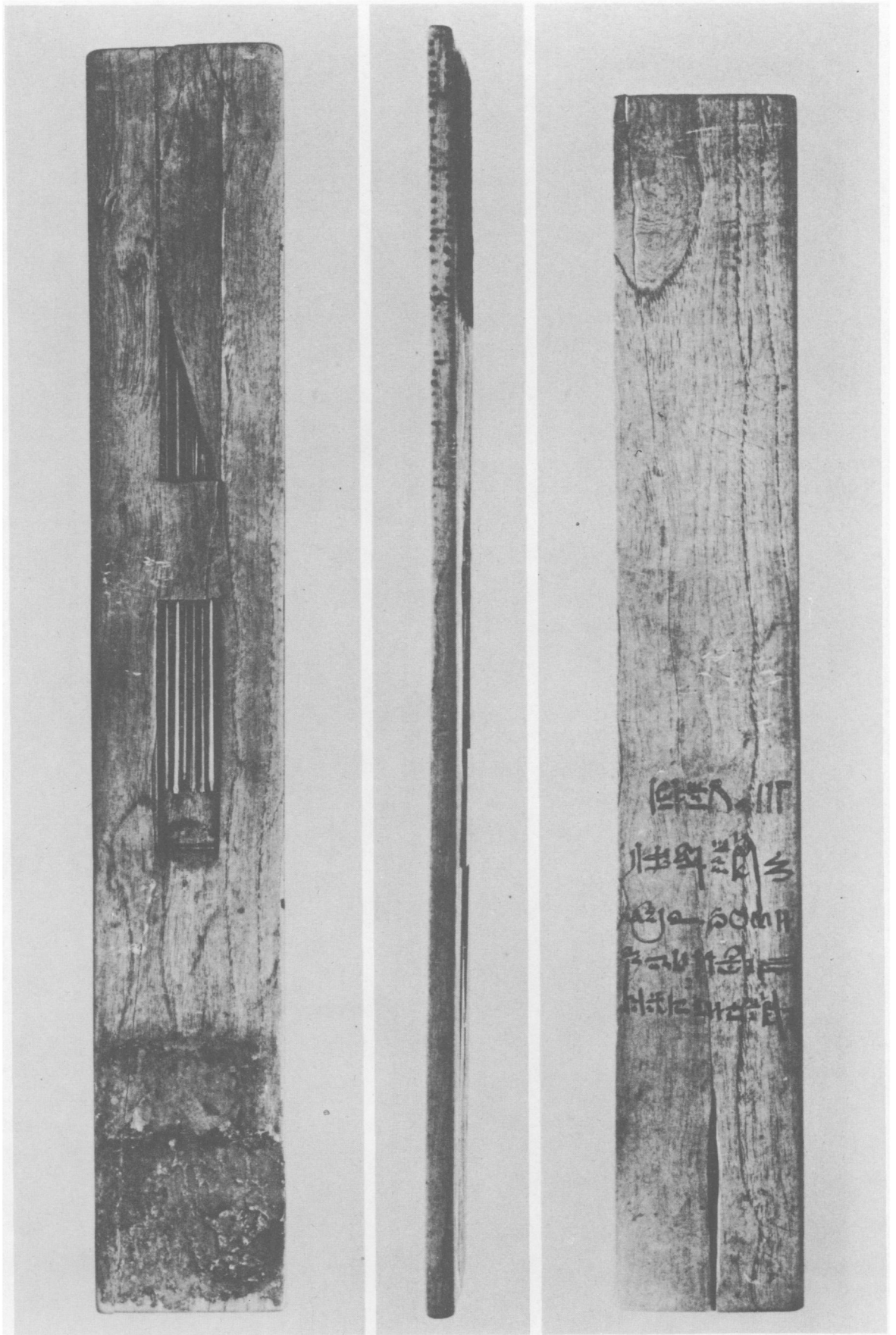
On each of the narrow lateral surfaces of the palette a makeshift scale was at one time laid out in black ink (see Plate XIII). In both cases the 21 main divisions of the scale, marked off by vertical lines, range in length from 2.2 to 2.7 cm., the average being about 2.3 cm. Each division was in turn subdivided into 6 parts by two parallel rows of 5 dots, or ticks, lined up along the edges of the surface. Although rough and conforming apparently to no standard system of linear measure, this scale would permit enlargements (or reductions) of designs at a ratio of 1:6 to be made easily and with a fair degree of accuracy and consistency and would greatly facilitate the laying out of the two sets of copying squares employed in such operations.⁴ The scale, 1:6, may reflect the ratio which existed between the *palm* and the short *cubit* of 6 *palms*. It

¹ *Journal d'entrée*, no. 86637. Černý, *Ann. Serv.* XLIII, 179–80; Guéraud, *ibid.* XLIV, 243–50.

² No one I have consulted is able definitely to identify the wood, but it is evidently from a small tree and in all probability from some species of fruit-tree.

³ *JEA* XVIII, 61, no. 5520, pl. 9, figs. 1, 4. See also Winlock, *Bull. MMA* IX, 182.

⁴ Baud, *Dessins ébauchés (Mém. Inst. fr.* 63), 51–2, 57–8; Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, I, 21, 61; II, pls. 9A, 10A.



WRITING PALETTE OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMÛN, SMENDES

should not, in any event, puzzle a people like ourselves who have long been content with a system of linear measure involving a ratio of 1 : 12 between its smaller and larger units.



No ceremonial object, the palette shows copious evidence of long, hard usage. It is soiled and spotted with ink and its surfaces are worn smooth from much handling, the lower two-thirds of the scale on either edge being almost entirely rubbed away. The tips of two of the six rush pens,¹ contained in the ink-stained pen-slot, are caked with black pigment.

It was perhaps with one of these two pens that someone, in a bold and stylish hand, wrote the five short lines of late hieratic inscription which appear on the back of the palette (Plate XIII) and which give, without much question, the titles and name of its owner (Plate XIV):²

1. *The High Priest of Amūn,*
2. *the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of Upper and Lower*
3. *Egypt, the leader,*
4. *Nesy-Ba-neb-Dēd(et), who is (at) the head of*
5. *the great army of³ the whole Southern Region.⁴*


Interesting as it would be to suppose that Nesy-Ba-neb-Dēdet, or—to use the familiar Greek version of the name—Smendes, wrote the inscription with his own hand, there is not much likelihood that this was the case. From the freshness and unrubbed appearance of the writing it is, in fact, clear that the inscription was not added until after the palette had been retired from use—presumably on the occasion of the death and burial of its owner. This in turn leads to the altogether reasonable conclusion that the palette and the papyrus found with it are from the tomb, or burial-place, of the High Priest Smendes, in the Theban necropolis.



Ruling out King Smendes, the Tanite founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty, whom we have no reason to associate with a writing palette found at Thebes, we still have to choose as its owner between two well-known men of the same name who held the office of High Priest of Amūn during the period following the end of the New Kingdom. These were the High Priest Smendes who was apparently a contemporary of King Psusennes I of the Twenty-first Dynasty (1005–964 B.C.),⁵ and the High Priest Smendes named in quay inscriptions at Karnak as a son of King Osorkon I of the Twenty-second Dynasty (929–893 B.C.).⁶

In making the choice we have, admittedly, very little to go on. The writing of the name with the sign , instead of with the somewhat more common , is without

¹ Lengths 16.5 to 19.3 cm.; diameters 0.18 to 0.30 cm. The ends of the rushes are usually broken, but in two cases the writing-tips appear to have been trimmed with a knife at an angle of about 45°.

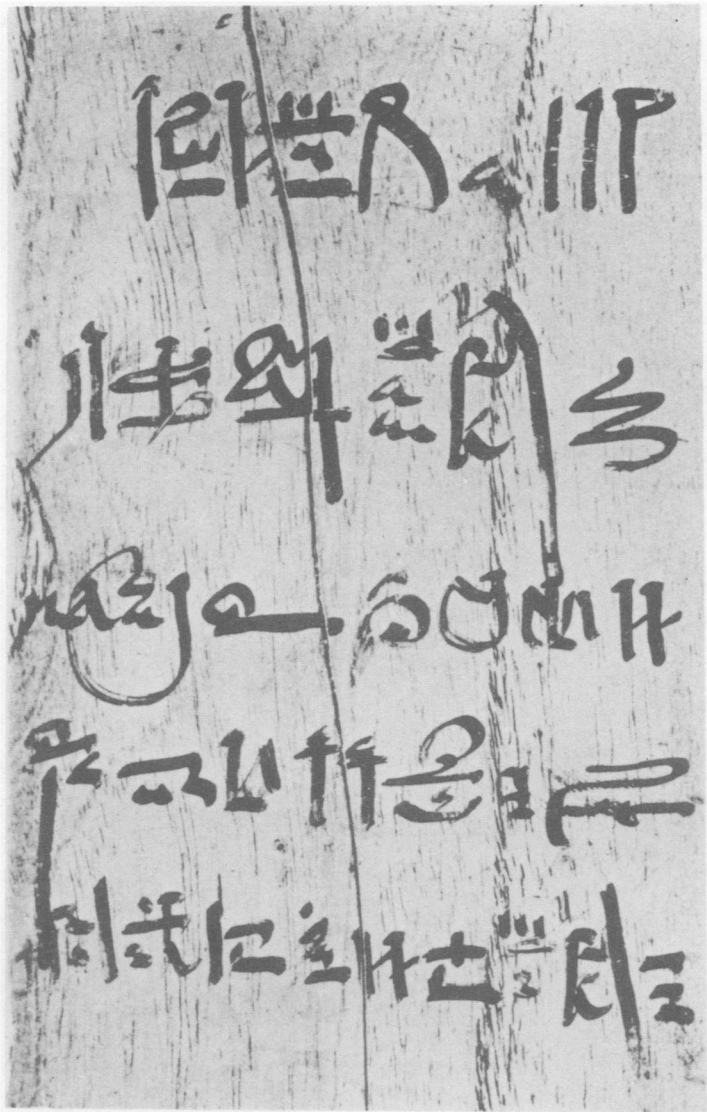
² I am indebted to Professor Černý for several valuable suggestions regarding the transcription.

³ One of the two s is superfluous.

⁴  . See Sethe, *ZAS* XI 'v, 4, 7.

⁵ Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 271, 280, 282; Wreszinski, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon, Supplement*, § 38 A. On the position of Psusennes I in the Twenty-first Dynasty see Černý, 'Studies in the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty', Parts III and IV, which will appear in later volumes of *JEA*.

⁶ Gauthier, *op. cit.* III, 332; Wreszinski, *Hohenpriester*, § 42.



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HIERATIC INSCRIPTION ON THE PALETTE OF SMENDES

successor, King Takelot I (893–870 B.C.).¹ That he became High Priest of Amūn between the 5th and 8th years of this reign (888–885 B.C.) is indicated by the fact that in year 5 of what was probably also the reign of Takelot I Yewelot was still in office.² How long Smendes served as High Priest we do not know, but three partially erased Nile marks, which follow that of year 14,³ suggest that his pontificate was a fairly long one. In the absence of evidence to the contrary we may suppose that he was succeeded in office, late in the reign of Takelot I, by his nephew, the High Priest Waskes.⁴

The titles of Smendes preserved on the palette reflect the essentially military character of the successors of Ḥeriḥor, an army officer who, as Kees has brilliantly demonstrated, assumed the office of High Priest of Amūn mainly to provide a theological background and lend an air of respectability to his seizure of political power in Upper Egypt.⁵

¹ See Daressy, loc. cit.; Gauthier, op. cit. III, 331, 333–4.

² Legrain, *ZÄS* xxxiv, 113, no. 16; Daressy, loc. cit.; Gauthier, op. cit. III, 331.

³ Legrain, loc. cit., nos. 19–21. See Gauthier, op. cit. III, 332, n. 3; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., 537.

⁴ Son of the High Priest Yewelot. Petrie, *History*, III, 264–5, fig. 108; *Amulets*, 24, no. 91 d, pl. x. Followed by another nephew, Harsiēse, son of the High Priest, Sheshonḳ, who in the reign of Osorkon II assumed royal titles (Gauthier, op. cit. III, 348).

⁵ *Nachr. Göttingen*, neue Folge, Bd. II, no. 1 (1936). See also Edgerton, *JNES* VI, 153. Evidence of a parallel development at Tanis has been adduced by Kees (*Nachr. Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1944, 177–8) and Montet (*Tanis*, 155; *Drame d'Avaris*, 189–90).

THE ΣΗΚΟΣ OF APIS AT MEMPHIS

A SEASON OF EXCAVATIONS AT MĪT RAHĪNAH IN 1941¹

By MUSTAFA EL AMIR

EARLY in 1941, despite all the difficulties of the War, the Antiquities Department agreed to spend a small sum of money on excavation at Memphis where I was at the time Inspector of Saḳḳārah.

Dr. Ahmad Badawi was in charge of the work, with myself as his assistant. We selected a site at Kom el-Fakhry, to the north-west of the colossus of Ramesses II and to the south-east of the temple of Ptah, not far from the road leading from Mīt Rahīnah to Saḳḳārah (see Map, Petrie, *Memphis I*). The site, under the palm-groves of Mīt Rahīnah (pl. XV, 1), has been familiar to archaeologists for some time. Sir Flinders Petrie's trial pits had exposed three or four blocks of alabaster inscribed with the cartouches of Sheshonḳ; we started our work on the same spot on the 6th of March and closed down at the end of April. Much information was obtained. An important discovery was a building which I hope to show was the σῆκος of the Apis Bull. In the present article no attempt is made to give a full report of the excavation and its results; my aim is to offer an interpretation of selected material among the finds, namely, of that material which may be considered to support the accounts of classical writers.

I. Finds

On the second day of our work we came across a large offering table in the form of a bed (4 m. by 2 m. with a base of 5.50 m. long).² It is hewn out of a single block of alabaster, with lions carved in relief on both sides (pl. XV, 2). Three very shallow steps lead from the base up to the bed at its southern end (pl. XV, 3). At the opposite end, a circular alabaster vessel was intended to receive liquid flowing through a spout from the sloping surface of the bed (pl. XV, 4). Four alabaster altars were found close to the western side (pls. XV, 3, 6). The one found nearest to the bed³ measures 90 × 50 × 35 cm. and is inscribed with the name of King Necho of Dyn. XXVI. He dedicated this altar to the dead bull Apis and the inscription reads: 'The good god, *Whm-ib-Rc*, the Lord of the Two Lands, Necho, the beloved of Osir-Ḥap, living for ever like Rēc (pl. XV, 5).' Neither the bed nor the other three altars are inscribed.⁴ Behind the altars the ground was paved with huge blocks of limestone (pl. XV, 6). When these were removed we found a large shallow rectangular basin of limestone with an outflow in the centre of one of the shorter sides. It measures 4 m. × 3.35 m. (pl. XVI, 1). Bed, altars, and basin are to the south-east of a court extending to an as yet uncertain distance

¹ I am under a great obligation to Professor Glanville for reading this article and contributing many remarks.

² This discovery was reported in *JEA* xxvii, 165.

³ Cf. the sandstone altar in Mond-Myers, *Bucheum*, III, pl. 62, fig. 14.

⁴ Cf. Winlock, *Ann. Serv.* xxx, 102.

to the north and west. A limestone portal at the south end of this court (pl. XVI, 2) leads to another court extending to the west and parallel to the former (pl. XVI, 3). In this court we found another large bed hewn out of a single block of alabaster. It is smaller in size ($3.50 \times 1.60 \times 0.60$ m.) and placed on a limestone base (pl. XVI, 4). The two courts were then cleared to the pavement level and we shall refer to them here as the first and second court respectively.¹

A number of blocks of stone, fragments of statues, mangers, and alabaster vases were found scattered about the site, and most probably *in situ*. From these I have chosen the following for discussion:

Pl. XVI, 5. A. A second limestone basin with a spout at its end, and a pile of ox bones lying on it.

B. A square block of alabaster ($1.80 \times 1.58 \times 0.80$ m.) inscribed with the name of King Amasis of Dyn. XXVI. The dedication is made to the *living bull* Apis.

Piles of ox bones scattered around (not shown).

Pl. XVI, 6. A. A rectangular basin of limestone (1.04×0.47 m.).

B. A terra-cotta silo.

C. An alabaster vessel.

D. Two alabaster pavement-bricks.

E. Two stands for wooden poles.

F. Remains of two other terra-cotta silos.

A rectangular alabaster block in the shape of a brick (not shown).

Pl. XVII, 1. The front part of a diorite figure of a bull.

Pl. XVII, 2. It is worth mentioning here that we found a large alabaster vase inscribed with the name of the Persian King Darius I in the 34th year of his reign. It marks the capacity 72 *hnw* (32.4 litres). On account of its weight it is certain that it was not a measure for general use, but was most probably kept in the place as a standard. It is dedicated to the *living bull* Apis.

Pl. XVII, 3. In the second court, close to the eastern side of the second bed and under the pavement, was found a deep limestone trough (87×67 cm.) with a section of the rim intentionally cut away on one side.

Pl. XVII, 4. Two fragments of limestone found in the debris, on each of which is represented the mummified bull being carried in a kiosk mounted on wheels (cf. Mond-Myers, *Bucheum*, vol. III, pl. 109, Leipzig relief, and Petrie, *Memphis IV*, pl. 31).

To complete the evidence from the excavation, we should mention the organic and other remains found in a jar and those found scattered round the second bed. This was submitted to the laboratory of the Cairo Museum to be examined both chemically and microscopically. The result of the analysis is given below (pp. 55-6).

¹ I am sorry I cannot include here a plan of the whole building, as it is not yet completely excavated and the final results of these excavations are to be published elsewhere. The photographs are those only of the objects which concern us in the following discussion. I am indebted to Dr. Ahmad Badawi for his kind permission to reproduce them in the present article.



1. The site before excavation



2. Limestone offering-table in first court



3. Steps up to offering-table



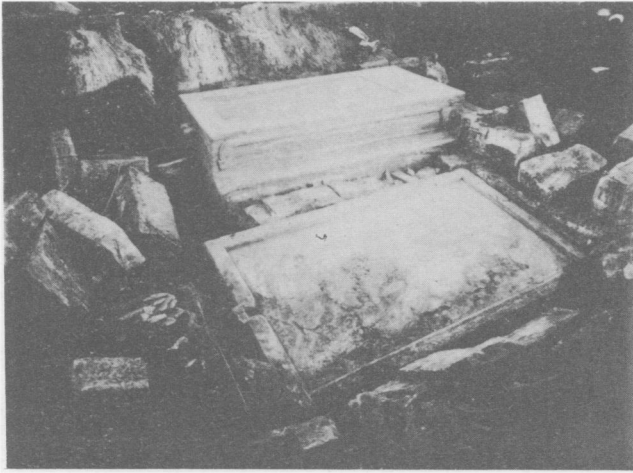
4. Spout and bowl for draining-table



5. Inscription of King Necho on altar



6. The first court, showing paving, limestone offering-table, and alabaster altar



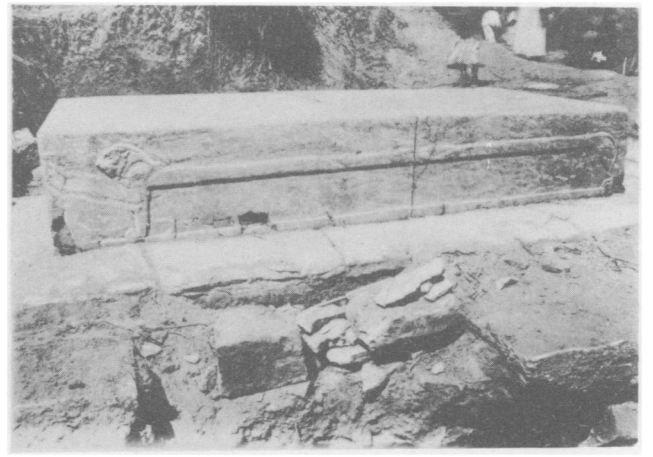
1. Limestone basin in first court



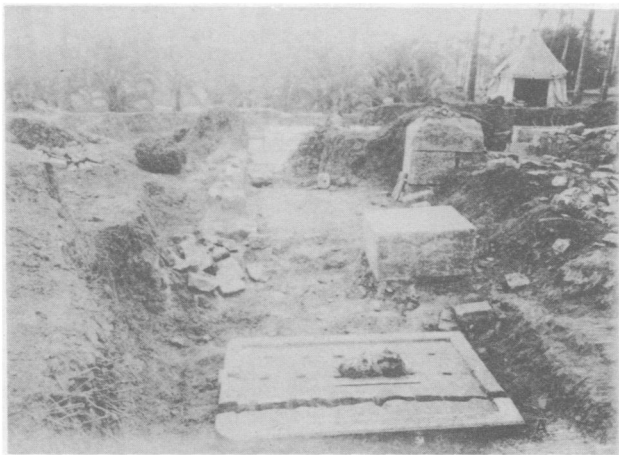
2. Limestone portal



3. Second court



4. Offering-table in second court



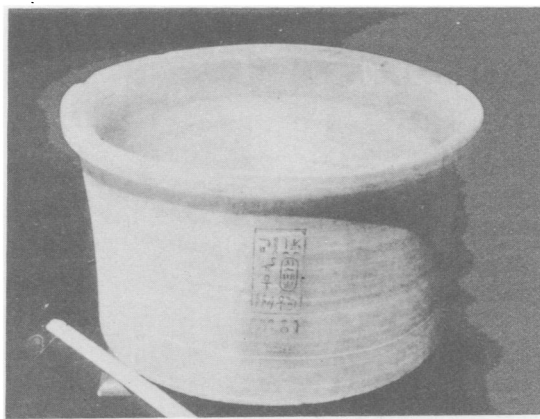
5. Second limestone basin, with ox-bones



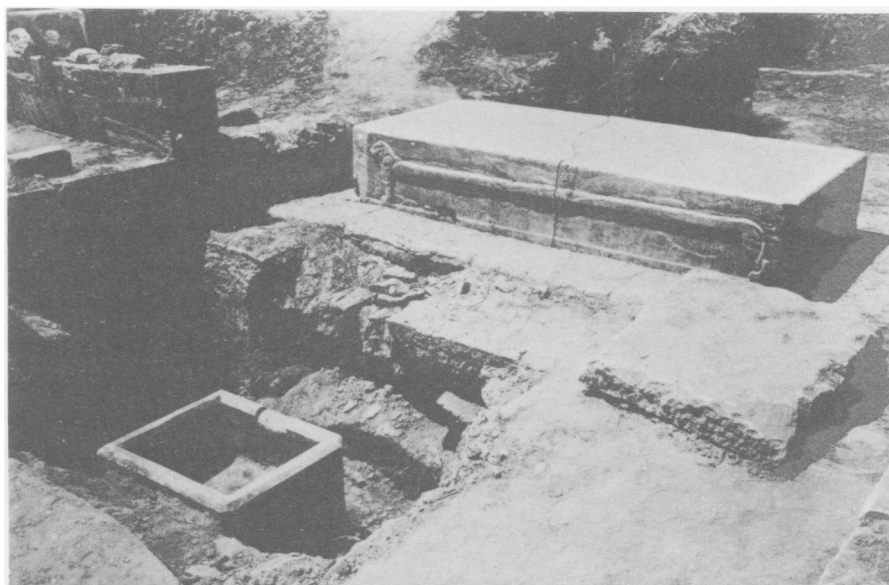
6. Group of objects found



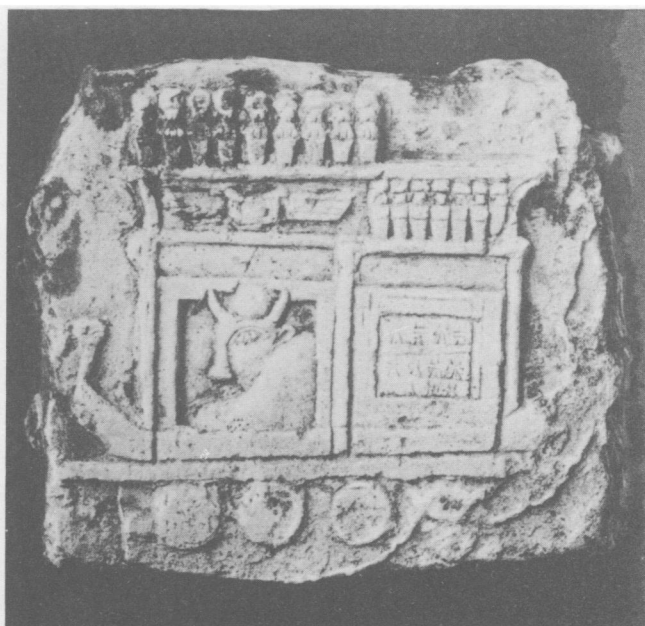
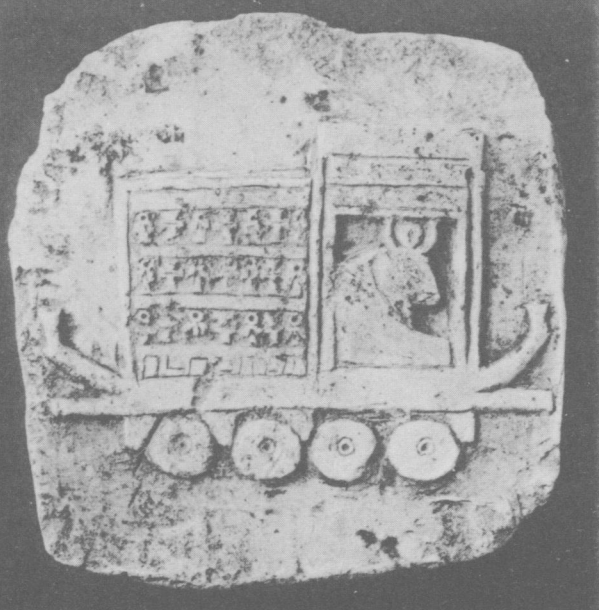
1. Diorite figure of bull



2. Alabaster vase of Darius I



3. Limestone trough under pavement of second court



4. Two limestone fragments showing mummified bull in wheeled kiosk

II. Ancient and Classical Sources referring to the Bull Apis and His Temple at Memphis

Unfortunately, there is not much material referring to the *living bull* Apis. Information about the *dead bull* Apis is more plentiful. We know that Apis was a prominent figure among the gods of the Egyptian Pantheon, and that there existed a temple for him at Memphis from early dynastic times. We know also that animal worship received a special emphasis during Dyn. XXVI. Our information about the *living* as well as the *dead* bull is derived from Herodotus, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, and the Apis Papyrus.

A. *Herodotus*, Book II, 153:¹

'Psammetichus. having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outer court of Hephaestus' Temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all round it and many carved figures; the roof is held up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars. Apis is in the Greek language Epaphus.'

B. *Diodorus of Sicily*, Book I, 84:²

'As for the ceremonies connected with the Apis of Memphis, the Mnevis of Heliopolis and the goat of Mendes, as well as with the crocodile of the Lake of Moeris, the lion kept in the city of Lions (Leontopolis), as it is called, and many other ceremonies like them, they could easily be described, but the writer would scarcely be believed by any who had not actually witnessed them. For these animals are kept in sacred enclosures and are cared for by many men of distinction who offer them the most expensive fare; for they provide, with unflinching regularity, the finest wheaten flour or wheat-groats seethed in milk, every kind of sweet-meat made with honey, and the meat of ducks, either boiled or baked, while for the carnivorous animals birds are caught and thrown to them in abundance, and, in general, great care is given that they have an expensive fare. . . . They are continually bathing the animals in warm water, anointing them with the most precious ointments and burning before them every kind of fragrant incense; . . . furthermore, with every animal they keep the most beautiful females of the same genus, which they call his concubines and attend to at the cost of heavy expense and assiduous service.'

C. *Strabo*, Geography, Book XVII, i, 31:³

'It (Memphis) contains temples, one of which is that of Apis, who is the same as Osiris; it is here that the bull Apis is kept in a kind of sanctuary, being regarded, as I have said, as god. . . . In front of the sanctuary is situated a court, in which there is another sanctuary belonging to the bull's mother. Into this court they set Apis loose at a certain hour, particularly that he may be shown to foreigners; for although people can see him through the window in the sanctuary, they wish to see him outside also, but when he has finished a short bout of skipping in the court they take him back again to his familiar stall.'

D. *The so-called Apis Papyrus*; the Demotic Pap. Vienna No. 27 translated by Spiegelberg in *ZÄS* LVI, *Ein Bruchstück des Bestattungsrituals des Apisstiers*, gives a complete account of the mummification of the bull Apis at the time of Dyn. XXVI. Our information here is mostly taken from the English translation of the papyrus in Mond-Myers, op. cit. Vol. I.

¹ *Herodotus Book II*, with English translation by A. D. Godley, I, 465.

² *Diodorus of Sicily*, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, W. H. D. Rouse, the Loeb classical library, with an English translation by C. H. Oldfather, London, 1933.

³ *The Geography of Strabo*, Eng. trans. by H. L. Jones, London, 1932.

P. 6: 'From the evidence of *The Apis Papyrus* it is gathered that a complete system of mummification was practised at the time of Apries and Amasis and it is highly probable that this was the date at which mummification was begun.'

Mr. Faulkner suggests that this change may have been due to the increased attention to animal worship which began at that time (*ibid.*, note 2). The results of our excavations at Mît Rahīnah confirm this suggestion and throw some light on the daily life of Apis. From the sources quoted it will be seen that at least as much, if not more, attention was paid to the living Apis than to the dead.

How far is it possible to equate the evidence from excavation at Memphis with that of the records?

1. Our site is situated to the south of the Great Temple of Ptaḥ. The temple of Apis according to Herodotus (Book II, 153) and Strabo (Book XVII, 1, 31) is close to the south of the Hephaestum. It should be possible to confirm this statement by further excavations in the area between our site and the southern wall of the temple of Ptaḥ, where the temple of Apis should be (the area is now cultivated land belonging to the people of Mît Rahīnah).¹

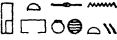
It is a reasonable assumption that our building is that which contained the stall of Apis and which was attached to his temple; i.e. the place where he was kept and looked after as an animal and as a god. This building mentioned in the Greek text as the Ἀπιδιον is also mentioned in the demotic version as *tst Hp* (the place of Apis) and in the hieroglyphic as the *ht shn nt Hp cnh* (the dwelling-house of the Living Apis).² The following evidence seems to support this hypothesis:

A. The alabaster measure (pl. XVII, 2) is dedicated to the living bull, and those responsible for the well-being of the bull must have adhered strictly to correct quantities in its food.

B. Diodorus' statement, 'They are continually bathing the animals in warm water, anointing them with the most precious ointments, and burning before them every kind of fragrant incense.' I suggest that the great alabaster bed (pl. XV, 2) was used for washing and/or mummifying the bull, the four altars (pl. XV, 6) for anointing him, and that the block of alabaster was possibly used as a stand for the censers.

C. No doubt the rectangular limestone manger (pl. XVI, 6) was used by the keepers to serve the green grass essential for the health of the bull. As for the ration of corn, it would have been served in just such a vase as that shown in pl. XVI. The terra-cotta silo on the same plate would have been used for keeping extra rations for the day. The intentional gap made in the trough (pl. XVII, 3) for the convenience of the animal while eating is interesting: this is still done in Upper Egypt especially in the case of mangers

¹ Cf. Petrie, *Memphis*, I, 3: 'The position of the temple of Apis is the next point of importance. Could that be recovered, we might trace a pre-Menite occupation of the site. . . . I have not succeeded in finding the river approach to it along the eastern side. . . . The temple of Apis was much favoured by Ptolemy V (Rosetta Inscription, I, 33).'

² Cf. Rosetta demot. 19: *ḥt shn nt Hp* = the (dwelling) place of the (living) Apis; hierogl. 53:  = the dwelling-house of the living Apis; cf. Greek 33, το Ἀπιδιον. See *Mizraim*, I, p. 12, note 2.

built of brick, where a shallow depression is made in the front edge. Such a basin is used to serve chopped-straw for the animal.

D. The stands for wooden poles (pl. XVI, 6) were presumably used to support an awning to shade the animal.

E. The statement of Strabo that there was another *σηκος* belonging to the cow-mother of Apis, or according to Diodorus the bull's concubine, is supported by the existence of the alabaster bed in the second court (pl. XVI, 3-4) (for the mother of Apis see Mond-Myers, *op. cit.* I, 10 f.).

When we come to consider the information about the dead Bull, the Apis Papyrus is the best guide: quoting again from *ibid.*, 18:

'... They (i.e. the priests) must open the door on the east wall of the stall. From it, come they out as they found it in the 24th year of Pharaoh Amasis. From the (stone-built) door in the west wall of the stall, out of which he went in year 12 of Pharaoh Apries. They must enter to the god from the door of the stall, while the two priests stand behind him. They must put up an inscription on the west wall of the stall which is in the path.

'A kiosk must be made on the first day on the bank of the sea of the King, after his grave has been fitted up with cloth. The (Great Ones of the House?) of the Nile God must throw bricks before the coffin that he may not go into the Place of Embalming. . . . they must make him rest in the tent. The Lector must loose the stuff of the coffin. and the Ritualist collect all the things which they need in the dissecting room.'

Here again we have evidence from the excavated material to be equated with the recorded description.

A. The first of the alabaster altars close to the bed (pl. XV, 5) is dedicated to *Wsir Hp*, i.e. to the dead bull Apis.

B. The two limestone basins with an outflow at the end of each (pl. XVI, 1. 5) together with the piles of ox bones (pl. XVI, 5) may justify the theory that Apis was ceremonially eaten by the King, who wished to gain the strength and fertility of the god (see Mond-Myers, *op. cit.* I, 4 ff.). It may be supposed that these basins were used for the process of 'slaughtering the animal, destroying his flesh, chopping his skeleton into small pieces, arranging these pieces into a pile and putting a box over it' (see *ibid.*, 7).

C. The alabaster brick may be one of those bricks mentioned in the Apis Papyrus 'to be thrown by the (Great Ones of the House?) of the Nile God, before the coffin that he (Apis) may not go into the Place of Embalming' (*ibid.*, 19).

D. The two reliefs (pl. XVII, 4) are similar to that published in *op. cit.* III, pl. 109, which represents Apis in a sacred bark on wheels (see *op. cit.* I, 80 and Petrie, *Memphis IV*, pl. 31).¹

E. The organic material which was found in a jar was submitted to Zaki Eff. Iskander, the chemist of the Laboratory of the Cairo Museum. The result of his chemical and microscopical examination is the following:

1. *Water-soluble salts*: these are present in very small proportion and are mainly

¹ The latter, a small limestone stele of Apis, is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The shrine is in a sacred bark placed upon wheels. A similar stele is published in Mariette, *Mon. div.*, pl. 35.

composed of sodium carbonate, sulphate and chloride, and a little calcium sulphate. This suggests the presence of *Natron*.

2. *Earthy material* insoluble in water: this constitutes the greater part of the sample and is mainly composed of calcium carbonate, iron and aluminium silicates, and quartz sand, suggesting a mixture of *dust, clay, and sand*.

3. *Yellow organic particles*: these are insoluble in water, benzene, or acetone but are partly soluble in hot alcohol. On heating, the material melts and burns with a smoky flame, gives a varnish-like smell, and leaves a very small ash. The amount of material was too small to allow of further analysis but is most probably of a *resinous nature*.

4. *Plant-remains*: these were examined microscopically by Griess Eff. Although cells were visible, it was not possible to identify them owing to the small amount of material available.

From the above results, it was concluded that the contents of the jar were *the debris and sweepings from the materials left after mummification*.

Conclusion

1. Very little is known about the daily life of the bull Apis from the classical authors. But at least our excavations have gone some way to confirm their account, and when they are resumed may go still farther.

2. The building excavated probably contained the stall or *σηκος* where Apis was housed and fed. Preliminary preparation for mummification also may have been carried out there before the bull was transported to the Necropolis of Saqqārah, where the full ritual of the embalming process was performed.

These excavations came to an end through lack of funds during the War but it is hoped that they will soon be resumed. A great deal yet remains to be done to excavate the whole site, and we may hope to find evidence which will settle all these interesting problems or at least throw more light upon them.

MANETHO'S DATE FOR RAMESSES II

By M. B. ROWTON

(With Appendix by Professor H. KEES)

THE object of this article is to show that Manetho's king-list,¹ together with the Assyrian king-list from Khorsabad,² constitutes a second major source for comparative chronology. The method will be to determine, with the help of the new Mesopotamian evidence, the exact date of the accession of Rameses II, and then to prove that Manetho gave identically the same date. The present article will be strictly confined to establishing this preliminary point. To do so, it will be necessary to cover a fairly wide range: the greater part of Dyn. XIX, and the broad outline of the subsequent dynasties. But the detailed analysis of Manetho's New Kingdom chronology and the discussion of certain important issues which it raises are subjects reserved for a later article.

I. The Totals for the Dynasties in Book III

Two things have to be proved in this section. First that Manetho counted the total of Dyn. XXVI from the Assyrian invasion in 671, secondly, that his totals for the six preceding dynasties are at least approximately correct. It will become apparent later why so considerable a portion of this article has to be devoted to two issues seemingly of secondary importance.

Many scholars will be reluctant to accept Manetho's king-list as first-class evidence. But after all, as a high priest of Egypt, he must have had access to chronological material of the utmost importance. It is extremely doubtful whether any among the priests aimed at a really accurate knowledge of Egyptian history. Nevertheless, in view of their interest in the calendar, there is every reason to believe that they kept accurate chronological records. Moreover, recent research and excavation have materially strengthened the impression that Manetho's king-list was substantially correct. Manetho's chronology of the obscure period covered by Dyns. XXVIII–XXX is now known to be right.³ Albright has reached a date for Sheshonk's invasion of Palestine which turns out to be in full agreement with Manetho's date for that king.⁴ Montet's excavation of Tanis has confirmed the existence of Nephhercheres, a king of Dyn. XXI, hitherto known only from Manetho's king-list.⁵ Winlock has pointed out that the total quoted by Africanus and Eusebius for Dyn. XI, 16 kings and 43 years, almost certainly derives from an original 6 kings and 143 years, as given in the Turin Papyrus.⁶ Finally, recent work on the names of the early kings of Egypt would appear to indicate that Manetho had access to fairly good, apparently Ramesside, material, even for the period of the Old Kingdom.⁷

¹ The extant fragments of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* are now easily accessible in Professor W. G. Waddell's *Manetho* (W. Heinemann, London, and Harvard University Press, 1940). The abbreviation *WM*, followed by the number of the Fragment, will be used throughout in this article.

² See below, p. 67, n. 5.

³ E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (Paris, 1938), 593 f.

⁴ Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 100, 16 f., particularly p. 20, n. 14.

⁵ P. Montet, *Le drame d'Avaris* (Paris, 1940), 194.

⁶ Winlock, *JNES* 11, 250.

⁷ Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.* XLIV, 279 f.

Wherever it is possible to check, e.g. 20 y. 7 m. for Amenophis I, 1 y. 4 m. for Ramesses I, and 66 y. 2 m. for Ramesses II,¹ we find that the number of full years which Manetho quotes for a given reign is in each case one year lower than the king's highest regnal year. The reason is that in Egypt, from the New Kingdom to the beginning of the Saitic period, a regnal year began with a king's accession or the anniversary of it, and not with the calendrical New Year.² The last regnal year was therefore necessarily an incomplete one. It is these year-fractions, as they will be termed here, which the months in Manetho's figures stand for.

Josephus has preserved the year-fractions, Africanus and Eusebius have not. But it seems probable that the figures in *Contra Apionem* were transcribed several times in the interval between Manetho and Josephus. When copying out the figures, the scribes would have paid comparatively little attention to the year-fractions. It will be safer therefore to disregard the values quoted in *Contra Apionem*, and, instead, to substitute for each year-fraction the average value of $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

Comparison with Josephus shows that in the *Epitome* of Africanus and Eusebius the year-fractions have been rounded off to the higher or lower full years in about equal proportions. The aim was evidently to square the sum of the 'rounded off' reigns with the stated total for the dynasty. The latter, in the original *Aegyptiaca*, would also have given the number of months in excess of the highest full year. In Africanus and Eusebius these totals have been rounded off, very probably in such a manner as to achieve agreement with the sum total for the Book.³

Book III covers the period from the end of Dyn. XIX to the end of Dyn. XXX.⁴ Manetho, quite understandably, chose to end the *Aegyptiaca* with the last native Egyptian king, Nectanebo II. Until fairly recently it was thought that Nectanebo's reign terminated with the Persian conquest in 343; but we now know that this was only his 16th year.⁵ Since the 18th year of Nectanebo is attested, he must have been able to maintain himself in part of Egypt until 341. Although Manetho ended his account of Egyptian history at this point, he would in all probability have concluded his work with a few carefully chosen words on the last 9 years of Persian rule, and on the subsequent 'liberation' of Egypt by Alexander the Great. These last three Persian reigns were later grouped into an additional dynasty, Dyn. XXXI, very probably by

¹ *WM* 50-3. Amenophis I died almost certainly in his 21st regnal year, cf. Edgerton, *AJSL* LIII, 193. Ramesses I probably died in his 2nd regnal year, cf. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, 74 and 157. Ramesses II certainly died in his 67th year, cf. Gauthier, *Livre de Rois*, III, 49, No. 49.

² For a recent discussion see Gardiner, *JEA* xxxi, 11 ff., particularly 28.

³ It follows that in the *Epitome* of Africanus and Eusebius there is an inherent element of error in the sum of several reigns or several dynasties. But, owing to the necessity of maintaining agreement with the totals for the dynasties and the total for the Book, this error is not cumulative, and remains negligible.

⁴ Against the joint testimony of Africanus and Eusebius (*WM* 55, 56), and the opinion of most modern critics, the theory has been advanced that Book III included Dyn. XIX. Cf. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus* (Leipzig, 1898), 204; and W. S. Sewall in *The Legacy of Egypt* (London, 1940), 13. Dyn. XXXI was not originally included by Manetho in Book III; cf. *WM* 74 (a), n. 1, and 75 (a), n. 1; following G. F. Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho* (Berlin, 1867), 333 f., and E. Meyer, *Chronologie*, 209.

⁵ E. Drioton and J. Vandier, op. cit., 594 f. The evidence consists of two data: the full-moon datum from the 16th year of Nectanebo II, and the age of the Apis bull (17 years) which died in 329, and was born in the 14th year of Nectanebo II.

the compiler of the *Epitome*. The object was doubtless to bring the king-list down to the Greek conquest of Egypt. Manetho's date for the end of Book III was certainly 341, not 343. In the first place he gives 18 years, not 16, for Nectanebo. Secondly, the compiler of the *Epitome* allows 9 years, and not 11, for the interval between the end of Dyn. XXX and the Greek conquest in 332.

Africanus has preserved the following totals for the last five dynasties of Book III:¹

Dyn. XXVI	150	years
„ XXVII	124	„
„ XXVIII	6	„
„ XXIX	20	„
„ XXX	38	„

Vandier has shown that the totals for the last three dynasties are almost certainly correct.² The total of 124 years for Dyn. XXVII is wrong. Africanus confused the theoretical total duration of the reign of Cambyses, 6 years and several months, with the duration of his reign in Egypt, 2 years and several months.³ This error can hardly be due to Manetho, as Eusebius gives correct figures both for the reign of Cambyses in Egypt, and for the total of the dynasty.⁴

Turning now to Dyn. XXVI we must bear in mind the fact that in both versions of the *Epitome* the year-fractions have been rounded off to the full year. With this reservation Africanus' figures are all correct, except for Necho II, who is assigned 6 years instead of 16 in both versions of the *Epitome*. It is extremely improbable that this mistake should be ascribed to Manetho. For with this one single exception, his chronology, as preserved by Africanus, is correct throughout the whole interval, 663–341. And if Manetho gave correctly 24 out of these 25 reigns, the probability is that all 25 were originally correct. The fact that 6 is the simplest conceivable error for 16 supports this conclusion. Moreover, Herodotus, the foremost Greek historian, gave the reign of Necho II as 16 years,⁵ and Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* was written for a Greek public, probably at the king's command.⁶ Manetho would have often found himself at variance with the great Greek historian, and, indeed, we know that he strongly criticized Herodotus.⁷ We can therefore be reasonably certain that he would have taken special care to check every point on which his chronology differed from that of Herodotus. Quite apart from any other records he may have had at his disposal, Manetho, who was probably the most influential Egyptian priest of his time,⁸ must have had easy access to the records of the Apis bulls. And these, as we know, showed plainly the correct duration of Necho II's reign.

The evidence is therefore overwhelmingly in favour of the view that Manetho

¹ *WM* 68, 70, 72 (a), 73 (a), 74 (a).

² E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *op. cit.*, 593 f.

³ Manetho evidently counted the reign of Cambyses in Persia from the beginning of his first regnal year, 12 April 529, the reign of his successor, Bardiya, from the outbreak of the revolt, 11 March 522. Bardiya's reign ended 29 September 522. For these dates see R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 45* (Chicago, 1942), 12. Eusebius gives Bardiya, i.e. the 'Maji', 7 months (*WM* 71). Elsewhere (*WM* 70, n. 1) we have 7½ months for Bardiya, 6½ years for Cambyses.

⁴ *WM* 71 (a), 71 (b).

⁵ Herodotus, II, 159.

⁶ *WM*, Appendix I; W. Scott, *Hermetica*, III, 492 f.

⁷ Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 73–4 (*WM* 42); also *WM* 88.

⁸ *WM*, Introduction, x f.

correctly placed the accession of Psammetichus I in 663.¹ For Necho I he quotes 8 years. It follows that his date for the accession of Necho I was 671, that is precisely the year of the Assyrian invasion. The interval of unknown length during which the Assyrians ruled Egypt after the death of Necho I in 663 was assigned to the reign of Psammetichus I in accordance with a fiction which had arisen during the lifetime of that king. Manetho, therefore, in assigning the 8 years between 671 and 663 to the father of Psammetichus I rather than to the hated Assyrians, was probably also following an old tradition.² At the time of the Assyrian invasion, Necho, as the local ruler of Sais, would have been a subject of the Ethiopian kings. With the Assyrian invasion of 671 Manetho promotes Necho to the rank of king of Egypt, not including within his reign the period of Necho's rule in Sais prior to the invasion. It is very difficult to believe that Manetho regarded either Necho, prior to the Assyrian invasion, or his predecessors in Sais, as kings of Egypt.

The 'kings' of Dyn. XXVI before Necho I are given as follows in the two extant versions of the *Epitome*:

<i>Africanus</i>				<i>Eusebius</i>			
..				Ameres, the Ethiopian.	18 years	(12)	
Stephinales	.	.	7 years	Stephinales	.	.	7 „
Nechepsos	.	.	6 „	Nechepsos	.	.	6 „

The monuments have revealed no trace of Stephinales and Nechepsos. Since, prior to the Assyrian invasion, Egypt was firmly in the hands of the Ethiopians, they can at most have been insignificant local rulers of Sais. Ameres, the Ethiopian, would appear to be no other than Tanutamūn.³ The fact that these kings are included in Dyn. XXVI can best be explained as follows.

Manetho began the story of Dyn. XXVI with the 8-year 'reign' of Necho I. He would have stated at the very outset that during these 8 years the country was still partly under the control of the Ethiopians, and in this connexion the name of Tanutamūn occurred. Going on to discuss the origin of Necho I he would have had occasion to mention his two predecessors in Sais, Stephinales and Nechepsos. The compiler of the *Epitome* carelessly copied out the names in the sequence in which they occurred in the original text of the *Aegyptiaca*, and simply entered all three in the *Epitome* as the first three kings of Dyn. XXVI.

Strong support for this solution is forthcoming from more than one quarter. The

¹ For a recent discussion of the chronology of Dyn. XXVI see Gardiner, loc. cit. 17 f. The correct figures compare as follows with those of Africanus, given here in brackets: 54 (54), 15 (6), 19 (19), 43 or 44 (44), $\frac{1}{2}$ ($\frac{1}{2}$). As argued above, the figure 6 for Necho II is a scribal error for 16; the latter represents an original figure of 15 years and several months which has been rounded off to the higher full year. Allowing for this correction, the sum of these six reigns is 139 full years. This gives 664 for the accession of Psammetichus I whereas the correct date is almost certainly 663 (Breasted, Borchardt, Vandier, Meyer, against Petrie; cf. Gardiner, loc. cit. 20). But the figures which go to make up this total of 139 years have previously been rounded off, consequently a discrepancy of 1 year between their sum in the *Aegyptiaca* and in Africanus' *Epitome* can be legitimately postulated.

² This tradition cannot, however, be dated to Psammetichus I. During the latter's reign Tarhaka was still recognized as the rightful Pharaoh in the years after the Assyrian invasion. Cf. H. R. Hall in *CAH* III (1925), 288.

³ *WM* 68, n. 1.

hypothesis is that Manetho began Dyn. XXVI with the Assyrian invasion in 671. The latter event occurred in the 19th year of Tarhaḳa¹. Now from the *Epitome* of Africanus we see that it was precisely in the 19th year of Tarhaḳa's reign that Manetho chose to end Dyn. XXV. The last years of Tarhaḳa and the short reign of Tanutamūn were not included, an arrangement which is only explicable if the period after the 19th year of Tarhaḳa was assigned to Dyn. XXVI.

Again, if Manetho really believed that those three reigns intervened between the 'accession' of Necho I in 671 and the 19th year of Tarhaḳa, then he must have dated the Assyrian invasion too high. For the fact that he broke off Dyn. XXV in the 19th year of Tarhaḳa can be taken to imply that he knew in which year of Tarhaḳa's reign the Assyrian invasion occurred. Evidently, with considerable justification, he considered that the event marked the end of effective Ethiopian rule in Egypt. Even if we should choose to discount Ameres as a late intrusion, we are still left with a total of 13 years for the reigns of Stephinates and Nechepsos; and there are at least two good reasons for believing that Manetho could not have dated the Assyrian invasion 13 years too high.

In the first place it has to be remembered that the Assyrian invasion of 671 was the greatest calamity in Egyptian history since the Hyksos invasion, more than 1,000 years before. The temples in Memphis and in nearby Heliopolis must have been plundered and desecrated. Manetho was himself a high-priest of Heliopolis,² and as a historian he devoted particular attention to chronology. His chronology was correct as far back as 663. Is it at all probable that he would have dated quite wrongly an event which occurred only 8 years before 663, an event which constituted one of the greatest disasters in the history of his country and in the history of his temple, and on which we know that he was well informed, at least in certain respects?

Secondly, we must consider Manetho's statement on the first Olympic Games. The *Epitome* contains a number of comments on matters of interest to a Greek public. Two of these comments are on chronology: one on the fall of Troy,³ the other on the first Olympic Games.⁴ As Manetho devoted special interest to chronology, it is only natural that he should have wished to specify the exact location in Egyptian chronology of the two principal landmarks in Greek chronology. Some of the comments in the *Epitome* were manifestly not gleaned from the *Aegyptiaca*. But it can be shown that there is good reason for assigning at least one of the two comments in question to Manetho himself; and this being the case, it would be hypercritical to postulate that the same is not equally true of both.

The fall of Troy is stated to have occurred during the 7-year reign of the last ruler of Dyn. XIX. As we shall see later, this locates the event within the interval 1198-1191. Manetho was a contemporary of the great Greek chronologist Timaios, and Timaios' date for the fall of Troy was 1193.⁵ Not long after Manetho, Eratosthenes' date for the

¹ If 664 was the 26th year of Tarhaḳa (E. Meyer, *Geschichte*, III (1937), 80, n. 1), 671 was his 19th year.

² *WM*, Introduction, xi, following Laqueur, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.* XIV, 1, 1061. Manetho was born in Sebennytus, but became high-priest in Heliopolis.

³ *WM* 55, 56.

⁴ *WM* 62.

⁵ Timaios dated the fall of Troy 417 years before the first Olympic Games (776). Cf. Censorinus, *De die*

fall of Troy, 1183, gained almost universal acceptance. We can be reasonably certain that if the comment in question was due to the compiler of the Epitome, it would have reflected Eratosthenes' date, rather than Timaios'.

Now Manetho states that the first Olympic Games were celebrated during the reign of Pedubaste, the first king of Dyn. XXIII. The accepted Greek date for the first Olympic Games was 776, and Manetho assigned to Pedubaste a reign of 40 years. Consequently his absolute date for the beginning of Dyn. XXIII cannot have been higher than 816. Manetho's totals for Dyn. XXIII, XXIV, and XXV add up to 135 years,¹ so that his date for the end of Dyn. XXV must have been not higher than 816—135 = 681. Since we have no reason for believing that he placed the first Olympic Games in the last year of Pedubaste, the probability is that his date for the end of Dyn. XXV was lower than 681. It follows that Manetho cannot have believed that the reigns of Stephinates and Nechepsos intervened between Necho I and the Assyrian invasion, for had he done so, his date for the end of Dyn. XXV would have been 671 + 13 = 684.

All considered, it seems fairly certain that Manetho reckoned Dyn. XXVI from the Assyrian invasion of 671 to the Persian invasion of 525. Consequently his total for the dynasty was 146 years, against the total of 150 years quoted by Africanus. We shall see later that the importance of this conclusion is out of all proportion to the magnitude of the discrepancy involved.

The chronology of the first six dynasties of Book III is very much less certain than the chronology of the period after 671. But with the totals preserved by Africanus, and 671 as the starting-point, the absolute dates obtained for the beginning of each of these dynasties are all at least approximately correct. This is so obviously the case that most leading Egyptologists have made limited use of Manetho's figures in reconstructing the chronology of this period. A notable exception was James Breasted, but the fact that the great American scholar had such a low opinion of his remote Egyptian colleague will save much discussion here.² For in view of Breasted's exceptional competence, it means that we may safely take Breasted's figures as a basis for reconstructing the approximate chronology indicated by the monuments. And since Breasted made virtually no use of Manetho, the result can then be compared with Manetho's chronology, to prove that the latter is at least approximately correct. Naturally, where new archaeological evidence has come to light since Breasted published his chronology, we shall have to amend his figures accordingly. The fact that Breasted's figures for these six dynasties are only approximate is no disadvantage, since our object here is likewise only to prove that Africanus' totals are approximately correct.

As a first precaution it is necessary to modify Breasted's total for Dyn. XX. This is not because Breasted's figure is wrong. But, as we shall see later, Manetho included

nat. 21, 3. On Timaios' chronological work, and the impression it made, see Laqueur, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.* VI, 2, 1199.

¹ As preserved by Africanus. Cf. *WM* 62, 64, 66.

² For Breasted's comments on Manetho see *History*, 13-14, and 24. Breasted made some slight use of Manetho for Dyns. XXIV and XXV. (Cf. *Anc. Rec.* IV, 884-5.) We know, however, from Assyrian and other sources, that Africanus' totals for these two dynasties are approximately correct.

within Dyn. XX the period of anarchy which preceded it, whereas Breasted did not. Breasted allows 5 years as a *minimum* for the anarchy.¹ But this figure must clearly be regarded as an absolute minimum, and it cannot easily be reconciled with the wording of the relevant passage in Papyrus Harris.² A total of some 20 years is far more probable, and even this may well be too short. The result is to increase Breasted's total of 110 years for Dyn. XX to 130 years.

Secondly, later research has proved that Breasted was undoubtedly wrong in one respect. He did not allow for an overlap between Dyns. XXII and XXIII,³ whereas it is now reasonably certain that the first king of Dyn. XXIII, Pedubaste, came to the throne fairly early in the reign of Sheshonk III. The most probable date is Year 7 of Sheshonk III,⁴ a date which must be taken with some slight reserve as an exact synchronism, but can be confidently accepted as an approximate one. It is consequently necessary to replace Breasted's total of 200 years for Dyn. XXII by his estimate for the interval between the beginning of the dynasty and Year 7 of Sheshonk III. This he reckoned at 117 years; the difference, 83 years, must be added to Breasted's total of 27 years for Dyn. XXIII.⁵

<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>Breasted</i>	<i>Monuments</i>	<i>Africanus</i>
XX	110	130	135
XXI	145	145	130
XXII	200	117	120
XXIII	27	110	89
XXIV	6	6	6
XXV	42	42	40
Total	530	550	520

This table, together with the 6 totals previously discussed, proves beyond any reasonable doubt that Africanus' totals for all the 11 dynasties of Book III are at least approximately correct.⁶ The reason why this feature has never previously been emphasized, is that Manetho's totals were believed to represent the full duration of each dynasty. We can now clearly see that this was not the case. There were overlaps between each of the successive dynasties: XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, and XXVI.⁷

¹ Op. cit. I, 68.

² Op. cit. IV, 398.

³ Cf. op. cit. IV, 794 for Breasted's comment on a letter written to him on this subject by Legrain.

⁴ E. Drioton and J. Vandier, op. cit., 542, following Daressy, *Rec. trav.* xxxviii, 11 f.

⁵ Breasted's totals for the dynasties we are concerned with here are listed in *Anc. Rec.* I, 50. The figure given there for Dyn. XXIII, 23 years, is an error for 27 years (cf. op. cit. I, 72). From Breasted's total of 50 years for Dyn. XXV we must subtract the last 8 years which Manetho assigned to Dyn. XXVI. For Breasted's chronology of Dyn. XXII see op. cit. I, 71; IV, 693 f.

⁶ The only significant discrepancies are: 15 years for Dyn. XXI, and 21 years for XXIII. In estimating which of the two results is likely to be nearer the truth, 'Monuments' or Africanus, the decisive factor is the sum total of the former, 550 years. Ramesses II died at least 20 years before the beginning of the anarchy. Consequently the 'Monuments' chronology places the death of Ramesses II c. 671 + 550 + 20 = 1,251. For obvious reasons such a high date is improbable. The alternative is to reduce the 'Monuments' figures for Dyns. XX, XXI, or XXIII. The testimony of Papyrus Harris does not favour a marked reduction of the total for Dyn. XX, whereas to reduce the figures for XXI or XXIII is to decide the issue in favour of Africanus.

⁷ The overlap between Dyns. XXV and XXVI was an artificial one. As already mentioned, it resulted from the fiction whereby the years of the Assyrian domination were assigned to Necho I and Psammetichus I.

Where XXII is concerned, Manetho's total of 9 kings implies that he regarded Sheshonk III as the ninth king of that dynasty. According to our present knowledge Sheshonk III ranks as eighth. But one of these 8 kings has only just emerged from total oblivion,¹ and it cannot be deemed improbable that a further king of this obscure period still remains to be discovered. We cannot be certain exactly when Dyn. XXIII came to an end. But a king of that dynasty, Osorkon, probably the last of his line, was still reigning in the Delta when Pi'ankhi invaded Lower Egypt. He submitted to Pi'ankhi, and was not deposed by him, so that Manetho's low date for the end of Dyn. XXIII, 717 or 716, is not necessarily wrong.² The whole period of divided rule, from the accession of Pedubaste to the Ethiopian conquest by Shabaka, was assigned by Manetho to Dyn. XXIII, with the exception of the last 6 years which went to Bocchoris. The impression one gains on a closer study of Manetho's totals is that he made a genuine attempt at avoiding confusion, although perhaps at the expense of over-simplifying the problem. Where two or more dynasties overlap, his method was to include the period of the overlap in the total of only one of the overlapping dynasties.

II. The Sum Total of Book III

Manetho's total for Book III is given by Syncellus as 1,050 years.³ Now it so happens that if a scribal error has occurred, the only plausible alternative is 850 years.⁴ Between these two figures we have to make our choice. Most scholars have accepted the lower total, 850 years.⁵ But it has never been suggested, as we propose to do here, that this datum should serve as a basis for the entire chronology of the New Kingdom. For this reason the subject has hitherto received rather scanty treatment; it will have to be more adequately dealt with here. We have to prove that in Manetho's opinion the interval between the beginning of Dyn. XX and the end of Dyn. XXX amounted to exactly 850 years.

1200 B.C. can safely be taken as the upper limit for the beginning of Dyn. XX. It was with this dynasty that Manetho began Book III, and his date for the end of the Book was 341. Thus, if his total for Book III was 1,050 years, the aggregate error for the Book amounted to not less than 190 years. On the other hand, we have seen that Manetho ended Dyn. XXV with the Assyrian invasion in the 19th year of Tarhaka, and that he dated the event correctly, 671. Consequently, if Manetho's total was 1,050 years, the entire error of 190 years was confined to the first six dynasties of the Book, Dyns. XX-XXV. But we have seen that the totals which Africanus has preserved for these dynasties are at least approximately correct, an aggregate error of 190 years being absolutely out of the question. This means that, if we were to assume that Manetho's total for Book III was 1,050 years, the following conclusion would be unavoidable:

¹ Montet, *Kémi*, IX, 60 f.

² Cf. Bissing, *apud* Weidner, *A.f.O.* XIV, 40 f., for the suggestion that this Osorkon should be identified with the king of Muşri, Silkanni, who sent horses to Sargon of Assyria in 717 or 716. Further discussion by Alt, *ZDPV* LXVII, 128 f.

³ *WM* 75 (a).

⁴ A. Boeckh, *Manetho und die Hundsternperiode* (Berlin, 1845), 167. The error in question is: ,*av*' corrupt for ,*ωv*'.

⁵ Particularly E. Meyer, *Chronologie*, 210.

Manetho's chronology of the first six dynasties of Book III was carefully corrected by a later writer, who, nevertheless, forgot to correct the total for the Book.

The necessity to make an absurd assumption rules out the possibility of accepting 1,050 as Manetho's original sum total for Book III. We are therefore compelled to conclude that an error has, in fact, occurred. But if a scribal error has got to be postulated, then we have it on expert opinion that the original figure must have been 850.

Both Epitomes have preserved unmistakable traces of the original total. We have seen that Manetho ended Dyn. XXV with the Assyrian invasion in 671. The totals given by Africanus for those dynasties of Book III which preceded the Assyrian invasion add up to: $135 + 130 + 120 + 89 + 6 + 40 = 520$ years.¹ Assuming that these are Manetho's original figures, his absolute date for the beginning of Book III was $671 + 520 = 1191$. Since he ended Book III in 341, his total for the Book must have been $1191 - 341 = 850$.

The sum total of Book III is missing in Eusebius' *Epitome*, but it is reflected in the chronological structure of Eusebius' *Canon*. The Egyptian chronology in the *Canon* is made up of the figures, almost intact, which Eusebius found in his copy of the *Epitome*; and, as the dates in the *Canon* are expressed in terms of an era of Abraham, there is little room for doubt as to the exact value of the interval between any two major events.² Whatever minor adjustments Eusebius saw fit to make, we should expect to find that if the sum total for Book III stood at 850 years in his copy of the *Epitome*, the interval in the *Canon* which corresponds to Book III should also amount to exactly 850 years. This it does. Eusebius wrongly believed that Book III included Dyn. XXXI; and from the beginning of Dyn. XX in Abr. 835 to the 4th year of Darius III, Abr. 1684, the *Canon* gives exactly 850 years.³

The totals of Book III are listed below (p. 66), together with Manetho's absolute date for the beginning of each dynasty. Particularly useful is the framework thus acquired for the period of Dyns. XX–XXIII, hitherto very insecure from the chronological point of view. Of course, the arguments so far adduced have served only to establish the fact that these are indeed Manetho's original dates; we have yet to prove that they are correct.

Two principal objections can be raised against the interpretation of Manetho's chronology which has been suggested here. First, how can the totals of Dyns. XX–XXV be correct, if the individual reigns upon which these totals are based are in some cases

¹ *WM* 57 (a), 58, 60, 62, 64, 66.

² The exact date of events described in marginal comments is often doubtful. But major events, such as the fall of Troy, are described in comments which are written right across the page of the manuscript, interrupting the vertical columns of figures. Where this method is used, there can, of course, be no doubt as to which year in the era of Abraham is intended.

³ Eusebius, *Werke*, v, trans. J. Karst (Leipzig, 1911), 171 and 197. See also p. 268 f. for discussion of the year Abr. 835. This year was originally given twice by Eusebius. It appeared once as the last year of Dyn. XIX, with general reference to the chronologies of the other countries concerned. It was then repeated as the first year of Dyn. XX, with reference only to Egypt. This procedure is without parallel elsewhere in the *Canon*, and it has puzzled modern critics. The explanation is very probably that in this particular case Eusebius wished to make it quite clear that Abr. 835 marked both the end of Dyn. XIX and the beginning of Dyn. XX. Had he assigned the beginning of Dyn. XX to Abr. 836, he would have had only 849 years within the period which in his opinion corresponded to Book III.

demonstrably wrong? Space will not permit a secondary problem, such as this, to be discussed in detail. But several solutions are possible. One obvious one is that in a manuscript from which the *Epitome* of Africanus is descended, the part containing Book III was in such a poor state of preservation that many items could no longer be read. Since in the part of the *Epitome* devoted to Book III only about one of every ten lines would have contained a total, there would be a fairly good chance that all, or nearly all, the totals would have escaped damage.¹

<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Date</i>
XX	135	1191
XXI	130	1056
XXII	120	926
XXIII	89	806
XXIV	6	717
XXV	40	711
XXVI	146	671
XXVII	120	525
XXVIII	6	405
XXIX	20	399
XXX	38	379-341
Total	850	

The second objection we have to meet arises from the fact that the chronology of Books I and II has clearly been distorted beyond all recognition. Why did Book III not suffer the same fate? Here, again, only the absolute minimum of space can be spared for this problem.

From the Creation to the Exodus the Septuagint gives 3,817 years. The Exodus was variously dated in ancient times; Africanus placed it 1,020 years before the first Olympic Games.² Thus any scholar who had the same date for the Exodus as Africanus, and who followed the orthodox chronology of the Septuagint for the period prior to the Exodus, would have dated the Creation: $776 + 1019 + 3817 = 5612$. The Septuagint gives 2,242 years from the Creation to the Flood. But there existed a variant 2,262 years, which was accepted by such eminent scholars as Africanus and Clemens of Alexandria.³ The outline thus emerges of a chronological system which had certain very specific features. It started with the Creation in 5612. The orthodox chronology of the Septuagint was followed down to the Exodus, with an increase at one point of 20 years. The birth of Abraham occurs in the 3,333rd year counting from the Creation,⁴ and from the Creation to the fall of Nineveh there are exactly $5612 - 612 =$

¹ Moreover, if only one total was lost, it could still be reconstructed by subtracting the sum of the remaining totals from the total for the Book.

² Cf. Gelzer, *op. cit.* 19-20. Africanus dated the Exodus in the year 3708 of his era (*ibid.* 36), Olympic I, 1 in the year 4727 (*ibid.* 33). This means that Olympic I, 1 falls in the 1,020th year counting from the Exodus, so that for chronological purposes the interval must be taken as 1,019 years.

³ *Ibid.* 52-3.

⁴ As already stated, the Exodus occurred in the 3,708th year of Africanus' system. To obtain the date of the birth of Abraham in the original system, subtract the interval from the birth of Abraham to the Exodus, 505 years, and add 130 years for the second Cainan whom Africanus omitted (see p. 67, note 1).

5,000 years. The date for the Exodus is equally characteristic: $5612 - 3837 = 1775$. Thus between the principal landmarks of Jewish and Greek chronology, the Exodus and the first Olympic Games, there were just 1,000 years.¹ It will not be necessary to inquire into the obscure speculations which these figures reflect. Important is only the conclusion which can be drawn from them, namely, that the date 5612 for the Creation had at one time a certain vogue in Jewish-Hellenistic circles, probably among the scholars of Alexandria.

Now the totals preserved by Africanus and Eusebius for Books I and II of the *Aegyptiaca* are 2,300 and 2,121 years respectively.² Consequently, the *Epitome* gave for the accession of Menes $341 + 850 + 2121 + 2300 = 5612$, a date which is identical with the one we have just determined for the Creation. This can hardly be a coincidence. The simplest explanation is that the author of the *Epitome* had hit upon the following remarkable theory. Since Menes was the first king after the demi-gods,³ he was the first mortal; and, consequently, he must be identical with Adam. It seems probable that the *Epitome* was compiled primarily to prove this theory.

To obtain the date required for the accession of Menes, Manetho's chronology had to be ruthlessly distorted. The reason why Book III escaped injury is that it was protected by Manetho's statements concerning those pillars of Greek chronology, the first Olympic games and the fall of Troy. The latter statement in particular precluded any attempt at expanding the chronology of Book III, with the result that the desired extension of Manetho's chronology had to be confined entirely to the two first Books.

III. The Date of the Accession of Ramesses II

The discussion of Manetho's chronology will be resumed later. We must now turn to independent evidence for the date of Ramesses II, particularly to the new Assyrian king-list from Khorsabad.⁴ We shall be concerned here only with the portion of the list from Ashur-uballit I onwards. In that portion figures are given for all the reigns except two. These two are defined in terms of the word *duppu*, the precise meaning of which is not certain in this context. I have suggested that the figures in the Khorsabad king-list stand, not for the reigns, but for the eponym-periods of the Assyrian kings, and that *duppu* in this context means '(eponym-)period'.⁵ If this is correct, 0 years must be allowed for the two years in question, since they are both comprised within the eponym-period of the preceding king. The same value for the *duppu*-reigns had already been postulated by Poebel, Albright, and Weidner, although for a different reason.⁶ Sidney Smith, on the contrary, is of the opinion that *duppu* in this context stands for

¹ This chronological system was adopted by Africanus with two amendments. He omitted the second Cainan of the Septuagint (130 years), and he added 20 years to the original figure of 1,000 years for the interval: Exodus—Olympic I, 1. In making the first amendment Africanus was simply correcting an obvious error in the Septuagint. The second one was almost certainly introduced in order to obtain precisely 5,500 years between the Creation and the birth of Christ. For this total of 5,500 years was the keystone of Africanus' chronological system (cf. Gelzer, *op. cit.* 24).

² *WM* 31, 32, 55, 56.

³ *WM* 4, 6, 7, Appx. III.

⁴ Poebel, *JNES* 1, 247 f. and 460 f.; II, 56 f.

⁵ *Iraq*, VIII, 94 f., particularly 100-1.

⁶ Poebel, *JNES* II, 61 f., accepted by Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 88, 28 f.; Weidner, *A.f.O.* XIV, 362 f.

a period of indeterminate length.¹ Now the essential point to bear in mind is that this uncertainty about the precise meaning of the *duppu* phrase has virtually no bearing on the problem we are concerned with here, namely the date of the accession of Ramesses II. For there is independent evidence to show that the two *duppu*-reigns cannot have lasted more than 6 years in all.² On the solution suggested by me these two reigns are taken as 0, whereas 1 year each has to be added to three other reigns in the list. The resultant date for the accession of Ashur-uballit I is 1356. If Sidney Smith's solution is adopted, we must take the mean figure of 3 years for the sum of the two *duppu* reigns, but the addition of 1 year to each of the other three reigns is not required. The date for Ashur-uballit would still be 1356.

Our first step will be to determine, within the narrowest possible limits, the regnal year of Ramesses II which coincided with the death of Kadashman-Turgu in 1270.³ Between the accession of Ramesses II and his treaty with Hattusilis III in Year 21, henceforth referred to for the sake of brevity as the Treaty, there are the following sub-intervals:⁴

(a) From acc. Ramesses II to the battle of Ḳadesh	5 years
(b) From Ḳadesh to the death of Muwatallu	? „
(c) Reign of Urkhi Teshub	7 „
(d) From acc. Hattusilis III to the Treaty	? „
	Total 21 „

$$(b)+(d) = 9 \text{ years.}$$

Since at least a few years must be allowed for (b),⁵ Hattusilis cannot possibly have come to the throne more than a few years before the Treaty, 6 years being the highest probable maximum. But we know that Kadashman-Turgu was still reigning in Babylon at the time of the accession of Hattusilis.⁶ Consequently, if his death did occur before the Treaty, the interval between the two events must have amounted to less than 6 years. Taking a maximum of 5 years, we obtain Year 16 of Ramesses II as the upper probable limit for the death of Kadashman-Turgu.

The inscription of Mes shows that between the accession of Akhenaten and an unknown year in the reign of Ḳaremḡab there were 58 years.⁷ Abiding by the usual assumption that there were 17 years between the accession of Akhenaten and the accession of Tut'ankhamūn, the interval between the latter event and the unknown

¹ S. Smith, *AJA* XLIX, 20.

² Rowton, *Iraq*, VIII, 95.

³ *Ibid.* 96.

⁴ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, 370, for date of the Treaty; *ibid.* 317, for the date of the battle of Ḳadesh. Urkhi Teshub is stated to have reigned 7 years in the Apology of Hattusilis, published by Goetze, *MVAG* XXIX and XXXIV. This important document is easily accessible in English translation in E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935). For the relevant datum see p. 77.

⁵ In the Apology of Hattusilis as much as 51 lines (col. II, 69–Col. III, 38) are devoted to events in the interval from the Egyptian campaign to the death of Muwatallu. These include: the Arma-^uU-aš conspiracy, the long process which ensued, the marriage of Hattusilis, the birth of some at least of his children, and the Hakpiššaš campaign.

⁶ *KBo* I, 10; cf. Winckler, *MDOG* xxxv, 22 f.; English trans. by Luckenbill, *AJSL* xxxvii, 200 f. See also Weidner, *MDOG* LVIII, 75 f.

⁷ Gardiner, *apud* Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, IV, 127 f., and L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung*, 85, n. 5.

'Mes-year' of Haremḥab was $58 - 17 = 41$ years. Since Ashur-uballit I and Akhenaten were contemporaries, Tutankhamūn came to the throne after the accession of Ashur-uballit in 1356, whereas Kadashman-Turgu died in 1270, 86 years after the accession of Ashur-uballit. Therefore, if Kadashman-Turgu's death occurred after the Treaty, this interval of 86 years can be sub-divided as follows:¹

(m) From acc. Ashur-uballit I to acc. Tutankhamūn	?	years
(n) From acc. Tutankhamūn to 'Mes-year' of Haremḥab	41	„
(o) From 'Mes-year' of Haremḥab to his death	?	„
(p) Ramesses I	1	„
(q) Minimum for Sethos I	11	„
(r) Sethos I in excess of 11 years	?	„
(s) From acc. Ramesses II to the Treaty	21	„
(t) From Treaty to death of Kadashman-Turgu	?	„
$m + o + r + t = 86 - (41 + 1 + 11 + 21) = 12$ years.		

It is not possible to allow less than an average of 3 years each for intervals (m), (o), and (r). This gives a minimum of 9 years for (m+o+r) and a maximum of 3 years for (t). But allowance must be made for the fact that the Mesopotamian dates, upon which this result is based, can only be regarded as correct within 2 years. It will be safer therefore to increase our maximum for (t) from 3 to 7 years. We thus obtain as the lower probable limit for the death of Kadashman-Turgu Year 28 of Ramesses II. The approximate location of the death of Kadashman-Turgu is therefore year 22, at the centre of the interval year 16–year 28. The probable margin of error is 6 years.

Now we know from the Leyden Papyrus that there was a new moon on the 27th day of the 6th month in year 52 of Ramesses II.² If the death of Kadashman-Turgu in 1270 coincided approximately with year 22, then the approximate date of this new moon is: $1270 - (52 - 22) = 1240$. As the margin of error is 6 years, the new moon in question must be located within the interval 1246–1234. The only dates in this interval, or within close range of it, on which a new moon either coincided or nearly coincided with 27.6. W. are as follows:³

- (i) 13.56 hrs. 26.6. W. (24.12. jul.) 1250 B.C.
- (ii) 03.37 hrs. 27.6. W. (22.12. jul.) 1239 B.C.
- (iii) 06.16 hrs. 28.6. W. (20.12. jul.) 1228 B.C.

Only (ii) comes within the limits 1246–1234, and, moreover, only in the case of (ii) is the coincidence with 27.6. W. a perfect one. 1239 represents therefore the only plausible solution. The accession of Ramesses II took place 51 years and x months before (ii). As the latter event occurred towards the very end of 1239, the accession of Ramesses II must be placed x months before the end of 1290. The approximate value of x is 6, so that the accession of Ramesses II must be placed in 1290, rather than towards the very end of 1291.

¹ Cf. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, 74 and 157 for (p). The highest date for Sethos I (q) is now known to be Year 11. Cf. G. A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner, *ZÄS* LXIX, 76. (I am indebted to Professor H. Kees for drawing my attention to this datum.)

² P. Leiden 350, vs. 3, 6. Cf. Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* XVII, 144 f.

³ Borchardt, *op. cit.* 43.

In the preceding calculations we were operating within probable, and not absolute, limits (i.e. margins of error). It follows that solutions (i) and (iii) cannot be completely excluded, although the following considerations will show how improbable they are. If (i) was the correct solution, Ramesses II came to the throne in 1301. The relative values of $(m+o+r)$ for (i) and (ii) respectively are:

$$(i) m+o+r = 1356-1301-(41+1+11) = 2 \text{ years.}$$

$$(ii) m+o+r = 1356-1290-(41+1+11) = 13 \text{ years.}$$

It will hardly be necessary to enlarge on the relative probability of these two results. Turning to (iii), by this solution Ramesses II would have come to the throne in 1279, only 9 years before the death of Kadashman-Turgu. Allowing for an error of 2 years in the date for the latter event, we obtain a maximum of 11 years for $(a+b+c+d)$, whereas $(a+c)$ alone equals 12 years.

It might be objected that even 13 years is hardly enough for the sum of the intervals $(m+o+r)$. There is, however, fairly good reason for believing that these three intervals were all fairly short. The evidence for placing the accession of Ashur-uballit I late in the reign of Akhenaten will be fully discussed elsewhere. Here we will merely note that this is the opinion of such experts as Sidney Smith and Albright.¹ Haremhab held high rank under Akhenaten;² it is therefore not probable that he survived the accession of Tutankhamun by very much more than 41 years. At Haremhab's death Ramesses I was an old man, and his son, Sethos I, had already attained to a position of the utmost importance.³ Consequently, although it is certainly possible that Sethos was well under 50 years of age at his accession, it is not on the whole very likely. Since his mummy shows that he died at the age of about 60,⁴ it is not probable that his reign much exceeded the 11 years hitherto attested for it. A relatively short reign for Sethos I is further indicated by the fact that none of his major building operations appear to have been completed during his lifetime.⁵

IV. Manetho's Date for Ramesses II

In the two extant versions of the *Epitome* Dyn. XIX is preserved as follows:⁶

<i>Africanus</i>	<i>Eusebius</i>
1. Sethōs 51 y.	1. Sethōs 55 y.
2. Rapsacēs 61 y. (66)	2. Rampsēs 66 y.
3. Ammenephtēs 20 y.	3. Ammenephtis 40 y.
4. Ramessēs 60 y.	4.
5. Ammenemnēs 5 y.	5. Ammenemēs 26 y.
6. Thuōris 7 y.	6. Thuōris 7 y.
Stated total 209 y.	Stated total 194 y.

¹ S. Smith, *AJA* XLIX, 22; Albright, *AJA* XLVII, 492.

² Recently Cooney, *JEA* xxx, 2 f.

³ Montet, *Le drame d'Avaris*, 108-9.

⁴ Recently Albright, *JNES* v, 21.

⁵ Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte*, II (1), 455. For a different opinion see Montet, op. cit. 113.

⁶ *WM* 55, 56. Africanus' total of 209 years shows that Syncellus' 61 years for (2) is a scribal error for 66.

The date obtained for the accession of Ramesses II, on evidence entirely independent of Manetho, was 1290; and this is an exact astronomical date. Manetho's date for the end of Book III was 341, his sum total for the Book was 850 years, and he ended Book II with the reign of Meneptah Siptah. Consequently, his date for the accession of Ramesses II was

$$341 + 850 + 99 = 1290.$$

For the six reigns after Sethos I we obtain the dates given in the table below. Sethos II and Ramesses Siptah were not included by Manetho in Dyn. XIX, but the length of Sethos II's reign is attested elsewhere.¹ The figures in col. II indicate the year of a king's reign in which his successor came to the throne. The dates in col. III are accession dates. It should be noted that even if Manetho's chronology is accepted, these dates are subject to a margin of error of 1 year. This is due to the fact that for the year-fractions it has been necessary to adopt the average value of $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

I	II	III
Ramesses II	67	1290
Meneptah	20	1224
Amenmosė	6	1204
Meneptah Siptah	8	1199
Sethos II	6	1191
Ramesses Siptah	?	1186

Against these dates certain objections could be raised. The present writer can only think of four which appear to carry enough weight to justify comment.²

(i) The chronology suggested here entails too low a date for Ramesses III (*c.* 1170–1139). *Answer:* There is nothing in the archaeological evidence from Egypt, Palestine, or Syria to indicate the absolute date of Ramesses III, even within a margin of error of 20 years. Consequently, this objection could only be upheld if the dates suggested here led to compressing within too short an interval the reigns of the 8 kings of Dyn. XX who reigned after Ramesses III. But that is not the case. These kings are commonly allowed a total of some 80 years.³ Allowing an approximate 15 years for the interval between the death of Sethos II and the accession of Ramesses III, Manetho's total for Dyn. XX leaves for the last 8 kings of the dynasty $135 - 6 - 15 - 31 = 83$ years.

(ii) Manetho could hardly have begun a new dynasty with Sethos II who was a son of Meneptah.⁴ *Answer:* We have the plain testimony of Africanus, as well as of Eusebius, that Manetho did end Dyn. XIX with Thuoris, i.e. Meneptah Siptah. The end of the reign of Thuoris marked not only the end of Dyn. XIX, it also marked the end of Book II. It represents therefore a major landmark in Manetho's chronology, and care-

¹ Borchardt, *op. cit.* 77.

² The argument that no dates are known from the second decade of Meneptah's reign would not deserve serious consideration. Until recently the highest date which could be attributed with certainty to Amenophis II was his 5th year. His 23rd year is now attested, cf. Gardiner, *loc. cit.* 27.

³ e.g. Breasted 77 years (*Anc. Rec.* I, 69), Meyer 83 years (*Geschichte*, II, I, p. 608), Vandier 81 years (*Égypte*, 601).

⁴ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* IV, 30 and 167; V, 210 (17).

lessness on the part of later scribes at this particular point is not probable. I hope to show in a later, detailed discussion of his New Kingdom chronology that Manetho had a very good reason of his own for terminating Dyn. XIX with Meneptah Siptah.

(iii) Meneptah was already an old man at his accession; it is therefore not probable that he reigned as much as 20 years. *Answer*: Granted Ramesses II was between 80 and 90 years of age at his death; but Meneptah appears to have been only 13th in succession to the throne.¹ Consequently, Ramesses II may very well have been about 40 at Meneptah's birth, and the latter not more than 50 at his father's death. In support of this inference we may cite Meneptah's performance in the military field. In the East, more perhaps than anywhere else, the outcome of a major crisis has always depended on the personal vigour and capability of the ruler. Now the crisis at the onset of Meneptah's reign was no ordinary one, for the victorious campaigns in his first 5 years saved Egypt from the brink of utter ruin. The theory that Meneptah was already an old man at the time of these events cannot be said to fit their pattern particularly well.

(iv) There is a theory, based upon an ostrakon published by Daressy, that Meneptah died already in his 8th year. According to Daressy, this ostrakon showed that the 'nuteru' of Meneptah and later the embalming materials were brought to Meneptah's tomb already in his 7th year. Daressy concluded that Meneptah was in all probability gravely ill at the time, and that his death was expected at any moment.²

Against this argument we have the opinion of such experts as Breasted and Erman that Papyrus Sallier I was written in the 10th year of Meneptah.³ Papyrus Bologna 1094 is certainly dated in the 8th year of Meneptah, more than 3 months after the supposed embalming materials were dispatched, and apparently more than 1 year after the 'nuteru' were moved.⁴ This evidence is sufficient to cast serious doubt on Daressy's theory. I therefore asked Professor H. Kees to check Daressy's translation. I am greatly indebted to Professor Kees for his kindness in allowing me to publish his new translation as an Appendix to this article. It will be seen that embalming materials are not mentioned at all. Nor is there any reason for believing that the 'nuteru' formed part of the funeral equipment which was moved to the tomb only just before the king's burial. Work on the tomb seems to be proceeding at a leisurely pace, and there is nothing to justify the inference that Meneptah was ill at the time.

Appendix by Professor H. Kees

Cairo Ostrakon (Černý, *CCG*) No. 25504

Recto, col. 2.

Year 7, third month of the Inundation season, day 11 (*sic*). On [this] day [came] the Overseer of the Treasury Tjai to the enclosure of the royal tomb and supplied the troop (of workers). They were given these supplies:

(details follow, partly destroyed, of various kinds of bread, oil, etc.).

Day 22. The Overseer of the Treasury came to the

¹ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, 483; *History*, 464.

² Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* xxvii, 167 f.

³ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* I, 67, n.b., Erman, *Westcar*, II, 37, and *Abh. Berlin* (1925), *Phil.-Hist. Kl.* No. 2, p. 21.

⁴ For Papyrus Bologna 1094 see Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Misc.* 12. The date is year 8, month 3, day 29.

Year 7, [third month of the Inundation season, day] 23. On this day the 'gods' (*a*) of King Menepthah were hauled into their places, at the behest of the Governor of the City and Vizier Penḥasi.

Year 7, fourth month of the Summer season, day 13. On this day the Vizier Penḥasi came to He did not find the troop there. He came to the royal tomb and said: 'Go up to the field of alabaster to the inner coffin of pinewood' (*b*). He said: 'The notables are to come with me.'

Year 7, fourth month of the Summer season, day 14. On this day the butler Raḥmessempirē and the scribe Penpi, together with the Vizier Penḥasi, came to the field to effect the entry of the inner coffins of Pharaoh to their places. On day 14, day 15, day 16, day 17, day 18, they came to the royal tomb day 19 they supplied the troop. They were given:

(here follows in col. 1 of the *verso* a list of the rations that were issued).

[Year 7, fourth] month of the Summer season, day 20. On this day [the Governor of the City and Vizier] Penḥasi, the [butler Raḥmes]sempirē [and the scribe Penp]i travelled to the north (*c*).

Verso, col. 2.

Year 8, second month of the Inundation season, day 13. On this day the scribe Anupemḥab, the scribe Pesiūr, the chief of police (*mdꜣyw*) Nakhtmin and the chief of police (*mdꜣyw*) Ḥōri arrived saying: 'The overseer of workshops Romē came to the enclosure of the royal tomb. The foremen were taken to him and he said to them: "Pharaoh has sent the Vizier Pensakhme, the Overseer of the Treasury Meriptah and the scribe of the House of Gold Ḥuy." They came to the entrance of the Valley (Bibān el-Molūk) with the copy (of the ordinance) of Pharaoh' (*d*).

Second month of the Inundation season, day 14. The Vizier Pensakhme did not come with them. To the foremen they said: 'Pharaoh lets them (i.e. the workmen) be supplied for the task which they have executed.'

He came in the second month of the Inundation season, day 16, with the scribe of the House of Gold Ḥuy, and Ḥuy spent two days sitting there by the work on the inner coffin.

The overseer of workshops came to the field in the second month of the Inundation season, day 18. He took away the inner coffin He came to the enclosure of the royal tomb to supply the troop in the second month of the Inundation season, day 20. He supplied the troop, and they were given by way of special rations:

(a detailed list follows).

Notes

(*a*) The 'gods' of the King are already mentioned on col. 1 of the *recto*, but have not been noted elsewhere. It is possible that the coffins for the royal mummy are meant, but Černý suggests that the *ntrw* may be wooden statues of the gods such as were found in the tomb of Tutḥankhamūn.

(*b*) The wooden (anthropoid) inner coffin. Evidently material for it is to be fetched from the 'field', i.e. from outside the Valley of the Kings. The working ground was therefore situated outside the Valley.

(*c*) The Theban Vizier Penḥasi travels to the royal residence in the North (Tanis or Memphis), evidently to make his report.

(*d*) The Vizier of Lower Egypt Pensakhme, accompanied by the Lower Egyptian Overseer of the Treasury, evidently brings the King's reply to the report of the Theban Vizier. It perhaps concerns material for the tomb and the special rations. In this connexion the usual friction arises between the various authorities involved.

THE MACEDONIAN CALENDAR DURING THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY EUERGETES I

By T. C. SKEAT

THE purpose of this note is to draw attention to a synchronism between the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars which appears to have been overlooked in previous discussions of the subject.

This synchronism occurs in a papyrus in Munich (P. Münch. 166) published by Bilabel in *Aegyptus*, VI, 1925, 107-10, and subsequently reprinted by him as *Sammelbuch* 7631. The protocol gives the names of the eponymous Priest of Alexander and the Kanephoros, and bears date year 20 of Ptolemy Euergetes I, Peritios embolimos 20 = Payni 17.

The first point to be decided is whether year 20 is the regnal or the financial year, the latter being at this date some 11 months in advance of the former. The answer is provided by a Demotic papyrus which names the same priest and priestess and is dated year 20, Thoth (B.M. Pap. 10240, cf. H. Thompson, *Griffith Studies*, 25, no. 25); as the native Egyptian year was about 6 months in advance of the regnal year, the priest and priestess must be those who held office in the 19th regnal year, and year 20 in *Sammelbuch* 7631 is therefore identified as the financial year. The equation is therefore:

Regnal year 19, Peritios embolimos 20 = Payni 17 = August 1, 228 B.C.

This information is a complete surprise, for since the discovery of a Hyperberetaios embolimos in year 4 of Euergetes (P. Cair. Zen. 59571) it has been generally supposed (a) that the intercalary month throughout Euergetes' reign came after Hyperberetaios, and (b) that the even regnal years were embolismic and the odd years common.

Before considering the implications of this synchronism, its relationship with the moon may be noticed. It will be recalled that Beloch strongly championed the lunar character of the Macedonian calendar in Egypt, contending that for considerable periods during the third century B.C. the first day of the month approximated to the day following the observation of a new moon. For technical reasons this date may be expected to fall a couple of days or so later than the astronomical new moon, i.e. the moment of true conjunction. If now we reckon backwards from Peritios embolimos 20 of regnal year 19, we find that Peritios embolimos 1 fell on July 13, 228. As there was an astronomical new moon at Alexandria at 1 p.m. on July 10, 228,¹ the synchronism is, on Beloch's theory, in exact agreement with the moon.

The nearest previously known synchronism is provided by P. Gurob 2. The text is

¹ The times of the new moons given in this article are based on the tables in F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, I, 1906, 558-9. Ginzel's times are given in days and hundredths of a day, in Greenwich mean time, using the astronomical day, which until January 1, 1925, began at noon and was thus 12 hours in arrear of the civil day. I have turned Ginzel's figures into Alexandrian mean time, using the civil day, with hours and minutes rounded up or down to the nearest 15 minutes.

preserved in two copies, one very cursively written, the other in a larger and more carefully formed hand, presumably a fair copy. In the cursive copy the synchronism is given as year 22 (?), Dystros 16 = Payni 19, in the fair copy year 21, Dystros [16] = Pachons 19. Edgar has convincingly argued, in *Recueil Champollion* 127-8, that the true date is (regnal) year 21, Dystros 16 = Payni 19, year 22 in the cursive copy being the financial year, and Pachons in the fair copy a slip for Payni. The correct equation is thus:

Regnal year 21, Dystros 16 = Payni 19 = August 3, 226 B.C.¹

If we reckon forward from the synchronism in *Sammelbuch* 7631, on the provisional assumption that regnal years 20 and 21 were both common, we obtain the equation:

Regnal year 21, Dystros 16 = Payni 21 = August 5, 226 B.C.,

differing by only 2 days from P. Gurob 2 as interpreted by Edgar. This result depends on years 20 and 21 both being common; if either were embolismic, the discrepancy would rise from 2 days to 32; if both were embolismic, to 62. We may thus conclude that both years were in fact common.

Edgar's contention that Pachons in the fair copy of P. Gurob 2 is a slip for Payni is fully upheld, for if Dystros 16 really coincided with Pachons 19, it would follow not merely that years 20 and 21 were non-intercalary, but that one of them contained 11 months only, which is incredible.

From the foregoing data we can deduce that Dystros 1 of regnal year 21 fell on July 19, 226, according to P. Gurob 2, or July 21, 226, by calculation from *Sammelbuch* 7631. An astronomical new moon at Alexandria at 10.45 a.m. on July 18 is reasonably consistent with either date.

There are two synchronisms from Euergetes' 25th year, viz. Apellaios 11² = Pharmouthi 6, from P. Petr. II. 2 (2), (3), and Loios 26 = Choiak 13, from the Magdola papyri (cf. O. Guéraud, *ENTEYEEIΣ*, 251). Calculation shows that these two synchronisms are at variance with each other by one day only, provided no intercalation took place in the intervening period. As Peritios comes between Apellaios and Loios, there can have been no Peritios embolimos in regnal year 25, which we may therefore conclude to have been common.

We have now reached the position that regnal year 19 was certainly embolismic, and years 20, 21, and 25 probably common. We have no direct evidence of the quality of years 22-4, but the general trend of the calendar makes it probable that at least two of them (presumably 22 and 24) were embolismic. Assuming that this was the case, we obtain the following correspondences by working forward from *Sammelbuch* 7631:

Regnal year 25, Apellaios 10 = Pharmouthi 2 = May 17, 222 B.C.

Regnal year 25, Loios 26 = Choiak 9 = January 24, 221 B.C.

¹ Edgar's suggestion is not noticed by later writers, e.g. E. Meyer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der ersten Ptolemäer*, 20-1, and W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 484, n. 7, who, for different reasons, adopt year 22, Dystros 16 = Payni 19, and year 21, Dystros 16 = Pachons 19, respectively. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV, 2, 39, leaves the choice open.

² The date is sometimes quoted as Apellaios 10, as originally printed in P. Petr. II (2), but the numeral 11 is certain in both documents (now P. Lond. 506 and 507 respectively).

These dates differ by 4 days from those in the papyri quoted above. It is also worthy of notice that they agree with the moon rather more closely than do the dates in the papyri. For instance, Apellaios 1 fell on May 12, 222, according to P. Petr. II, 2 (2), on May 8, 222, by calculation from *Sammelbuch* 7631: the astronomical full moon occurred at 7 a.m. on May 6, 222. Loios 1 fell on January 3, 221, according to the Magdola papyri synchronisms, on December 30, 222, by calculation from *Sammelbuch* 7631: the astronomical new moon occurred at 4.30 a.m. on December 28, 222.

In the preceding paragraphs it has been assumed that the synchronisms from year 25 belong to regnal year 25, and not to financial year 25, which would = regnal year 24. Edgar, in *Recueil Champollion*, 127, has indeed proposed to refer these dates to regnal year 24, but H. Frank, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XI, 39-42, has finally demonstrated that the docketts of the Magdola papyri are dated by the regnal year, and P. Petr. II, 2 (2), (3) must follow suit.

Having thus determined, with more or less certainty, the working of the Macedonian calendar from the 19th year of Euergetes up to his 25th and last regnal year, we can attempt to make progress in the opposite direction. Here the only landmark is P. Petr. III, 53 (s), dated year 16, Gorpaios 4 = Choiak 11. Edgar in *Recueil Champollion* 128 gave this up as hopeless, suggesting that year 16 might be a clerical error for 26. This, however, seems improbable. In the first place, we must decide whether the papyrus is dated by the regnal or the financial year. Reckoning back from the synchronism in *Sammelbuch* 7631 we can calculate that Gorpaios 4 of regnal year 18 fell on Choiak 4 = January 21, 228 B.C. If P. Petr. III, 53 (s) is dated by the regnal year, Gorpaios 4 of regnal year 16 = Choiak 11 = January 28, 230 B.C. From January 28, 230, to January 21, 228, is 723 days. Subtraction from this of 2 Macedonian common years of 354 days each = 708 days leaves the intractable remainder of 15 days, which cannot be explained by any normal process of intercalation. If, on the other hand, P. Petr. III, 53 (s) is dated by the financial year, the equation belongs to the 15th regnal year, and Gorpaios 4 falls a year earlier, on January 28, 231. From January 28, 231, to January 21, 228, is 1,088 days, and after subtracting 3 Macedonian common years of 354 days each = 1,062 days, we are left with 26 days, which is only 4 days less than the normal Macedonian intercalary month of 30 days. The probability is therefore that P. Petr. III, 53 (s) is dated by the financial year, and that the correct synchronism is:

Regnal year 15, Gorpaios 4 = Choiak 11 = January 28, 231 B.C.

From this, Gorpaios 1 = Choiak 8 = January 25, 231.

If we reckon back from *Sammelbuch* 7631, assuming that one of the intervening years contained an intercalary month of 30 days, we obtain:

Regnal year 15, Gorpaios 1 = Choiak 4 = January 21, 231 B.C.,

differing, as expected, by 4 days from P. Petr. III, 53 (s). There was an astronomical new moon at Alexandria at 9.45 p.m. on January 17, 231, which agrees a good deal more closely with the date deduced from *Sammelbuch* 7631 than with P. Petr. III, 53 (s). We must, however, beware, both here and elsewhere, of assuming that this necessarily affects the validity of the equation in P. Petr. III, 53 (s): the date of the Canopus Decree, which is surely unimpeachable, differs from the moon by 5-6 days.

If the interpretation of P. Petr. III, 53 (s) here put forward is correct, an intercalary month was inserted somewhere between Gorpiaios of regnal year 15 and the same month in regnal year 18. Since we know from *Sammelbuch* 7631 that regnal year 19 was embolismic, it is natural to suppose that the intercalation took place in year 17, years 16 and 18 being therefore common. We have no means as yet of determining whether the intercalary month postulated for regnal year 17 followed Peritios or Hyperberetaios.

We have now mapped out, in broad outline, the last 10 years of Euergetes' reign; and it is a remarkable coincidence, to put it no higher, that the equation from P. Petr. III, 53 (s), which we have assigned to regnal year 15, is in *exact* agreement with the synchronisms for regnal year 25 in the Magdola papyri. This can be demonstrated as follows: we have deduced from P. Petr. III, 53 (s) that in regnal year 15, Gorpiaios 1 = Choiak 8; we know from the Magdola papyri that in regnal year 25, Loios 26 = Choiak 13, and there can therefore be little doubt that the following Gorpiaios 1 fell on Choiak 18. The difference between these dates is 10 Egyptian years = 3,650 days, *plus* 10 days (the difference between Choiak 8 and Choiak 18) = 3,660 days. Deducting 10 Macedonian common years = 3,540 days leaves exactly 120 days, representing the 4 intercalary months of 30 days each which we have postulated for regnal years 17, 19, 22, and 24. But it must be admitted that if these synchronisms from the 15th and 25th years are correct, *Sammelbuch* 7631 is 4 days out (which is quite possible, since it is not an official document) and P. Gurob 2 is 6 days out, which is less easy to accept.

To sum up, it appears, on the evidence at present available, that regnal years 17, 19, 22, and 24 were embolismic, and 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, and 25 common. That year 19 was embolismic is certain, also that its intercalary month followed Peritios. To the position of the intercalary month in the other embolismic years there is no clue, but at least there is no objection to the supposition that it followed Peritios during the whole of the period under review. In any event, the assignment of P. Cair. Zen. 59374, dated year 16, Panemos embolimos, to the reign of Euergetes now seems to be finally excluded.

It follows from the foregoing that a major alteration (one hesitates to call it a reform) of the Macedonian calendar took place at some point between the date of P. Cair. Zen. 59571, where we find mention of a Hyperberetaios embolimos in year 4, and regnal year 19, where intercalation occurs after Peritios. Moreover, now that it is established that regnal year 19, i.e. an odd year, was embolismic, it becomes much more plausible to assume that P. Cair. Zen. 59571 is dated by the financial year, and that the Hyperberetaios embolimos there mentioned belongs to regnal year 3. (This would, in fact, be a reversion to Edgar's original scheme in *Recueil Champollion*, 130-1, published before the discovery of P. Cair. Zen. 59571.)

The alteration of the calendar, involving the transference of the intercalary month from a position following Hyperberetaios to a position following Peritios, seems therefore to have taken place between regnal year 3 and regnal year 19. There is some evidence which helps to fix the *terminus ante quem* a little more closely. If P. Petr. III, 53 (s), of Gorpiaios 4, is correctly assigned to regnal year 15, as suggested above, a Hyperberetaios embolimos in this year is excluded, as this would destroy the relationship with *Sammelbuch* 7631. But we should expect regnal year 15 to be embolismic,

and if so the intercalary month must have been inserted somewhere *before* Gorpaios. A Peritios embolimos would fulfil this condition, with the corollary that the calendrical change occurred before regnal year 15.

The Canopus Decree, dated year 9, Apellaios 7 = Tybi 17, gives no assistance in determining the date of the change, since the number of months intercalated between the accession of Euergetes and the date of the Decree remains the same whether intercalation took place in the odd years, 1, 3, 5, and 7, or the even years, 2, 4, 6, and 8; and as Apellaios comes near the beginning of the regnal year it makes no difference whether the intercalary month is inserted after Peritios or after Hyperberetaios. The only document which might give a clue to the problem is P. Teb. 814, which contains the synchronism year 8 (probably of Euergetes), Gorpaios 2 = Phaophi 1 (or 30). If, as I think probable, year 8 is the financial year, it is possible to deduce, by a long and precarious chain of reasoning which I hesitate to reproduce here, that Hyperberetaios had ceased to be the intercalary month as early as regnal year 7. But we are now straying into the realm of conjecture, and the supreme lesson inculcated by *Sammelbuch* 7631 is the danger of theorizing on insufficient evidence. Possibly even the very tentative conclusions in the preceding paragraphs have been reached by pressing the evidence too far, and no one would be more surprised than the writer if subsequent discoveries were to confirm them in every particular.

A LETTER FROM PHILONIDES TO KLEON REVISED

(P. LOND. 593 = CRÖNERT, *RACCOLTA LUMBROSO*
530 = SAMMELBUCH 7183)

By T. C. SKEAT

IN *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso*, 1925, pp. 530–533, W. Crönert published for the first time the text of P. Lond. 593, a letter from Philonides to his father Kleon, the well-known ἀρχιτέκτων or superintending civil engineer of the Arsinoite nome in the middle of the third century B.C. Unfortunately Crönert did not notice that a large fragment of the papyrus had been misplaced, the amount of the dislocation being indicated by the fact that the letters Αριστ[in l. 5 of Crönert's text are the beginning of the name Ἀριστόβουλος of which the second half appears in Crönert's l. 9. It therefore seems desirable that a revised text should be printed, on the basis of the papyrus as now remounted.

While it cannot be claimed that the letter has gained very greatly in intelligibility by the rearrangement, the general sense of the first six lines is now fairly clear. Philonides begins by urging his father that a letter (presumably a letter to the King, interceding for Kleon) should be written by Telestes, 'for it will not be the same thing', he proceeds, 'if Satyros and Abas and . . . sing your praises. For Satyros is in despair [at being relegated to] the position of an underling. Aristoboulos conversed with me several times, and said he thinks the office of Androitias will be turned over to you. For when the King observed that'—and here the papyrus becomes too fragmentary for connected sense to be obtained.

In our ignorance of the details of palace life at Alexandria we cannot hope to follow the course of these minor intrigues and manœuvres, and it is doubtful whether we should be very much the wiser even if the present letter were less fragmentary. However, I do not think there can be much doubt that the Telestes in l. 2 is the individual mentioned in several papyri of this period in contexts which indicate that he was a personage of considerable importance, though his official position is unknown. He first appears in P. Hib. 99, of 271 B.C., and he certainly outlived Philadelphus, since in 241 we hear of an ἀπαρτία or forced sale of his goods (P. Cair. Zen. 59460, P. Lond. inv. 2308; Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* 176, 180). As regards Satyros (ll. 2, 4) I would suggest that he is none other than the man whom we find holding the great office of Dioiketes in 263 B.C. (*Revenue Laws*, col. 36, 11; 37, 11), and who was shortly afterwards succeeded, or supplanted, by the more famous Apollonios. If this interpretation is correct, we catch a fleeting glimpse of the ex-Viceroy, a few years after his dismissal, as a despondent minor official.

Φιλωνίδης τῶι πατρί χαίρ[εω. καλῶς ἂν π]οήσαις σπουδάσας ὅπως ἂν
παρὰ Τε[λ]έστου γραφῆι ε[.]. ι. οὐ γὰρ ταὐτ' ἔσται [ἐὰν Σά-]
τυρός τ[ε κ]αὶ Ἄβας καὶ [.] σε ἐγκωμιάζωσ[ε]ν. ἀπον[ερό-]

ηται γ[ὰ]ρ [Σάτ]υρος [. . . .].[.]. σλ[. . .].σ. τῶι σχήματι [. . .]ναι τῶι
 5 τοῦ ὑπηρέτου. ἐνέτυχε δέ μοι καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ πλεονάκ[ι]
 καὶ ἔφησεν ο[ἴ]σο[θ]αί σοι τὰ τοῦ Ἀνδροίτ[ου] π[ρά]γματα ἀποδοθήσεσθαι.
 τοῦ γὰρ βασιλ[έ]ω[ς] μνησθέντος ὅτι οὐθε[. . .]τὸν Ἀνδροίτ[αν] τῶν δικαί-
 ων αὐτοῖ δυ[. . .]ενον ποῆσαι εἶπεν· τίς[
 ἐπιτηδ[.]. ὁ δ' εἶπεν εἰ μὴ ἱκανῶ[ς]
 10 ἀλλ' ἔχω[.]ν πρὸς ταῦτα ονο[.
 - - - - -]έχονται. λ[
 - - - - -

VERSO: Κλέωνι

NOTES

3. ἐγκωμιάζωσ[ι]ν. I originally read ἐγκωμιάζων, but the space occupied by the supposed final ν is far too wide, and the reading in the text, though not wholly satisfactory, seems the best obtainable. The word shows several traces of correction: the ι is almost certainly a later insertion, and there appears to be a σ interpolated between α and ζ (though this may be only a set-off).

5. Ἀριστόβουλος. In P. Cair. Zen. 59037 (258–257 B.C.) we hear of a certain person 'in Alexandria, hanging about the house of Aristoboulos, wasting time' (ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, σκηνῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστοβούλου φθειρόμενος). Edgar has suggested that he may be identical with the Aristoboulos who was eponymous priest of Alexander in the 5th year of Euergetes (242–241 B.C.).

7–8. I have not found a plausible restoration, despite the small extent of the lacunae. οὐθε[in l. 7 may be the beginning of οὐθῆ[ν but if so it is difficult to find room for a main verb. θε[may be some part of θέλω but if so the construction is not obvious: θέ[λω] is too short for the lacuna. In l. 8 Crönert read δ' ὑ[πέμ]ενον, but palaeographically δυ[νάμ]ενον is equally possible.

POPULAR RELIGION IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT¹

I. THE PAGAN PERIOD

By SIR HAROLD BELL

IN all ages and in all countries a difference can be discerned between the religion officially established and that which forms the actual mental background of the average man and woman, which determines their conduct and colours their view of the world. The difference works, if I may so express it, both backwards and forwards. On the one hand, an official cult becomes stereotyped, expressing, in its formularies and its ritual, conceptions which the developed popular consciousness has outgrown; on the other hand, a new religion, whether introduced by a conquering people or established as the result of a religious reform, never quite obliterates the beliefs and customs existing before its appearance. Some of these beliefs and customs linger on underground; and so far from disappearing entirely with the passage of time they may even acquire new vitality as the first impulse of the new creed dies away. In modern Egypt usages may be observed the origins of which go back centuries, even millennia, before either Christianity or Islam came into existence. Even among ourselves there are many popular superstitions, laughed at perhaps by most people when challenged but none the less scrupulously observed, which are relics of ancient paganism.

Where, as with all modern European countries, the population is racially mixed the various strata of belief and custom are likely to be particularly diverse. Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period was a notable example of a country in which many races were intermingled. There were, first of all, the Egyptians themselves, a people notoriously conservative and reluctant to discard any old institution. Just as even the most developed form of the Egyptian script preserved all the stages through which it had passed in its evolution, ideograms and syllabic signs side by side with alphabetic letters, so the Egyptian religion exhibits in strange combination the most primitive notions and conceptions more befitting the developed consciousness of a later day. Into this Egyptian populace the Macedonian and, before that, the Persian conquests introduced many foreign elements, Macedonians, Greeks, Thracians, Carians, Lydians, and other peoples of Asia Minor, Syrians, Jews, Persians, and, even as early as the third century B.C., and still more when Egypt had become a part of the Roman Empire, many westerners, Italians, Gauls, Carthaginians, and, later still, Germans. All these peoples had their own gods and religious ideas; in all alike, it is fair to assume, there was a certain clash between their former cults, as officially practised, and the personal religious consciousness of individuals.

It would be a fascinating and a very useful task to study, so far as our admittedly inadequate evidence permits, the resulting amalgam of custom and belief, the various forms of worship, the deities worshipped, the intricate mingling of deity with deity and cult

¹ A lecture given at Oxford, March 4, 1948. I have here omitted the concluding portion, in which I dealt, quite inadequately, with the Christian period. I hope to discuss that, more fully, in a future article.

with cult, and the mental attitude of the worshippers. But it would also be an immense task; for inadequate as the evidence may be, there is in sum a great deal of it, derived from very various sources. For such an undertaking I have neither the time nor the capacity, nor is a single lecture adequate to so large a theme. My purpose to-day is a much more modest one, and, indeed, I confess that my title is misleadingly wide. I have attempted no more than this: on the basis of notes made during a hasty examination of the principal collections of papyri to formulate some sort of an answer to such questions as: What are the deities chiefly mentioned in non-official connexions? What light do the papyri throw on the popular attitude to religion? What part, in fact, did religion play in the life of the people, what did it really mean to them, up to the introduction of Christianity? And what changes did Christianity bring about in men's minds and conduct?

The principal source to which I have turned for information is Greek private letters. It must be emphasized that these inform us chiefly about the Greek or at least the Hellenized populace. For an insight into the native Egyptian mind the Demotic and later the Coptic records would have to be consulted. Nor have I drawn on the literary evidence, Greek or Coptic, nor, except incidentally, on that of archaeology. Even the magical papyri, a valuable source of information on the curious jumble of religious beliefs, from many races, which formed the mental background of at least some sections of the populace, have been neglected; for magic is a highly specialized field of study into which, without a more intimate knowledge than I possess, it would be unsafe to enter. Nevertheless, I hope that this summary and, I admit, superficial sketch may contribute something to what I take to be one of the most important aims that a historian can propose to himself: to penetrate behind the mere events, the wars and revolutions and economic or social changes, to the minds and souls of the people concerned in them, and thereby the better to understand the evolution of the human consciousness in its relation to the external world.

To our first question, which of the numerous deities worshipped in Egypt came home most nearly to the heart of the common man, the papyri alone return no satisfactory answer. We meet in them many gods and goddesses, European, Oriental, and Egyptian, as may be seen by a reference to the index devoted to religion in almost any of the major collections of papyrus texts. That in vol. II of Preisigke's *Sammelbuch* (which embraces inscriptions as well as papyri and ostraca) contains the names of over a hundred and sixty deities or divine powers. But most of them occur in some official connexion; we do not know what appeal they had to the ordinary man. Votive offerings and dedications may reveal the gratitude of a worshipper for some deliverance or favour received or express a petition for a favour to come. Thus, to take one example:¹ 'Andromachus, a Macedonian, came to Amenōthēs the good god: he was working for hire and weakness overcame him, and the god helped him that very day. Farewell. Andromachus.' Or 'I, Spartacus son of Phaedrus, am come to Abydus. Save me, O Osiris.'² Or the striking inscription seen on several tomb-stones: 'Be of good cheer. May Osiris give you the cold water.'³ But these are records of particular emergencies;

¹ SB I, 15, a graffito at Dēr el-Baḥri.

² SB I, 1060.

³ E.g. SB I, 3467.

Amenōthēs was a healing god, to whom a man would naturally turn in sickness, Osiris the god of the dead, who gave immortality to his worshippers. Such inscriptions give us only a limited insight into the part which these and other gods played in the daily life of men. It is to private letters and other domestic records that we might reasonably look for such information; but unfortunately it is comparatively rare in a letter to find any god mentioned by name; it is of 'gods' in the plural that we hear most often. Moreover, owing to the Greek habit of identifying native gods with those of other peoples, we are not always certain whether a Greek name which occurs is that of a Greek or an Egyptian deity. Often it is certainly the latter. Thus, when the priests of Aphrodite write to Apollonius, the Finance Minister of Ptolemy II, in 257 B.C.:¹ 'In accordance with the King's letter to you instructing you to give for the burial of the Hesis a hundred talents of myrrh, please order this to be done. For you are aware that the Hesis is not brought up to the nome unless we have in readiness all necessaries which they require for the burial, because [the embalming is done] on the same day. You must know that the Hesis is Isis; may she give you favour before the King'; when, I say, we read this we know that Aphrodite is the Egyptian Ḥathōr. The letter is an official one; but it is of some interest for our present purpose because it shows us a Greek settler in Egypt being instructed in a nice point of Egyptian theology. Hesis was the divine cow of Ḥathōr, in some sense merged into Isis after death, just as the Apis bull became Osiris-Apis or Oserapis. Such explanations must often have been called for in the early days of Macedonian rule. On the other hand, the Astarte mentioned in another letter of the Zenon series² is no doubt the Phoenician goddess, though with Egyptian attributes, perhaps a combination of Ashtarōth and Isis; the editor appositely cites the statement of Herodotus³ concerning a temple at Memphis of *ξείνη Ἀφροδίτη*, 'the foreign Aphrodite'. The letter is to Zenon from 'the priests of Astarte of the Phoenician-Egyptians at Memphis', and begins, 'We pray for you to Astarte that she may give you favour before the King.' The priests go on to ask for olive and castor oil to be given them for cult purposes, adding 'for olive oil and castor oil are given for the temples of the Carians and Hellenomemphites at a price per *chalmaia* [this is an elsewhere-unrecorded measure] of 2 drachmae, 3 obols for olive oil and 1 drachma, 4½ obols for castor oil; and the temple of Astarte is like the temples of the Carians and Hellenomemphites; as, then, is done for them let it be done for our temple.'

This letter illustrates the mixture of races and cults existing at a centre like Memphis even in the early days of Ptolemaic rule. Still more significant is a document which is probably to be regarded as the earliest Greek documentary papyrus yet discovered, dating from the second half of the fourth century B.C., the famous curse of Artemisia.⁴ A woman of that Greek name, the daughter of a man with the Egyptian name of Amasis, invoking a curse on the father of her daughter, writes in a Greek which is an Ionic mixed with Attic and Doric forms, and it is to the local Egyptian god Oserapis that she turns. She may well have been, as Wilcken suggests, one of the Caromemphites, those Carians mentioned in the letter I have quoted.

Nevertheless, it is in the earlier Ptolemaic papyri that we are most likely to find

¹ PSI IV, 328 = Hunt and Edgar, *Sel. Pap.* II, 411.

² PSI V, 531.

³ II, 112.

⁴ UPZ I.

Greek deities in their purer Hellenic forms, and it is interesting to note what evidence the Zenon papyri yield. Philadelphia, the Finance Minister's foundation in the Arsinoite nome, was designed as a centre both for Greek and other settlers and for Egyptian peasants. Their religious needs had to be provided for, and we find in fact references to several temples established in the town. There may well have been others not recorded in the surviving papyri, but those mentioned will give us some idea of the cults practised at Philadelphia.

There was, of course, a temple of Sarapis, the new official deity, designed as a meeting-ground for Greeks and Egyptians. It was built, as was natural, next to that of Isis, and near to one of the Dioscuri.¹ Thus we have on a single site shrines of an Egyptian goddess, a composite Greek-Egyptian god, and purely Greek deities. There was a shrine of the Samothracian gods,² a tribute apparently to Queen Arsinoe, who had once found an asylum on Samothrace. There was also a temple of Thoëris, a purely Egyptian deity.³ She was the hippopotamus goddess, worshipped specially at Oxyrhynchus. A temple of Zeus Labrandaios mentioned in one account⁴ and probably referred to, though without the epithet, in a letter⁵ may be assumed to have been at Philadelphia. Zenon was a native of Caunus in Caria, and it is a plausible hypothesis that Apollonius also was a Carian Greek, so that the presence of a temple to the Carian Zeus is understandable. The same account speaks of land allotted to Sarapis and to Asclepius. A letter written to Zenon in 257 B.C.,⁶ before his settlement at Philadelphia, is from a priest of Asclepius, who, introducing a friend, and asking Zenon to do him some service, adds 'in doing so you will gratify me and the god'; but the temple served by this priest may have been anywhere in Egypt. There was at Philadelphia a temple of Arsinoe Philadelphos, the sister-wife of Ptolemy II,⁷ as seems indeed obligatory in a foundation called after her cult-name. She was identified with Isis, as well as with various Greek goddesses, but her cult as Arsinoe Philadelphos was doubtless Hellenic. In a letter relating to the construction of a palisade along the canal⁸ is given a rough sketch of the position, on which are noted a temple of Poremânres, that is, the deified Egyptian King Ammenemes III, and a Hermaion, which may be a shrine of either the Greek Hermes or the Egyptian Thoth, more probably the latter, since some of the native settlers may well have come from the Hermopolite nome, whose god was Thoth, as others probably did from the Oxyrhynchite, the nome of Thoëris. A temple of Demeter is also mentioned.⁹ Thus we find both Greeks and Egyptians catered for in the new foundation; but we may be sure that the Greeks quickly adapted themselves to the Egyptian cults.

Some other data may be found in the Zenon papyri. A Greek named Archelaus swears *πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν*, 'by Zeus and the gods';¹⁰ this is certainly the Hellenic Zeus. Nicanor, writing to Apollonius about 257 B.C., says that he has sacrificed for his health to Apollo,¹¹ who was, of course, the natural patron of any Apollonius. In an account of

¹ PCairo Zenon, II, 59168. For Sarapis cf. PMich. Zenon 31, 5.

² PCairo Zenon, II, 59296, 32.

³ PCairo Zenon, III, 59308.

⁴ PMich. Zenon 31, 6.

⁵ PCairo Zenon, III, 59422.

⁶ PCol. Zenon, I, 7.

⁷ PCol. Zenon, I, 39, 14, 15; PCairo Zenon, IV, 59745, 32.

⁸ PMich. Zenon 84.

⁹ PLond. Inv. No. 2654.

¹⁰ PCairo Zenon, I, 59025, 6-7.

¹¹ PCairo Zenon, v, 59806.

wheat issued to various persons occurs an entry 'for the table of the Dioscuri'.¹ The Dioscuri were indeed popular among the Greek settlers. We have seen that they had a temple at Philadelphia, and in papyri of a later period we have several references to their cult. A grant of land to Hephaestus mentioned in another account² probably refers, as Edgar suggests, to the Egyptian Ptah, not the Greek god. Various festivals, Greek, dynastic, or Egyptian, are mentioned. In a letter referring to the alleged theft of a pig³ we read: '[Ariston], on being questioned in the presence of the persons already mentioned, said that he had not stolen the pig but had sacrificed one he fattened himself, and he showed the meat from it; and he said the swineherd had come during the mourning of Demeter and asked him to have the house searched. He had told him to wait till he had removed the women [a strange man would of course not be admitted to the women's quarters while the women were there]; but when he heard this from Ariston the swineherd had dropped the matter and gone off.' The mourning of Demeter was the second day of the Athenian Thesmophoria, which we thus find celebrated by the Greeks in Egypt.⁴ In another letter we find wine given 'to Aristeus for the wife of Amyntas for the Thesmophoria'.⁵ Other festivals mentioned are the Basileia ('white bread for table for the invited guests at the Basileia'),⁶ which was a feast commemorating the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynasty, festivals of Hermes and the Muses,⁷ which apparently came together or not far apart, since wine is asked for both at once, and the Theadelphia, a festival of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe as 'the Fraternal Gods', at which pigs were sacrificed.⁸

It appears that the Greek settlers did not at once forget their ancestral gods, though they showed no reluctance to adopt the Egyptian deities also and accepted without question the dynastic cult. One man, as we have seen, swears by Zeus, but another, in a petition probably addressed to Zenon, adjures the King, the deified Arsinoe Philadelphos, Queen Berenice, and the health of Apollonius, the Finance Minister;⁹ another petitioner invokes King Ptolemy, Queen Arsinoe, and the *daimon* of the person addressed.¹⁰ One correspondent, detailing the misdeeds of a man billeted on him, calls upon Zenon 'by the Fraternal Gods and the King', and later writes 'I swear to you by the *daimon* of the King and Queen Berenice',¹¹ and another invokes 'the safety of Apollonius'.¹² Lastly, one correspondent of Zenon, certainly not a Greek, since he complains, 'they look down on me because I am a barbarian', ends his letter with the words, 'I pray to all the gods and to the *daimon* of the King for your health and that you may come to us soon, in order that you may see for yourself that I am not to blame.'¹³ It is one advantage of polytheism that one has an ample choice of protectors, and the Greeks were unusually open-minded in such matters.

I must now turn to other evidence. In private letters of the pagan period which

¹ PCairo Zenon, IV, 59569, 23-5.

² PCairo Zenon, IV, 59727, 7.

³ PCairo Zenon, III, 59350.

⁴ See also PCairo Zenon, I, 59028 (258 B.C.?), where the Demetria are referred to in a letter from Alexandria.

⁵ PCol. Zenon, I, 19.

⁶ PCairo Zenon, IV, 59707, 15 f.

⁷ PSI v, 528.

⁸ PSI IV, 431.

⁹ PCairo Zenon, IV, 59623.

¹⁰ PCol. Zenon, I, 18.

¹¹ PCairo Zenon, III, 59462.

¹² PCairo Zenon, III, 59482.

¹³ PCol. Zenon, II, 66.

name a particular deity by far the commonest allusion is to Sarapis. Ghedini, writing in 1917, states¹ that out of forty-two examples of a religious invocation in the greeting clause of private letters, whether a particular divinity is named or not, no less than twenty-one mention Sarapis; and the number must be larger now. This does not mean, however, that Sarapis was the most popular god in Egypt generally. Many of the letters which mention him were certainly written at Alexandria; and so much was the Sarapis cult localized there or in the great Serapeum at Memphis that a mention of the god in a letter can be taken as *prima-facie* evidence for an Alexandrian connexion. But the popularity of Sarapis cult-meals (to which I shall have to refer presently) at Oxyrhynchus and doubtless elsewhere shows that the cult was by no means confined to Alexandria. Of other deities, I have noted one reference, in a letter of the second or third century A.D. written at Pelusium, to Zeus Casius,² one to Thoëris, the goddess of Oxyrhynchus,³ three to Hermes, all in the papers of a Hermopolite family and therefore to the Egyptian Thoth,⁴ one to Isis and Apollo (that is, no doubt, Horus);⁵ one to Sarapis and Isis together;⁶ one to Aphrodite,⁷ who may or may not be Ḥaṭḥōr; and one, in a letter to the wife of the strategus of Apollonopolis Heptakomias, the ancient Sbeht; to Aphrodite Tazbēs, who is certainly Ḥaṭḥōr, Lady of Sbeht.⁸

Letters are not our only source of evidence. Useful information may be found in domestic inventories and the like. It is not unusual to find specified in a bride's trousseau a statuette of Aphrodite. Thus in one marriage contract⁹ of A.D. 190, among the *parapherna* or additions to the dowry, are mentioned 'a bronze Aphrodite' and an *ἐπιθήκη τῆς Ἀφροδίτης*, a case or cover for the statuette. In this instance and in at least one other¹⁰ the next article specified is, significantly, a mirror.¹¹ Despite the identification of Aphrodite with Ḥaṭḥōr, we may be sure that in these cases the goddess represented was the Cyprian goddess, 'mother of the Loves', as she is called in an early Ptolemaic metrical inscription from the Delta.¹² It was natural that the goddess of love and increase should accompany a newly married bride. Numerous bronze, terra-cotta, and marble representations of Aphrodite have been found in Egypt.¹³ A bronze figure of Dikaiosyne is mentioned in one papyrus,¹⁴ and in another, from Oxyrhynchus, a woman complains that a gold statuette of Bēs has been stolen from her house.¹⁵ Bēs was the dwarfish Egyptian god, probably of African origin, associated with birth and with the toilet, whose statuettes were also very popular.¹⁶

Seals are a further source of information. It was customary in wills for the testator

¹ 'Di alcuni elementi religiosi pagani nelle epistole private greche dei papiri', in *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* (Milano), II (1917), p. 54⁴.

² BGU III, 827.

³ POxy. III, 528.

⁴ PGiss. 14; 24; 85.

⁵ SB I, 4650.

⁶ SB v, 7618.

⁷ PBaden, III, 51.

⁸ PGiss. 23.

⁹ CPR 27 = *MChr.* 289, 9-10.

¹⁰ POSlo, II, 46.

¹¹ For other examples of Aphrodite see: BGU III, 717 (receipt for a dowry, A.D. 149, Fayyūm); POxy. VI, 921 (inventory, third cent.); BGU IV, 1045 = *MChr.* 282 (the change of an *ἀγραφος* to an *ἐγγραφος γάμος*, A.D. 154, Fayyūm).

¹² SB III, 6699. Here, however, though called Cypris, she is apparently Ḥaṭḥōr.

¹³ See, for example, Ev. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, II, 2, pp. 15-17; C. M. Kaufmann, *Ägyptische Terrakotten*, pp. 76 ff.; POSlo II, p. 112 f.

¹⁴ PRain. 8 (Wessely, *Karanis u. Soknopaiu Nesos*), cited in POSlo II, p. 112.

¹⁵ POxy. x, 1272.

¹⁶ Breccia, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-5.

and his witnesses to append their signatures and seals, and at Oxyrhynchus, as a precaution against fraudulent substitution, a description of the device on the seal was incorporated into the document. In the wills I have consulted, out of 39 seals of which descriptions survive the statistics work out as follows: Sarapis 8, Athena 6, Harpocrates and Hermes 5 each, Zeus 2 (in one represented sitting on an eagle), Heracles 2, Ammon, Helios Ammon, Dionysus, Silenus, Isis, Apollo, Tyche, and Thōnis 1 each. To these may be added two seals which show a philosopher's head and one representing 'Dionysoplaton', that is, a combination of Dionysus and Plato, Plato deified as Dionysus.¹ Probably most of these seals would be Greek in style, but they include the Egyptian deities Harpocrates, Isis, Thōnis, Ammon, Helios Ammon, and Sarapis, and of those who bear Greek names several may have an Egyptian reference. Athena, for example, was identified with the Oxyrhynchite goddess Thoēris, Hermes may stand for the Thoth of Hermopolis, Heracles for the ram-headed Ḥerishef (Arsaphes), the god of Heracleopolis. On the other hand, the Hermes represented on an iron signet-ring the theft of which is reported in one of the Zenon papyri is likely to be the Greek god.²

There is other incidental evidence. We hear of a ship with the sign of Isis belonging to a man with a Greek name,³ another Greek ship with that of Proteus,⁴ of others with Thalia and Tyche.⁵ These all have a special appropriateness. A return of temple property from Oxyrhynchus, dating from the years 213-17, has an interesting list of votive offerings in the temples of Neotera (whoever she may be, possibly the Empress identified with a local deity), Zeus, Hera, Atargatis Bethennynis (a form of Astarte), Corē, Dionysus, and Apollo.⁶ Besides effigies of members of the Imperial family they include statues of 'Demeter most great goddess', Typhon, Corē, Zeus, Hera, and a shrine of Iacchus.

We have also many references to festivals, Egyptian, Greek, Asiatic, or dynastic. Some of these are local, others such as would be celebrated all over Egypt. In an article on the subject published in 1929 Bilabel enumerates no less than forty-five in all.⁷ They include festivals in honour of Asclepius, of Homer, of the Stars of Hera (another name of the planet Venus), of Demeter, of Zeus Eleutherios, and of Cronos (but here we certainly have some Egyptian god). The Saturnalia are referred to in a letter of a Roman veteran,⁸ but were probably not celebrated generally among Graeco-Egyptians.

We have a good deal of evidence for the cult of Heron, the rider god of Thrace,⁹ which is of special interest because it explains for us, and prepared the way for, the popularity of Christian rider saints, notably St. Menas and St. Michael. On the wall of a house excavated at Karanis was a representation of Heron, which might well be Christian.¹⁰

¹ The papyri concerned are: BGU III, 896; POxy. 105, 489, 491, 492, 494, 646, 649; PSI 1263; SB 7816.

² PCairo Zenon, IV, 59659.

³ PSI IX, 1048 (third cent. A.D.).

⁴ PGrenf. I, 49 = *WChr.* 248 (παντόμορφος, i.e. Proteus).

⁵ PTebt. II, 486.

⁶ POxy. XII, 1449.

⁷ 'Die gräko-ägyptischen Feste', in *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1929. A list of festivals occurs in PRoss.-Georg. II, 41.

⁸ PFay. 119.

⁹ See PTebt. II, 365 introd.; also SB III, 6309, 6310; etc.

¹⁰ A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, *Karanis . . . 1924-8*, Ann Arbor, 1931, pl. 24, fig. 48.

So too, in the same house, is a picture of Isis nursing Harpocrates, which might serve as a model for Christian representations of the Virgin and Child.¹

The conclusion to be drawn from this scanty and haphazard evidence is that the Olympian deities in general tended to play less and less part in the life of the Greek or Hellenized inhabitants. Those who retained some vitality did so because they were identified with Egyptian deities or, like Aphrodite, because of their special functions, or from their connexion with popular festivals. Probably most of them tended, like their worshippers, to become Egyptianized; but an interesting papyrus of the second-third century² preserves the memory of a religious fraternity practising a foreign cult in Egypt even so late as this. It is part of the speech of an advocate, apparently in a lawsuit against the association. He declares: 'These practices were alien from those of the native Egyptians, but they were none the less carried on; yes, they are carried on even now; and hymns are sung in a foreign tongue . . . and sacrifices are offered of sheep and goats quite opposite to the native rites.' This was at Hermopolis; the cult was of Apollo and associated gods. The 'foreign tongue' can hardly be Greek, the official language of Roman Egypt: have we here the cult of a deity of Asia Minor equated with Apollo?

It is time to turn from the gods and the cults to the worshippers. What was their attitude to religion? What did religion mean to them? Was it a mere conventional survival or a reality which influenced their lives? The obvious source of information on such matters is the private letters. They have, no doubt, drawbacks in this regard. The majority of them, written for some immediate and practical purpose, contain no reference to religion; and when such references do occur they are often conventional phrases, no more expressing any real religious feeling than our 'D.V.' or the phrase of the South Notts carrier who in Victorian days used to inform inquirers: 'I goes to Nottingham market Wednesdays God willin', but Saturdays whether or no.' Yet a religious formula is at least an indication that men have not lost all sense of a divine influence in their lives, and moreover, the use of a conventional cliché sometimes indicates not a want of feeling but literary inarticulateness.

Such a phrase is that which corresponds to our 'D.V.'. It is often merely a piece of half-conscious superstition, either prophylactic in a statement about the future or a mechanical averting of the divine *φθόνος* in an acknowledgement of past success. But it would be a mistake to understand it always in this way; the very variety of phrasing suggests that it was by no means always used thoughtlessly. A common form is *θεῶν* (or *τῶν θεῶν*) *θελόντων*. Thus in two letters written on the same sheet of papyrus in the second century A.D. we get the phrase 'learning that by the will of the gods (*θεῶν θελόντων*) you were saved I rejoiced greatly'.³ Or again, in a letter of the early second century A.D., 'if the gods will he will come to the festival of Demeter and find you when he greets you in good health';⁴ or again, in a letter to a strategus serving in the operations against the revolted Jews, 'if the gods will and especially the invincible Hermes they [i.e. the Jews] shall not roast you'.⁵ Or lastly, in another letter of Trajan's time, 'I wish you to know that another male child has been born to me whose name, if the gods

¹ Op. cit., pl. 25, fig. 49.

² PGiss. 99.

³ BGU II, 615.

⁴ PGiss. 18.

⁵ PGiss. 24.

will, is Agathos Daimon'.¹ In the last but one at least of these instances we may be sure that there was genuine religious feeling. At times we find instead *ἐὰν θεοὶ θέλωσι*;² once *ἐὰν οἱ θεοὶ σώζουσιν*, 'if the gods keep me safe'.³ At others *βούλομαι* is used: *θεῶν βουλομένων* I will certainly come to greet you after the festival of Souchos'.⁴ The writer of this first-century letter, Chaeremon, who seems clearly to have been a Greek or a man of Hellenic culture, goes on: 'I swear to you by the Dioscuri, whom we adore in common.'⁵ There are, however, more *recherché* expressions: *θεῶν συλλαμβανόντων* [with the assistance of the gods], our sister has taken a turn for the better, and our brother Harpocraton is safe and well; for our ancestral gods continually assist us, giving us health and safety', says the writer of a third-century letter.⁶ Here again we hear a note of genuine piety; and so, too, perhaps in a soldier's letter of the second century A.D.: 'I wish you and Sotēris and my other brother Satyrus to know that with the assistance of the gods (*τῶν θεῶν συλλαμβανόντων*) I have had promotion and have been made *principalis*.'⁷ In a letter of the time of Trajan we have *τῶν θεῶν βοηθούντων*;⁸ in another *θεῶν διδόντων* ('if the gods grant it you will be well; for my friend Serenus says he is free from fever. And this gives cause for favourable anticipation')⁹ and not infrequently *θεῶν ἐπιτρέπόντων*, 'if it be the gods' command'.¹⁰ Very noticeable is the phrase *σὺν τῇ τῶν θεῶν προνοίᾳ* in a letter of the second-first century B.C.: 'You will see, if we are saved by the providence of the gods . . .'¹¹ So too, in a letter of the fourth century A.D.: 'may the providence of God [in the singular] bring you home in safety.'¹² The writer may be a Christian, but the singular, *ὁ θεός*, is not at all uncommon in pagan letters, especially at this late period. Ghedini points out¹³ that in a pagan letter the singular may often indicate the local god, and this is no doubt true in many cases, but I suspect that, as Ghedini himself suggests, not infrequently, especially in later times, when the individual deities were more and more coming to be regarded as particular manifestations of one divine power, the reference was vaguer and that *ὁ θεός* should be rendered simply 'God'.

The simplest formula of this kind is *σὺν θεοῖς* or *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*, sometimes replaced by the singular. This is found in the very earliest letters. Thus, in 257 B.C., Hierocles writes to Zenon about a boy who was being trained for an athletic contest: 'Now as for my being certain, the gods should know best, but it seems to Ptolemaeus, as far as a *man* can tell, that Pyrrhus is much better than those now being trained, though they started long before him, and that in a very short time he will be far ahead of them; moreover he is pursuing his other studies as well; and to speak with the gods' leave (*σὺν δὲ θεοῖς εἶπεῖν*), I hope to see you crowned.'¹⁴ In fact Pyrrhus was a future Blue and First

¹ PMich. III, 203.

² E.g. POxy. III, 531, 7.

³ PBremen 20, 14 f.

⁴ That the Greeks of the Fayyūm venerated the crocodile god Souchos is attested by many documents of various periods.

⁵ BGU I, 248 = B. Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe a. d. frühesten Römerzeit*, no. 41. Cf. BGU 249 = Olsson 42, 13.

⁶ POxy. VI, 935.

⁷ PLund II, 1.

⁸ PBremen 17.

⁹ POxy. XII, 1582.

¹⁰ E.g. PBremen 10; PFlor. II, 268.

¹¹ POslo III, 148.

¹² POxy. XIV, 1682.

¹³ Op. cit., pp. 73 f.

¹⁴ PCairo Zenon 59060 = Sel. Pap. I, 88. Cf. PSI IV, 392, 6 (*σὺν θεῶι εἶπεῖν*); PMich. Zenon 107, 18 f. *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς εὐελπίς εἰμι [διασωθῆ]σθαι*, both of the third cent. B.C.

in Greats. In a petition of 157 B.C. the petitioner writes to the strategus: 'Since with the gods' help (*σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*) and your Tyche I have been delivered from death.'¹

Another conventional formula is that in which the writer, usually at the beginning of his letter, tells his correspondent that he prays (*εὐχομαι*) or makes supplication (*προσκύνημα*) to the gods for him. Here, too, there is sufficient variety to suggest that it was by no means always a mere convention. Sometimes a deity is named, in the vast majority of cases Sarapis, alone or with other gods, for example: 'I pray for your health and make supplication for you before the Lord Sarapis';² 'I pray that you may be in perfect health and I make supplication for you each day before the Lord God Sarapis'.³ 'I pray for you health with your children, whom may the evil eye not harm, and I make supplication for you before the great Sarapis, praying for you and all your household the best of things'.⁴ 'I make supplication for you every day before the Lord Sarapis and his associate gods'.⁵ Much more rarely some other deity is invoked, for example, in a Hermopolite letter, 'the Lord Hermes and all the gods',⁶ or 'the myriad-named goddess Isis and the Lord Apollo and their associate gods'.⁷ Most often the formula is general, the gods,⁸ or all the gods,⁹ or 'the local gods' (*τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς*),¹⁰ or 'the gods of the country' (*τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς*),¹¹ or 'the ancestral gods' (*τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς*),¹² or 'the gods (of the people) among whom I am staying' (*παρ' οἷς ἐπιξενουῦμαι θεοῖς*).¹³ In one case at least we find the last two formulae combined: 'the ancestral gods (of the people) among whom I am staying'.¹⁴ In one letter of the early second century A.D., instead of the usual phrase, the writer says 'may the gods keep you safe, unharmed by the evil eye, in all dangers'.¹⁵ The formula varies, too, in another respect: sometimes a writer merely prays for his correspondent, often he prays every day,¹⁶ sometimes continually,¹⁷ sometimes 'night and day'.¹⁸

I have suggested that this diversity is some ground for supposing the formula to be at least sometimes more than a mere convention. In one or two cases we have proof of this—unless, indeed, we suppose, for which I see no warrant, that the letter-writers are lying. Aurelius Herieus, writing in the third century to his brother, says 'Before all things I pray for your health, and I make supplication for you before the ancestral gods, as you bade me'.¹⁹ 'Before all things', writes an architect to his employer on his arrival at Alexandria, 'I will make supplication for you to-morrow in the Serapeum, for to-day, owing to severe hardships and dangers, I did not go up there'.²⁰ 'I wish you to know', writes Calma to his wife, whom he calls 'sister', 'that I have reached Alexandria. . . . I came to Alexandria to pray',²¹ no doubt in the great Serapeum. Another

¹ UPZ I, 122, 17 f. A good example of the phrase in the singular is in an affectionate letter from a son to his mother: 'Ἐπειδὴ σὺν θεῶν κἀγὼ νομίζω σε ἀσπάσασθαι, PReinach, II, 116 (third cent.).

² POxy. XII, 1583 (second cent. A.D.).

³ POxy. XIV, 1670 (third cent. A.D.).

⁴ POxy. XIV, 1758 (second cent. A.D.).

⁵ BGU 1680 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 134 (third cent. A.D.).

⁶ PGiss. 14.

⁷ SB I, 4650 (Fayyūm).

⁸ E.g. BGU IV, 1081; PPetrie, II, 2, 3 (= Witkowski, *Ep. priv. Graecae*, no. 11).

⁹ E.g. POxy. VI, 933; IX, 1217; PCairo Zenon 59426 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 91.

¹⁰ E.g. BGU II, 632 = Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, letter 13; POxy. X, 1296.

¹¹ E.g. PMich. III, 212. Here without 'our' (*ἡμῶν*), which often occurs.

¹¹ E.g. POxy. VI, 936.

¹² *Sel. Pap.* I, 133.

¹³ PBaden II, 39, iii (Trajan-Hadrian).

¹³ E.g. PSI III, 206.

¹⁴ E.g. UPZ I, 59.

¹⁵ E.g. BGU I, 246.

¹⁶ PPrinc. III, 167.

¹⁶ E.g. BGU I, 276.

¹⁷ PTebt. II, 416 = *WChr.* 98.

²⁰ PBremen 48.

man, writing to his wife, also called 'sister', says: 'The prayer which I previously made to all the gods for the preservation of yourself and our child and your brother and your father and your mother and all our circle now goes up with far greater force in the great Serapeum; I implore the great god Sarapis on behalf of your life and that of all our circle and for the good hopes that are allotted to mankind.'¹ Nearchus, in a well-known British Museum papyrus, tells us how he travelled up the Nile to Syene and to Libya, 'where Ammon gives oracles to all men, and I had a favourable response to my enquiries and carved the names of my friends on the monuments for an everlasting supplication';² and we have many examples, graffiti and inscriptions, of such *προσκυνήματα*. Clearly, then, the formula was not a mere convention but records an actual practice of intercessory prayer.

I come now to more individual and less stereotyped phrases. I have already quoted³ a letter in which acknowledgement is made of divine intervention in a case of sickness. Such expressions of gratitude are fairly common, from the earliest times. 'I give thanks to all the gods if you yourself are well and in all other respects things are satisfactory with you', writes Dromon to Zenon in the middle of the third century B.C.⁴ Just as our 'thank God' may imply little enough real religious feeling, so the Greek phrase early hardened into a formula, *χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς*, or variations, with or without the article.⁵

Gratitude is, however, expressed, explicitly or implicitly, in less set terms: 'Very many thanks (*πλείστη χάρις*) both to the gods and to the Tyche of our lord, the invincible Severus Antoninus, which saved you', writes a correspondent during the reign of Caracalla.⁶ 'I wish you to know', writes another in A.D. 159, 'that I arrived at the city on the 17th, owing my safety to the gods.'⁷ In a letter of the late second century B.C. one peasant writes to another: 'You must know about the flooding of our plain, and we have not even wherewith to feed our cattle. Please therefore in the first place give thanks to the gods and in the second save many lives by seeking for me in the neighbourhood of your village for our maintenance five arourae of land, so that we may get our food from them.'⁸ Here the thanks are apparently suggested for the correspondent's deliverance from a like disaster.

Apion, a recruit in the Roman army, writing in the second century to his father to announce his arrival at Misenum, says: 'I give thanks to the Lord Serapis that when I was in peril at sea he saved me at once.'⁹ Sarapis was, of course, in a special degree a patron of sailors, and it would naturally be to him that supplication would be made in a storm. He was also a healer, as was Isis, and in a letter of about 158 B.C. we find them coupled in this capacity: 'I make request for you to Serapis and to Isis, that you may be well.'¹⁰ Isis occurs alone in a petition of 114 B.C. which illustrates the practice of

¹ POxy. VII, 1070.

² PLond. III, 854 = *WChr.* 117; cf. Crönert, *Racc. Lumbroso*, pp. 481-97.

³ Above, note 6, p. 90.

⁴ PCairo Zenon, III, 59426 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 91.

⁵ Ghedini, *op. cit.*, p. 57; see, e.g., PFay. 124 (*τοῖς θεοῖς ἔστιν χάρις*, second cent. A.D.); POslo III, 155 (*χάρις θεοῖς*, second cent. A.D.); PSI I, 94 (*θεοῖς χάρις*, second cent. A.D.); PGiss. 17 (*χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσιν*, second cent. A.D.); POxy. I, 113 (*χάρις ἔχω θεοῖς πᾶσιν*, second cent.); PCairo Zenon 59076 (*πολλή χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς*, 257 B.C.).

⁶ PSI XII, 1261.

⁷ PSI XII, 1241.

⁸ PTebt. I, 56.

⁹ BGU II, 423 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 112.

¹⁰ SB v, 7618.

visiting, often sleeping in, the temples of deities associated with healing; we find here a pagan anticipation of the later Christian hospitals. The petitioner complains of an assault made on him by a man living in the temple 'while I was in the great temple of Isis [at Kerkeosiris] for healing, owing to the sickness from which I was suffering'.¹ In a letter of condolence (to be compared with the shorter and more moving letter of Irene² which has been so often quoted) a certain Menesthianus writes to Apollonianus and Spartiate in A.D. 235: 'The gods be my witness that when I heard about my lord, your son, I was grieved and mourned even as for my own child, for he was indeed worthy to be loved; and when I was about to set off to you Pinoution stopped me, saying that you, my lord Apollonianus, had told him that I was not to come up to you, since you were on your way to the Arsinoite nome. But bear your loss with nobility; for this is a thing which the gods have in store for us.' And he goes on to express his warm appreciation of the consideration shown by the bereaved father in forestalling a useless journey to Oxyrhynchus.³

A few other instances of religious feeling may be quoted. A father, writing in the third century to congratulate his son on his marriage, begins his letter thus: 'Before everything I greet you, rejoicing with you in the happy, pious, and fortunate marriage which you have made in accordance with our common prayers and supplications, which the gods, hearing, have brought to fulfilment.'⁴ In 152 B.C. Apollonius, the brother of Ptolemy, the well-known recluse in the Serapeum, writing to the superintendent of the temple of Anubis, says: 'Even during my absence I have taken useful measures on your behalf, which I was unable to recount by letter owing to the informer who dogs your steps; but yet I leave to the gods the care of you; nothing happens without the gods' will.'⁵ 'Before everything', writes Eudaimonis to her son, the strategus Apollonius, 'I pray that I may greet your good self and pay my devotion to your sweetest presence, so that now at last as true recompense of my piety I may find you unharmed by the evil eye and in most cheerful mood. This is all my prayer and anxiety; this too is pleasing to the gods.'⁶ A boy writing to a gymnasiarch who has done him a favour says, 'I am but small to show my gratitude towards you, but the gods will repay you';⁷ a woman who has lost her son, applying for help to the strategus Apollonius, declares: 'After God I have no one but you.'⁸ And a fourth-century letter-writer says: 'Hearing of little Eudaemon's victory, we rejoiced greatly and I perceived that God is beginning to have pity on us.'⁹ (The writer appears to be a pagan.) Very striking is a passage in a letter of about 255 B.C. from Philonides to his father Cleon, then Master of the Works in the Fayyūm: 'Nothing truly will be dearer to me than to protect you for the rest of your life in a manner worthy of you and of myself, and if the fate of mankind befalls you, to see that you enjoy all due honours; this will be my chief desire, honourably to protect you both while you live *and when you have departed to the gods*.'¹⁰ Similarly, the Serapeum recluse, Ptolemy, in a petition, refers to his father's death as 'when my father went to the gods'.¹¹ This suggests that even private persons

¹ PTebt. I, 44 = WChr. 118.

² P.Oxy. I, 115 = Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, letter 11.

³ PSI XII, 1248.

⁴ BGU IV, 1080 = WChr. 478.

⁵ UPZ I, 69.

⁶ PGiss. 22.

⁷ PBremen 49.

⁸ PGiss. 68.

⁹ PFouad 80.

¹⁰ PPetrie, II, 13, 19 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 94.

¹¹ UPZ I, 4.

entertained some hope of a kind of apotheosis after death, similar to that so freely accorded to rulers. The popularity of Sarapis in the Graeco-Roman world was in part due to his role as a redemptive deity. One of the most striking letters of the Zenon archive is from an Aspendian named Zoilus to Apollonius, in which the writer tells how, when he was supplicating Sarapis for the Finance Minister's well-being, the god 'several times' enjoined him 'in my dreams' to sail to Alexandria and ask the Minister to build him a shrine near the harbour, and how, when he hesitated to obey the divine command, he was visited with sickness.¹ It is easy to dismiss this letter as an attempt to curry favour with Apollonius. Easy, but dangerous. The heart of man is a strange mixture, and it is often hard to disentangle self-interest and genuine feeling, but I can see no reason to doubt that, whatever element of the former there may have been in Zoilus, there lay behind his letter a true religious experience.

There are, as I have already said, frequent references to religious festivals, which played no small part in the life of Egypt. We have also evidence of private worship. One testator provides in his will for an allowance to his slaves and freedmen 'for a feast which they shall hold beside my tomb every year on my birthday',² and we know that such cult-meals in memory of the dead were an established custom. So also was the practice of cult-meals in honour of a god and we have many examples of invitations for such occasions. Most often the deity in question was Sarapis, for example, 'Chaeremon requests your company to dinner at the table of the Lord Sarapis in the Serapeum to-morrow, the 15th, at the 9th hour'.³ Sometimes the meal was at a private house;⁴ once we find an invitation to a meal in honour of 'the Lady Isis',⁵ once to a meal in the temple of Demeter.⁶

I have already referred to wall-paintings of a religious character in houses excavated at Karanis. These were doubtless connected with domestic cults and in fact many houses have niches, obviously intended for the reception of a statue or other cult object. A letter of the Ptolemaic period, which is so charming an example of sisterly admonition that I cannot forbear from quoting it in full, refers to such household worship: 'Apollonia and Eupous to Rhasion and Demarion their sisters, greeting. If you are well it is good; we too are well. Please light⁷ a lamp for the shrines and spread⁷ the cushions [apparently for some cult purpose]. Be diligent⁷ at your lessons, and don't worry⁷ about Mother; she is getting on fine now. And expect us. Good-bye. P.S. And don't play⁷ in the courtyard, but keep good⁷ indoors. And look after⁷ Titoa and Sphairon.'⁸ Aline, the wife of the strategus Apollonius in the time of Trajan, writes to her husband: 'I have received an oracle from the Dioscuri on your estate, and their shrine has been built, and Arius, the limb-maker [that is, a maker of terra-cotta limbs for votive offerings], is serving them, and he said, "If Apollonius writes to me about them, I will serve gratis".'⁹ And the architect Herodes, writing to Apollonius about the house he was building for him, mentions wood required 'for the shrines'.¹⁰

¹ PCairo Zenon, I, 59034 = Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, letter 2. ² POxy. 494 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 84, 24.

³ POxy. I, 110. ⁴ E.g. POslo, III, 157, ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ οἰκίᾳ; POxy. III, 523, ἐν τοῖς Κλαυδ(ίου) Σαραπίῳ(νος).

⁵ PFouad 76.

⁶ POxy. XII, 1485.

⁷ These verbs are in the singular, no doubt addressed to the elder of the two girls.

⁸ PAthens 60.

⁹ PGiss. 20 = *WChr.* 94.

¹⁰ PBremen 15.

I have quoted one or two references to oracles. It was indeed a regular practice in any perplexity to consult the oracles of the gods. Normally a written question was handed in, and a fair number of such queries have survived; I have counted among extant papyri no less than ten addressed to pagan deities.¹ Here is a specimen: 'To Zeus Helios, great Serapis, and associate gods. Nike asks: Is it expedient for me to buy from Tasarapion the slave Sarapion, also called Gaïon, whom she has. Grant me this.'² The most interesting example is, however, the following: 'To the most great and mighty god Socnopaeus, from Asclepiades son of Arius. Is it granted me to marry Tapetheus daughter of Marrēs; will she certainly be none other's wife? Show me and give authoritative answer to this written inquiry.' And then, fearing lest the god, for all his omniscience, might mistake the lady's identity, he adds, 'Formerly Tapetheus was Horion's wife.' After which he adds the date, 35th year of Caesar, Pachon 1st, that is A.D. 6.³ So well established was the practice that in one papyrus we even find a list of specimen questions, each numbered, to serve as a guide to prospective applicants to an oracle. There were at least ninety-two questions; after the ninety-second the fragment breaks off.⁴

The answers to such inquiries were doubtless given in various ways in different temples, but the commonest method, especially in the Sarapis cult, was through dreams, and a whole technique of dream interpretation was developed, almost as elaborate as that of the modern psychotherapist. It was probably in a dream that Sarapis charged his votaries to become recluses in the great Serapeum at Memphis and elsewhere, in a dream that he gave them their discharge. Dromon, writing to Zenon, asks him: 'Instruct one of your people to buy a *cotyle* of Attic honey; for I need it for my eyes by the command of the god.'⁵ The god was very likely Sarapis, and the temple in which the command was given seems to have been the Serapeum at Memphis. Ptolemy, the Macedonian recluse there in the second century B.C., a pious man and more than a little superstitious, was a great believer in the significance of dreams and carefully recorded them, not only his own but those of other people also. I have time for only three examples of such records. In a collection of dreams Ptolemy records the following experience of Tauēs, one of the twin girls whom he befriended so humanely: 'The dream which Tagēs⁶ the twin saw on Pachon 17th. She thought in her dream that she was going down through the street and counted nine houses. I wanted to turn, I said, "All these are pretty well nine". They say, "Yes, it is better to depart". "It is too late for me", (I said).' This is followed by one of his own: 'The dream which Ptolemy saw at the lunar festival on the 25th Pachon. I think that Tagēs is in good voice and sweeter-voiced and in good fettle. And I see Taous⁷ laughing and her foot large and clean.'⁸ In an imperfect letter to a dream-interpreter called Achilles another Ptolemy writes: 'I thought it well now to give you the details of the vision, that you may know even as the gods know you, and I have subscribed in Egyptian, that you may have accurate knowledge.'⁹ This is interesting because of the reference to the Egyptian

¹ POxy. 923, 1148, 1149, 1213; PFay. 137, 138; WChr. 122; BGU 229, 230; PLond. 1267d in *Archiv*, IV, 559.

² POxy. VIII, 1149.

³ WChr. 122.

⁴ POxy. XII, 1477.

⁵ PCairo Zenon, III, 59426.

⁶ 'Epenthetic' g; the name was properly Tauēs.

⁷ The other twin.

⁸ UPZ I, 77.

⁹ PGoodsp. 3 = Witkowski, op. cit. 21.

subscription. The technique of dream-interpretation was probably, in large measure, of Egyptian origin.¹

Ptolemy's brother Apollonius was equally under the influence of dreams. In one letter to his brother he writes: 'I see bad dreams, I see Menedemus pursuing me. Tell me in detail the news of Apollonius and about yourself, that I may know, for I am in great anxiety about you.'² It was only to be expected that sometimes the interpretations given would prove illusory, and another letter of Apollonius to Ptolemy expresses his disillusionment. I quote the main part of it: 'I swear by Sarapis that if I had not a little compunction you would never have seen my face again; for all you speak is lies and what your gods say likewise, for they have cast us into a deep mire, where we may perish, and when you have a vision of our rescue then we sink outright. . . . Never again can I hold up my head in Trikomia for shame, seeing we have given ourselves away and been deluded, misled by the gods and trusting in dreams.' The letter, besides the address, has the ironic endorsement 'to those who give true interpretations'.³ No doubt Ptolemy, as a recluse of Sarapis, had the reputation of being in specially close communication with the god.

There was, indeed, in the attitude of many people, a very business-like conception of religion. The relation between god and worshipper was one of mutual benefit, and if the god failed in his obligations the worshipper was quit of his. 'Come to me without delay to the hamlet because of what has happened to me', writes a third-century correspondent. 'If you neglect this, as the gods have not spared me, so will I not spare the gods.'⁴ 'You must know', writes Eudaimonis to her daughter Aline, wife of the strategus Apollonius, 'that I am not going to pay God any attention unless I first get back my son.'⁵ And writing to the strategus himself at a time of anxiety, she says: 'I have already done my part, and I have neither bathed nor worshipped the gods because of my fear for your unsettled case, if indeed it is unsettled.'⁶ According to Porphyry this kind of attitude was peculiarly Egyptian,⁷ but it is not unknown elsewhere. The neglect of the person, as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the deity, finds a parallel in David's fasting while Bathsheba's child was sick but eating and anointing himself when it was dead: 'Now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.'⁸ And was it not formerly told against the men of Hawarden in Flintshire that on one occasion when their crops had failed, they flung their image of the Virgin Mary into the Dee by way of teaching her to be more attentive to their needs?

It may perhaps seem that the evidence I have collected does not amount to much. Jeune and scrappy it is, no doubt; but I venture to think it sufficient to show that in the Hellenistic and Roman periods the ancient religion was still a good deal more than

¹ For the interpretation of dreams in Pharaonic times see the *Dream-book* (P. Ch. Beatty III) published by Gardiner in *Hieratic Pap. in Brit. Mus.* (Third Series, Chester Beatty Gift), pls. 5 ff. (Ed.)

² UPZ I, 68.

³ UPZ I, 70 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 100.

⁴ POxy. VII, 1065.

⁵ PBremen 63.

⁶ PFlor. III, 332 = *Sel. Pap.* I, 114.

⁷ For threats against the gods in Egyptian texts see Grapow, *ZÄS* XLIX, 48; Gardiner, art. *Magic (Egyptian)* in Hastings, *Encycl. Religion and Ethics* (Ed.).

⁸ 2 Samuel xii. 15-23.

a mere formal survival. The Olympian deities (never, it may be, quite so close to the heart of the common man as the local godlet of his native place) may have lost much of their prestige, the official cults, of the greater gods, of the ruling monarch, of Rome or what not, may have been little more than forms; but it seems clear that religion still played a vital part in the daily life of men, that the sense of a divine power shaping human destinies was common, that ordinary people of all classes turned to the gods in their distresses, felt a spontaneous gratitude to them when deliverance came, and in fact were often actuated by what we can only describe as genuine, if sometimes rather primitive, piety.

A PAPYRUS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

(HAMBURG INV. NO. 410)

By RICHARD G. SALOMON

IN 1929 Professor Victor Martin published, under the title 'A Letter from Constantinople', the text of the Papyrus Geneva Inv. 210.¹ One year later Sir Harold Idris Bell published a facsimile of the original, with a new transcription and some remarks in addition to Professor Martin's commentary.² It is a letter of a very high official in the central government, perhaps the *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, to an almost equally high official in Egypt, probably the *dux* of the Thebaid. The date, according to the editors, is about A.D. 551. The letter requires the recipient to give assistance to its bearer, one Dioscorus who was identified with the Egypto-Greek poet of this name.³ The names of sender and recipient are not mentioned in the text; the address on the verso which could have given full information is so obliterated as to be illegible.

Formally, the letter is a private communication in polite style. The sender speaks of himself in the singular but allows the honorific plural for the addressee. As Professor Martin pointed out, however, a commanding tone is easily perceptible under the flourish of friendly words; in fact the letter is a 'directive', an order to pay special attention to an imperial rescript (*θεῖαι συλλαβαί*), which Dioscorus succeeded in obtaining from the Emperor in order to get justice from the local authorities in his village.

The Geneva papyrus belongs to the well-known large group of the Aphrodite papyri⁴ which have been discovered since 1905 at Kōm Ishgau on the site of the old village of Aphrodite in the nome of Antaiupolis. The largest part of them came into the Cairo Museum and were published by Jean Maspero;⁵ others are in the British Museum⁶ and in Florence.⁷

Papyri written in Constantinople are very rare. Before the discovery of Geneva 210 only two were known, both of them private legal documents from Justinian's time: the two contracts Cairo 67032 and 67126. The Geneva papyrus was especially welcome as a sample of the type of script used in the government offices of Constantinople at the same time.

¹ *JEA* xv, 96-102; reviewed by U. Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, ix, 251.

² *The New Palaeographical Society*, Ser. II (London, 1930), pl. 183. Sir Harold Idris Bell was kind enough to read the present study in the manuscript. I wish to express my gratitude for his observations and suggestions.

³ See J. Maspero, *Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte: Dioscore, fils d'Apollôs*, in *Revue des Études Grecques*, xxiv (1911), 426 ff.; H. I. Bell, *An Egyptian Village in the Age of Justinian*, in *JHS* LXIV, 21-36.

⁴ On the Aphrodite discoveries see Gustave Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre*, Cairo, 1907; Introduction.

⁵ *CCG*, vol. XIX: *Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine*, vols. I-III (Cairo, 1911-16); comprising the papyri nr. 67001-359.

⁶ *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, v (London, 1917).

⁷ *Papiri Greco-Egizii* (*R. Accademia dei Lincei*), vol. III (Milan, 1915). A few Aphrodite papyri are in the library of the University of Ghent; see *Aegyptus*, IV, 43.

It is mainly for the same reason that the Hamburg papyrus printed here below and shown in the accompanying facsimile (pl. XVIII) may claim some interest. Its contents also may contribute one item or another to our knowledge of the complicated history of the village of Aphrodite and its long-suffering and vociferous inhabitants.¹

The papyrus, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inv. nr. 410 (1·235 × 0·31 m., 'carta transversa'), a remarkable specimen of beautiful conservation, is kept under glass and frame. I do not know how it came to the Hamburg Library.² The preparation for the mounting between glass plates was made, if memory serves on oral information received sixteen years ago, by Dr. Ibscher with his usual masterly technique.³

Like Geneva 210, the Hamburg papyrus is not a copy but an original letter, with the text on the recto and the address on the verso side. The address, however, is just well enough conserved to create some problems, but not well enough to solve all of them. It seems advisable, therefore, first to concentrate on the text of the letter and then to make use of the results for a study of the address.

This is the text on the recto side:⁴

διαμέμνηται ἢ σὴ ἔνδοξότης
ὡς ἔτι διαγούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν
βασιλείδα ταύτην πόλιν οἱ παῖδες
ἀπολλῶ τοῦ μακαριωτάτῳ οἱ
5 ἐξ ἀφροδίτης τῆς κώμης
ὀρμώμενοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν
εὐδαίμονα γενάμενοι πόλιν
δι' ὄχλου γεγόνασιν ἡμῖν φήσαντες
θεοδόσιον τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον

1 διαμέμνηται: Not in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*. Appearing in classic texts.

2 διαγούσης—πόλιν justifies Maspero's reading of Cairo 67032, ll. 18–19, see *Catalogue*, I, 203.

3 βασιλείδα πόλιν: a common name for Constantinople; see, for example, Const. Tanta § 24, or Maspero's *Index; Pap. Soc. It.* 76, 5; Geneva 210, l. 4. Also in Byzantine literary texts; see Oberhammer in Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 965.

6 κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐδαίμονα γενάμενοι πόλιν: On this sequence of words see Martin's remark, *JEA* xv, 97 n. 1, and the analogy in Geneva 210, l. 4: εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα ταύτην παρεγένετο πόλιν.

7 εὐδαίμονα: Not listed in Preisigke as epitheton for cities, but common as such in classic Greek; also in official Byzantine style: e.g. Nov. 22, 14; Nov. 139 pr., p. 739, l. 6 Schoell-Kroll. For Alexandria: c. 24 Ed. XIII. *Πανευδαίμων* for Constantinople appears in the Aphrodite papyri.

7 γενάμενοι for γενόμενοι: cf. Cairo 67002, II, l. 15.

8 δι' ὄχλου γεγόνασιν: not listed in Preisigke, but known from classic texts.

¹ For information on detail: J. Maspero, *Études sur les papyrus d'Aphrodité* (*Bull. inst. fr.* vi, 75–120; VII (1910), 97–152); M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1909), 23 f., 92 ff.; M. Gelzer, *Das autoprakte Dorf Aphrodito*, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, v, 370–7; G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris, 1923), 239 (index).

² Paul M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Leipzig-Berlin 1924), does not include this papyrus.

³ I was glad to learn through recent information that the Hamburg papyri have survived the air-raid in 1943 which destroyed two-thirds of the Library. Dr. Tiemann, the Director of the Library, was good enough to grant me permission for the publication of no. 410.

⁴ Words which are explained satisfactorily in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch der Papyrusurkunden* are not discussed in the notes which follow here.

- 10 τούς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑνδεκάτης ἔπινεμ(ήσεως)
 δημοσίους ἀποπληρωθέντα φόρο[us]
 μηδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον
 καταθεῖναι, τὸν δὲ πάγαρχον
 εἰσπράττειν αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐσεβῆ
- 15 τελέσματα, καὶ μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι
 δεῖς καταβαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν
 χρόνων. προτρέπομεν τοῖνυν
 τὴν σὴν ἑνδοξότητα, τοῦτο μὲν
 διὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸν νόμον,
- 20 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπόλημψιν
 τοῦ προειρημένου μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου
 ἀνδρός, τὰς οἰκείας ἐπαγγελίας
 πληρῶσαι καὶ παρασκευάσαι
 τὸ ἱκανὸν αὐτοῖς περιγενέσθαι.
- 25 ἢ γὰρ ἀνάγκη θεοδόσιον τὸν μεγαλο[πρ(επέστατον)]
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενον λόγους
 ἀποσοβῆσαι ἐκ τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν
 εἰσπράξεως τὸν ἐπιφύομενον
 αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐπὶ τούτους καταθεῖναι
- 30 ὅπερ ἔτυχε παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφῶς.
 ὡσὰν τοῖνυν μὴ καὶ (?) εἰς τὰς θείας
 ἀνενεχθείη ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀκοὰς,
 σπουδασάτω ἢ σὴ ἑνδοξότης
 τούτους διευλυτῶσαι. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ
- 35 καὶ θωμᾶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ χαρτουλ(αρίῳ)
 τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν προνοουμένης
 θειοτάτης οἰκίας ἐπετρέψαμεν
 διαπράξασθαι. +

11 ἀποπληρωθέντα: ἀποπληροῦν, 'to pay a debt', hitherto known from the papyri only in the active form. The passive can be interpreted only as 'having received'. Cf. Pap. Flor. 291 (tax receipt), ll. 8–9: ἐδεξάμην καὶ ἐπλ[ηρ]ώθην παρ' ὑμῶν.

11 δημοσίους φόρους: cf. the same in Cairo 67024, r. 13; r. 34; 67029, 4; London 1676, 49–50.

12 τὸ δημόσιον = δημόσιος λόγος: 'public treasury', 'village treasury' (Gelzer, *Studien*, 94, n. 1); cf. Cairo 67024, r. 10–11.

14 εἰσπράττειν with double accusative: cf. Cairo 67024, r. 13.

14–15 εὐσεβῆ τελέσματα: cf. Cairo 67019, 27.

16 δεῖς for δῖς.

26 ὑπόλημψιν for ὑπόληψιν is the usual form (Preisigke). Cf. Cairo 67024, 56: παραλημψόμενον.

28 ἐπιφύομενον: cf. Pap. Mon. 1, 46; 9, 80; 14, 90; translated into 'antasten', 'zusetzen' = 'to bother' by the editors.

34 διευλυτῶσαι: hitherto ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, Teb. 381, 18 (A.D. 123); translated into 'to discharge a debt' by the editors and into 'ein Vertragsverhältnis freundlich lösen; (bei Schuldvertrag) zahlen' by Preisigke. Here it evidently stands for διαλῦσαι, 'to reconcile'. See also Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, IV, 189.

36 προνοουμένης. This verb and the related nouns often appear in connexion with οἶκος. E.g. Lond. 234,4: ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ δουκὸς πρόνοια ποιουμένη τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ οἴκου; Soc. Ital. 196: + ὁ θεῖος οἶκος. Βίκορι προνοητῆ Κινέας; Theod. Balsamon ad c. 16 Conc. Carth.: προνοήσεις οἴκῳ ἀρχοντικῶν (Du Cange, s.v. κουρατωρεία). The wording of our text reappears almost verbally in Tiberius II's Διάταξις I, Περὶ τῶν θείων οἴκων c. 11 (Kriegel-Osenbrüggen, III, 726 = Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, III, 26): εἰ δε τοὺς κουράτωρας ὀνόματι τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν προνοουμένων θείων οἴκων ἐνάγεσθαι συμβαίη.

The following translation is meant to render the original text as verbally as possible, no regard being taken to correct English style. Words added in the translation are in brackets.

Thy Glory will please remember that at the time when the same (= thou) still was staying in this royal city, the sons of the late Apollōs originating from the village of Aphrodite came to the same flourishing city and made themselves bothersome by telling us that the most magnificent Theodosius had received the public taxes for the eleventh indiction, but had deposited nothing on their account in the public treasury. (They further stated) that (now) the pagarch was charging them for the (same) imperial levies and that it would not be right to (have to) pay twice for the same term. Accordingly we direct thy Glory for the sake of justice and law as well as with regard to the reputation of the aforesaid most magnificent man to fulfil thine own professions and to see to it that equity be done to them. For it is necessary either that the most magnificent Theodosius acting on their behalf restrain from the collection of taxes from them him who is bothering them (= the pagarch) or else deposit on their account whatever he may have received from them. Now, in order that these matters be not also brought by them to the imperial hearing (= to the cognizance of the emperor) thy Glory is to take quick action to reconcile these (parties). We have also charged Thomas, the most illustrious notary of the imperial household administered by us, to carry through the same matter.

Everybody acquainted with the Aphrodite documents of the sixth century will recognize at once familiar names and familiar subjects in the letter. The person of the 'most magnificent Theodosius', the late Apollōs and his sons and the case discussed are known from the rescripts Cairo 67024 and 67029, both of which show a strong affinity with the Hamburg papyrus in their wording.¹

The writer presents himself (1.36) as the chief of the *θειοτάτη οἰκία*, the *divina* or *dominica domus* as it is called in the Latin sources. The title of this official, the administrator of the imperial 'household', is *κουράτωρ τῆς θείας (θειοτάτης) οἰκίας* or *τοῦ θει(οτάτ)ου οἴκου*. The title was created by Justinian in 531, and at that time the office was organized with separate departments for the *οἰκία* of the Emperor and that of the Empress.² Some time after the Empress Theodora's death, which happened about July 1, 548,³ the departments were consolidated.⁴ Under Justinian's successors the division was introduced again.⁵ The position of these *curatores* was high, equal in rank with

¹ In 67024 Dioscorus declares *Θεοδοσίον τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον τοὺς μὲν τῆς κώμης ἀναλέξασθαι φόρους, οὐδὲν δὲ καταθεῖναι παντελῶς ἐπὶ τὸν δημόσιον λόγον*, with the consequence that the local authorities *πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου τοὺς ἰκέτας τὰς συντελείας εἰσπράξαι*. In the fragmentary text of Cairo 67029 the following passages coincide with the Hamburg text: (a) *προσῆλθεν ἡμῖν ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν λέγων ἀπὸ Ἀφροδίτης τῆς κώμης*; (b) *ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ . . . τοὺς δημοσίους φόρους . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρτίως διαδραμούσης ἐνδεκᾶτης ἐπιμεμήσεως . . .*; (c) *ὥστε μὴ διπλὴν τὴν εἴσπραξιν*.

² Cod. VII, 37, 3 (A.D. 531) is addressed: *A. Floro comiti rerum privatarum et curatori dominicae domus et Petro viro illustri curatori divinae domus serenissimae Augustae et Macedonio viro illustri curatori et ipsi dominicae domus*. The separation of the branches appears also in Nov. 28 (A.D. 535), ch. 5: *μόνου γὰρ ἴδιον τοῦ τε δημοσίου τῶν τε βασιλικῶν οἴκων ἐστὶ, τῶν τε ἡμετέρων τῶν τε τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης Ἀγούστου* (p. 216, l. 32 Schoell-Kroll); almost in the same words in Nov. 29, ch. 4; p. 222, l. 16 *ibid*.

³ Procop. VII, 30, 4 (vol. IV, p. 406 Loeb edition): 21 years and 3 months after April 1, 527.

⁴ In Cairo 67024, dated about 551, the Emperor speaks of the former *οἰκία* of the Empress as of his own; see below, p. 102, n. 6. Also in Cairo 67002 which probably belongs to 567. This would tally with Justin II's Nov. 148, of A.D. 566, ch. 1, which knows only one *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κουράτωρ τῶν οἰκῶν* (p. 722, l. 18 Schoell-Kroll).

⁵ Tiberius II Nov. 164, of A.D. 574, epil.: *οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι κουράτωρες τῶν θείων οἴκων* (p. 752, l. 14 Schoell-Kroll). The same, *Διάταξις* (A.D. 578-82): *ἐνδοξότατοι ἢ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι κουράτωρες τῶν θείων ἡμῶν ἢ τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης βασιλίδος οἴκων* (Kriegel-Osenbrüggen, III, 725; Zachariae, op. cit. III, 26). Numerous

that of the chiefs of the *res privata* and the *sacrum patrimonium*.¹ Of the three *curatores* addressed in Cod. VII, 37, 3 one is simultaneously *comes rerum privatarum*, the two others have the honorific epithet of *illustris* which characterizes the highest class of administrative officers. Like the *praefectus praetorio* and the *magister officiorum* these high chiefs of departments speak in the name of the emperor; hence the use of the *pluralis maiestatis* in our document.²

The special connexion of the village of Aphrodite with the *οἶκος* of the Empress is already known from the Cairo papyri: the village in spite of its position as *αὐτόπρακτος*³ suffered under arbitrary treatment by the pagarch of Antaiu. In order to get protection, the villagers, at an unknown time, made their subjection under the *οἶκος* of the Empress Theodora.⁴ Shortly before her death (about July 1 548) they submitted an application for help and protection to the office of this *οἶκος*.⁵ After 548 the village was taken over by the consolidated office; henceforth it appears in the papyri as being under the *θεῖος οἶκος*, without any qualifying addition.⁶

One more detail is given: the curator mentions an official of his department⁷ to whom the matter has been entrusted: Thomas, the *λαμπρότατος χαρτουλάριος*, who either happened to be already in the Thebaid on behalf of the *θεῖος οἶκος* or—less probably—was sent from Constantinople for the special purpose discussed in the document. The man is already known from the Aphrodite material. In Lond. 1679, ll. 3–7⁸ and in Cairo 67320, l. 1⁹ he appears in the double capacity of *tribunus notariorum sacri palatii* and *praeses* of the Thebaid, the civilian administrative officer next under the *dux*.¹⁰

later quotations up to the tenth century in Du Cange's articles 'curator' and *κουρατωρ(εία)*. Not to be confused with these high-ranking *curatores* are the superintendents of the various imperial palaces who are occasionally mentioned in the sources as *κουράτωρ τῶν Μαγγάνων, τοῦ Ὁρμίσδου*, etc.

¹ E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, Suppl. IV (1924), p. 262. R. His, *Die Domänen der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1896), p. 80. In Nov. 69, ch. 4 (A.D. 538; pp. 353, l. 25 and 354, l. 10 Schoell-Kroll) the *θεῖοι ἡμῶν οἶκοι* come even before *θεῖα πριβάτα* and *θεῖον πατριμόνιον*.

² l. 8: ἡμῖν; l. 17: προτρέπομεν; l. 36: παρ' ἡμῶν. The highly official character of the letter expresses itself also in the dryness of its style, in contrast to the exuberance of Geneva 210. About the difference of official and private style see W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin, 1918), p. 208.

³ Secured in the times of Emperor Leo I, 457–74; Cairo 67019; Rouillard, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴ Cairo 67019 (548–51), ll. 11, 12.

⁵ Cairo 67283, which Maspero introduces as a 'rapport adressé à l'impératrice Théodora'. This is correct only in an indirect sense. The Empress is nowhere directly addressed in the fragmentary words of the document, which speaks of her in the third person as the *δέσποινα*. The words in l. 15: *τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης ἡμῶν δεσποίνης καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐκλείας* clearly differentiate the recipient from the Empress. The signatures, all of them, repeat the formula: *ἐπιδέδωκα ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν διδασκαλίαν πρὸς εἶδῃσιν τῆς ἡμῶν δεσποίνης*. This indicates somebody who has the right or the duty to report to the Empress, most probably a high official of her *οἰκία*, perhaps the curator himself. A very small fragment, incomprehensible in itself, of a similar application from Aphrodite, evidently to the administration of the *divina domus Augustae*, is Cairo 67354. Here, too, the word *δεσποίνης* appears. The topic is the same as in 67283.

⁶ Cairo 67019 (548–51), ll. 11 and 15; 67024 (c. 551), r. ll. 5–8; 67002 (probably 567) praef. l. 2; I, ll. 14 and 26; III, l. 8.

⁷ The organization of the *οἶκος* department is known from Tiberius II's *Διάταξις I*, quoted above, p. 101, n. 5. This law, enumerating the officials under the curator, lists the *χαρτουλάριοι* in the second place, between *προνοηταί* (*procuratores*) and *μισθωταί* (*conductores*).

⁸ Lond. 1679, ll. 3–7: ὁ λαμπρότατος τριβουνός νοταρίων πραιτοριαν(ῶν?) τοῦ θείου παλατίου καὶ ἀρχῶν τῆς Θηβαίων ἐπαρχείας Φλ. Μηῆας Ἰουστινιάνου Δημοσθένους Ἰωάννης Θωμάς with his real name at the end of the series.

⁹ The text is in bad shape: Maspero restored the title on the basis of Lond. 1679.

¹⁰ Rouillard, op. cit., pp. 45 ff. Cf. H. I. Bell in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, v, p. 76.

The fact that in the new document he appears as notary only, not as *praeses*, leaves various possibilities: at the time of the writing Thomas either was no longer¹ or not yet *praeses*; or he was holding both offices of notary and *praeses* simultaneously as in Lond. 1679, but the curator intentionally ignored his position outside of his own department. A decision between these possibilities seems impossible, since neither Lond. 1679 nor Cairo 67320 can be dated with certainty.² The honorific title of *λαμπρότατος* does not decide the question, since it appertains to the notaries as well as to the *praesides*.³

The recipient of the letter can hardly be anybody else than the *dux* of the Thebaid. The address *ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης*, used here in official style, by a superior of the addressee, indicates a man in high position. In contrast to the adjective *ἐνδοξότατος* which occasionally appears, at least unofficially as a polite approach, before the names of lesser functionaries,⁴ the abstract noun *ἐνδοξότης* is reserved in Justinian's time for a small group of high officials: *ex consule*, *praefectus praetorio*, *magister militum*, and some others of similar rank.⁵ The *dux* of the Thebaid is entitled to it,⁶ but none of his subordinate officers of civil administration is.⁷ The next to him in rank, the *praeses*, is *λαμπρότατος* only, as just stated.⁸ The Augustalis of Egypt, nominally still a superior of the *dux* and also belonging to the *ἐνδοξότης* group, cannot be the recipient, since Justinian's Edict XIII of 538–9 had excluded him from all affairs of the Thebaid.⁹

Of the 'sons of the late Apollōs', mentioned in l. 3, only one can be identified with certainty. It is Dioscorus the 'poet', the best-educated man in Aphrodite, a lawyer who had his hand in almost all the legal affairs appearing in the Aphrodite papyri, which are, at least for a great part, nothing but the remainders of his files. It is he for whom the letter Geneva 210 was written. He was in Constantinople at least once, in 551,¹⁰

¹ On omission of a title indicating resignation from an office see H. I. Bell, *ibid.*, p. 121, col. 2.

² If the 'fifth indiction' in 67320 really means A.D. 541, as Maspero assumes, the first of the three possibilities would be the most probable. But I am not convinced by Maspero's argument. The piece may belong to 556, a date still compatible with the rather vague date which can be given for Lond. 1679 ('first half of the sixth century'). In this case it could be assumed that Thomas, at the time of Hamb. 410, was in Egypt as a notary only and was later on promoted to the presidency.

³ Rouillard, *op. cit.*, p. 45; A. Zehetmair, *De appellationibus honorificis* (Marburg, 1912), 17 ff.

⁴ O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen, 1930), 8 ff.

⁵ P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel* (Jena, 1903), 115; with a list of the numerous loci of *ἐνδοξότης* in the Novellae. There is not a single case in which the title is allowed for an official below this highest class. Only towards the end of the sixth century the formula began to 'deteriorate' and to be extended to other officials; Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Koch's findings are borne out by Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, 187. He lists a few exceptions only, for each of which there is a special reason. The *στρατηλάτης καὶ πάγαρχος* who receives this distinction in *BGU* 305, l. 8, is probably a former *dux*, the well-known Apion. The lady addressed as *ἐνδοξότης* in a lease paper Oxy. 1038, l. 20 is a 'courtesy Excellency'. It stands to reason that an official entitled to the *ἐνδοξότης* can be directly addressed as *ἐνδοξότατος* also; indeed, the formula *ἐνδοξότατος δοῦξ* appears quite often in the papyri and also in Ed. XIII. But it does not work the other way round; not every *ἐνδοξότατος* is an *ἐνδοξότης*.

⁶ Cairo 67024 *passim*; 67026, ll. 13, 26; 67028, ll. 8, 19.

⁷ Cairo 67321, l. 7 is the only case in which a military commander under the *dux* appears as *ἐνδοξότης*. Being without civil jurisdiction he cannot be the recipient of the letter.

⁸ For the same reasons Maspero (*Bull. inst. fr.* VI, 105) identified the recipient of Cairo 67024 with the *dux*.

⁹ Gelzer, *Studien*, 28.

¹⁰ Cairo 67032.

and probably more often, as an agent for the village and for his family. The brothers are mentioned also in Cairo 67024.¹ Whether Senuthes 'son of Apollōs' who was in Constantinople with him in 551,² was a brother of his or not, cannot be decided. The name of Apollōs is one of the most common in the Aphrodite papyri.

The date of the letter can be found through comparison of the contents with that of other Aphrodite papyri, most of which have already been dated more or less exactly. Hamb. 410 is most closely related in its contents to two of them: Cairo 67029 and Cairo 67024.

Cairo 67029 (548–9),³ in the form of an imperial rescript, deals with the complaint of a representative of the village of Aphrodite. It addresses itself to two (?) high officials in the Thebaid—the *dux* and the *praeses*?—ordering them to take action concerning the unlawful request for a double payment of taxes by the villagers for the 'just finished' 11th indiction (= 547–8), since the taxes have already been collected by the most magnificent Theodosius but have not been delivered (to the fisc).

Cairo 67024, to be dated *c.* 551, is an imperial rescript to a high officer in the Thebaid: a man from Aphrodite⁴ has reported to the Emperor that his father, a *πρωτοκωμήτης*, had been wont to collect the taxes of the village and to hand them over to the officers of the local treasury. In order to escape the unbearable chicanery of the local authorities the village had subordinated itself to the *divina domus*. The most magnificent Theodosius, making use of the absence of the father, collected the taxes, but delivered nothing to the local treasury, so that the local authorities requested a second payment from the villagers. Concerning this affair the suppliant had already obtained an imperial rescript addressed to the recipient of the present one, but the evasive tricks of Theodosius proved stronger than imperial orders; consequently the suppliant had to go on a second journey (to Constantinople). The Emperor commands that the recipient now at last, in accordance with the (former) order, make due end to this affair and see to it that the suppliant and his village are not robbed from year to year of what belongs to them. In the following lines, which discuss another problem, the second enforcement of taxes is mentioned once more.

The two texts tell a plain and convincing story: the villagers have taken action against Theodosius in 548–9 and obtained an order against him (67029); but he succeeded in holding his stand in spite of this order; so after some years they went to Constantinople for the second time and secured a second imperial rescript (67024) which asked the competent officials, in a rather strong tone, to do their duty, as ordered in a former rescript (67029).

In contrast to the Hamburg papyrus neither of the two documents is an original written in Constantinople. What they and some other pieces from the same group really are has been the subject of an unfinished controversy. They have been interpreted

¹ Cairo 67024, ll. 25 and 29.

² Cairo 67032. A brother-in-law, Ischyron, is mentioned in Cairo 67008.

³ Maspero gives this date with a question-mark. I believe that the formula *τῆς ἀρίως διαδραμούσης ἑνδεκάτης ἐπιεμήσεως* can hardly have been written after the end of the 12th indiction, i.e. after Sept. 1, 549.

⁴ The name is replaced here by *ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς κώμης*.

as drafts,¹ as copies of lost originals,² and even as translations of Latin texts.³ The present study cannot aim at a definitive solution of this complex⁴ problem; but even if Cairo 67024 is nothing but a draft, it proves at least that a rescript, maybe not exactly in the wording of Cairo 67029 but at least with the same meaning, had been issued some time before.⁵

Now Cairo 67029 and Hamb. 410 contradict each other, in spite of certain parallels in their wording. The Hamburg papyrus makes it a point that the matter should not be brought to the cognizance of the Emperor; Cairo 67029 shows that just this has happened. Thus, the two texts represent various stages of the same affair, Hamb. 410 an earlier one and Cairo 67029 a later one. The interval between them, however, may have been very short, and it seems to be short indeed.

Since Cairo 67029 can be dated 548–9, this would be the *terminus ante quem* for Hamb. 410. On the other hand, Hamb. 410 mentions the 11th indiction = 547–8. It does not call this indiction *διαδραμούση*, as does Cairo 67029; so the indiction may have been still current, although this is not very likely. Even if it were the case, the *terminus post quem* would not be later than 547. Now the curator introduces himself in the text of the letter and, as will be seen, in the address, as administrator of ‘the divine house’ without an indication whether it is the ‘house’ of the Emperor or the Empress. This may indicate that at the time of the writing the consolidation of the two departments had already been carried through; in other words, it would bring the *terminus post quem* to July 548, after Theodora’s death. I do not want to urge this last point, since the argument is not absolutely conclusive, but at any rate the date ‘547 (548?)–549’ will be justified. The hint at a stay of the recipient in Constantinople (ll. 2–3) is not incompatible with this; the time between this stay and the writing of the letter may have been very short.

The Hamburg papyrus as well as the imperial rescript must have been solicited by Dioscorus. The poet and provincial lawyer appears in this affair as a shrewd business man with good connexions in the high bureaucracy of Constantinople. Faced by a powerful adversary at home—the suggestion in the curator’s letter to ‘spare the reputation’ of the most magnificent Theodosius seems to indicate that this man had better be treated gently—Dioscorus prepared himself for various eventualities. First he pleaded his case before the administration of the *θεία οίκία* and elicited the letter Hamb. 410. Quite apart from that and, as it would seem, without the curator’s knowledge, he found the way to the imperial cabinet and secured the rescript Cairo 67029. The idea behind this double procedure may have been to try first the friendly settlement with Theodosius which the curator’s letter prescribed (*διευλυτῶσαι*, l. 34) and to have the rescript in reserve, if the attempt should fail.

¹ E. von Druffel, *Studien zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen* (München, 1915), 74–92. Maspero in *Bull. inst. fr.* VII, 138–52, considered two of the Aphrodite pieces (Cairo 67028 and 67029) as mere stylistic exercises with no real business involved.

² Cuq, in *Rev. de Phil.*, N.S. XXXV (1911), 357 f.

³ J. Partsch, in *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1911, 201–53; P. M. Meyer, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, xxxii (1912), 295.

⁴ Especially in the case of 67024 of which there are no less than three texts.

⁵ M. Gelzer, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, v, 370 ff., stated the identity of Cairo 67029 with the *θείαι συλλαβαί* mentioned in Cairo 67024, ll. 13–14.

But this was perhaps not all. It seems to me that Geneva 210 fits into this situation exactly as well as into the time about 551 to which Professor Martin and Sir Harold Bell assigned it.¹ The Geneva letter introduces Dioscorus as carrying an imperial rescript (*θεῖαι συλλαβαί*) which the editors identified with Cairo 67024 of 551; but it is equally possible that the document alluded to in Geneva 210 is the earlier rescript Cairo 67029 of 548–9. In order to strengthen his position Dioscorus may have supplemented the letter of the curator (Hamb. 410) and the imperial rescript (Cairo 67029) by securing a personal recommendation from one of the highest officials of the Empire (Geneva 210).

The result, however, did not pay for all these endeavours. The intrigues of Theodosius prevailed even against the imperial rescript and some time later the villagers saw themselves constrained to appeal to the emperor once more;² whether with better success or not is not known.

The address is in the upper part of the verso side, corresponding to ll. 7–9 on the front page. It consists of two lines of script different from that of the letter itself. I am not sure that ll. 1 and 2 were written by one and the same hand; there is a difference in height, and l. 1 has a slant to the right which l. 2 has not. In the second line the second half only contains legible script; whether there was script now obliterated in the first half, I cannot decide. A slide which I had made gave the impression that there were some very weak traces of letters which I had not seen on the original.³

For the study of the address I had the privilege of the late Ulrich Wilcken's personal help. In 1931 I sent him a copy of the letter in which he showed great interest; in 1932, when I visited him in Berlin, we discussed the difficult points of the address at great length. An extensive correspondence followed, concerning every detail of the address. Wilcken, *virorum doctorum humanissimus*, was most generous in his sacrifice of time and energy for the 'verflixten Text', as he once called the address in humorous despair. The result of our common endeavours, however, did not satisfy him or me.⁴ Quite recently, Sir Harold Idris Bell was good enough to scrutinize our results. In the following transcription his criticisms have been duly considered:

(1) [απο]δο(ς)+K δ λ . υω δουκ, στρατ(ηλατη) π(αρα) θεοδωρω
πετρου

(2) ου πατρ(ικιου) (και) σεμ(νοτατου) κουρα(τωρος)
του θε(ιοτατου) οικῶ+

This confirms the conclusions made from the text concerning the *curator* as sender and the *dux* as recipient.

As for their names, that of the curator is Theodorus or, if the uncertain reading given above is correct, Theodorus Petrus. In the second case he may be identical with

¹ They based this date on the assumption that Dioscorus did not pay a visit to Constantinople before 551; but this cannot be maintained if I date Hamb. 410 correctly.

² Cairo 67024.

³ Photography with ultra-violet and infra-red rays failed to produce better results.

⁴ My Wilcken correspondence file breaks off in January 1933, when political events caused me to drop this study. Many years later I found a chance to take it up, thanks to the excellent facilities for research in the Papyrus Collection of Columbia University to which Professor William L. Westermann admitted me in the most liberal way.

Petrus, the *curator* of the *divina domus Augustae* in 531.¹ The attribute *σεμνότατος* which he receives in l. 2 is new. Hitherto the word was known as attribute for cities only;² there is only one instance from the second century in which it appears connected with *βασιλεῖς*.³

Of the name of the *dux* too little is conserved to try reconstruction. This is regrettable, since the list of the *duces*, in spite of the rich-looking material in the Cairo papyri, still is an unsolved riddle. The tentative lists presented by Maspero and Bell, the two masters in the field, disagree on every date.⁴

A negative statement is possible. None of the three names of *duces* hitherto known for the 540's and early 550's—Horion, Apion, and Athanasius—would fit into the lacunae of the address and tally with the legible letters. So it is likely that we have here a new personage to be added to the list.⁵ Since the Hamburg papyrus has been dated with a reasonable amount of certainty to 547 (548?)–549, a new name would fit at least into Maspero's list which states a lacuna between Horion (537–?) and Athanasius (about 553). Of this new name, however, no more can be said at present than that it probably ends in *-ivos*.

The most remarkable feature of the Hamburg papyrus is the script which, with its enormous size⁶ and waste of space, brings to mind the famous few existing samples of early official chancery script in Latin or Greek: the *Kaiserkursive* of the Paris–Leyden rescripts from the fifth century,⁷ the giant concluding formulas in some of the Ravenna papyri from the sixth,⁸ and the unique letter of a Byzantine emperor to a Carolingian king from the ninth.⁹ A comparison of the script with that of the contemporary papyri from Constantinople¹⁰ shows a close similarity of style between Hamb. 410 and Geneva 210, so close that they must be characterized as belonging to one and the same school.¹¹

¹ Cod. VII, 37, 3.

² Zehetmair, *op. cit.* 59.

³ Preisigke, s.v. *σεμνοπρεπέστατος*, which would be palaeographically possible, is unlikely. It is used as an attribute for ladies exclusively (two examples in Preisigke, to which Pap. Beaugé 2, l. 7 is to be added).

⁴ Maspero, *Bull. inst. fr.* x, 143; repealing his previous attempt (*op. cit.* VII, 107–9) as 'prématuré'. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, v, 121 f. and 316.

⁵ A few names, more recently found, will have to be added to the lists, anyhow: (a) Theodoretus, appearing as ἀπό δοικῶν in Cairo 67352 (undated); perhaps identical with Θεοδώρητος ὁ ἐνδοξότατος in Cairo 67019 (548–51); (b) Dorotheus, mentioned as [στρ]ατηλ(άτης) only, in Cairo 67289 (undated) and claimed as *dux* by Maspero; (c) Gabrielius, δοῦξ τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, in an inscription, 6th–7th century, Lefebvre, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l'Égypte*, no. 562.

⁶ The reproduction on pl. xviii is not enlarged. The size of the letters in the original is approximately the same as in the *Kaiserkursive*.

⁷ Often reproduced; e.g. in *Palaeographical Society*, Ser. II, vol. I, pl. 30; Steffens, *Lateinische Palaeographie* (2nd ed., Trier, 1909), pl. 16.

⁸ G. Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici* (1805), pls. 3, 7–8, 11; the first one repeated in C. Wesselly, *Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen Paläographie* (Vienna, 1898), t. XI, no. 28. None of these oversize formulae is reproduced in modern palaeographical publications.

⁹ Many reproductions after the first one in Mabillon's *De Re Diplomatica*, Suppl., pp. 71–2; the best one in Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1892) = *Rev. Arch.* sér. III, vol. XIX (1892), pls. xii and xiii. See Brandi, *Der Kaiserbrief von St. Denis*, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, I, 1 ff.

¹⁰ All available in facsimiles: Cairo 67032 = Maspero, I, pls. xxii–xxiii; Cairo 67126 = Maspero, II, pl. i; a specimen in W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* (München, 1925), p. 92, fig. 59; Geneva 210 = *The New Palaeographical Society*, Ser. II, pl. 183.

¹¹ Both the hands are characterized in detail by the same form of η (H I. 3 ταύτην, G I. 1 τήνδε); of μ (H I. 6

On the other hand, there is a remarkable difference between these two documents and the two other Constantinople papyri Cairo 67032 and 67126. It is the contrast between the chancery hand, 'the formal hand used in the offices of the metropolitan high officials'¹ and the less elaborate style of private business papers, a contrast which is, of course, not restricted to the capital but appears equally clearly in the papyri of Egyptian origin,² and, for that matter, in all fields of manuscript tradition.

Taken together, Geneva 210 and Hamb. 410 are enough to give a clear picture of the type of script used in the government offices in Constantinople. It does not seem, however, that we can speak of a special 'Constantinople type' or 'metropolitan school' of script, either in the 'business' or in the 'chancery' class. As to the first one, Schubart stated that 'there is not a single stroke in the Constantinople papyrus Cairo 67126, which could not have been made in Egypt as well'.³ There is no reason, either, to assume that the chancery type was restricted to the capital. For an earlier period Preisigke has shown that provincial government offices used the same script as the central ones.⁴ In this connexion a private business document, a *vadimonium*, written in Egypt at Memphis in A.D. 599, claims our interest.⁵ Its script, though much smaller, is astonishingly similar in style and in certain individual letters (δ , η , λ , ϕ) to the Hamburg papyrus. At the first glance it looks more like a product of a government office than like a private certificate. The writer evidently was a man with office experience, not necessarily acquired in Constantinople.

Whether the type of script seen in the Hamburg and the Geneva papyri was used in the cabinet office of the Emperor too, in imperial documents proper, is not known. Neither of the two letters comes from this most central of all chanceries. In the fourth century a special type of script⁶ had been reserved by law for the use of the Emperor's chancery exclusively and forbidden to subordinate offices.⁷ Since we have no original document coming from the Emperor himself between the Paris-Leyden rescripts of the fifth century and the letter of St. Denis from the ninth, it is not possible to say whether this law was still enforced in Justinian's times, or to form an idea about the script used in the documents of Justinian and his successors.

$\delta\rho\mu\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$, G l. 2 $\acute{\omega}\rho\mu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$); of ϕ (H l. 8 $\phi\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, G l. 6 $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\nu$); by the arbitrary use of two forms for λ (H ll. 3 and 7 $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega$, G l. 4 $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega$); and the Latin form (*n*) for ν . The list could be lengthened very easily.

¹ Martin, loc. cit. 101.

² W. Schubart, op. cit., stresses this difference very strongly ('Geschäftsschrift' and 'Kanzleischrift').

³ W. Schubart, op. cit. 92. Cf. H. I. Bell's remark on the unity of style throughout the Empire; *The New Palaeographical Society*, Ser. II, pl. 183.

⁴ F. Preisigke, *Die Inschrift von Skaptoparene in ihrer Beziehung zur Kaiserlichen Kanzlei in Rom* (= *Schriften der Strassburger Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, xxx, Strassburg, 1917), 68. Hans Gerstinger, *Ein neuer Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen amtlichen Kanzleischrift* (Pap. Gr. Vind. 24473), in *Wiener Studien*, 47 (1929), 168-72 discusses a letter of the second century, which is too early to be considered here.

⁵ Pap. Berol. 7027 = W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, pl. 46.

⁶ According to Preisigke the *Kaiserkursive*. It has a Greek counterpart in the script known from Pap. Berol. 11532 (= W. Schubart, op. cit., pl. 35) and Soc. Ital. 1247 (vol. XII, 1943, pl. i).

⁷ Cod. Theodos. IX, 19, 3 (vol. 1, p. 468 Mommsen-Meyer): Impp. Valentinianus et Valens AA. ad Festum proconsulem Africae. Serenitas nostra prospexit inde caelestium literarum coepisse imitationem quod his apicibus tuae gravitatis officium consultationes relationesque complectitur, quibus scrinia nostrae perennitatis utuntur. . . . Praecipimus . . . , ut nemo stili huius exemplum aut privatim sumat aut publice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1945-1947)

By MARCUS N. TOD

THE present Bibliography, which continues that for 1941-5 published in this *Journal*, xxxi, 101-4, gives a brief summary of books and articles which came to my knowledge between the beginning of August 1945 and the close of 1947. Even now I fear that it must necessarily be incomplete, for a number of books and periodicals published on the Continent during and after the World War are still inaccessible in Oxford. I have, however, been able to incorporate in the present survey some items which, though strictly belonging to its predecessor, were still out of my reach when that was written. As before, I indicate by an asterisk those works which I have been unable to consult personally and of which my knowledge is derived from reviews or bibliographies.

During the period in question J. and L. ROBERT have issued three further instalments of their invaluable 'Bulletin Épigraphique', all of which contain sections relating to Egypt (*Rev. ét. gr.* LVI, 346-7, LVII, 237-8, LIX-LX, 366-70).

Among recent contributions to the study of Graeco-Roman political and social history several call for notice here, since in them epigraphical evidence plays the leading, or at least an important, role. M. T. LENGER's valuable article on 'Les lois et ordonnances des Lagides' (*Chron. d'Ég.* xix, 108-46) includes a classified list of Ptolemaic νόμοι, διαγράμματα, προστάγματα, διορθώματα and προγράμματα, containing a brief description and bibliography of each, but no text; most are preserved in papyri, but twelve are inscriptions, for the most part grants of ἀσουλία (op. cit. 127-8, no. 28, 131-6, nos. 6-16). Continuing the work of T. C. SKEAT (*Mizraim*, II, 30-5), H. HENNE (cf. *JEA* xxxi, 101; cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* xvi, 281) and H. KORTENBEUTEL (s.v. φίλος in *PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, *Realencyclopädie*, xx, 97), W. PEREMANS draws up a useful table of references to the court titulature in Egypt in the second and first centuries B.C., without commentaries or conclusions (*Symbolae van Oven*, 129-59); neither he nor I have seen the thesis of *M. TRINDL, *Ehrentitel im Ptolemäerreich* (Munich, 1942). Attention should be called to valuable reviews of W. OTTO and H. BENGTON, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches* (cf. *JEA* xxvii, 153, xxxi, 101) by A. D. NOCK (*Am. Journ. Phil.* lxiii, 217-24), E. SEIDL (*Zeits. Savignystiftung*, lx, 243-6), and C. PRÉAUX (*Chron. d'Ég.* xvi, 152-7); the last-named scholar has also reviewed W. OTTO's *Ptolemaica* (*Chron. d'Ég.* xvi, 157-8). *I. BIEŽUŃSKA's *Études sur la condition juridique et sociale de la femme grecque en Égypte gréco-romaine* is known to me only through a review by P. CIAPESSONI (*Athenaeum*, xviii, 206-7). Nor have I access to R. CALDERINI's long article on the double personal name in Graeco-Roman Egypt (**Aegyptus*, xxi, 221-60, xxii, 3-45), for which I depend on the summary and comments of J. and L. ROBERT (*Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 307, no. 50). To W. PEREMANS and his collaborators we owe an interesting investigation into personal names as a criterion of nationality in Ptolemaic Egypt (*Muséon*, LIX, 241-52), to which are appended tables showing the numbers of Greeks and of Egyptians known to us as holding office in the higher, local and financial administration respectively in the third century and again in the second and first centuries B.C.; here also the material, though predominantly derived from papyri, comes in part from inscriptions. F. VON SCHWIND's work *Zur Frage der Publikation im römischen Recht* (Munich, 1940) contains a section (pp. 70-127) entitled 'Die Publikation des römischen Rechts in den Provinzen, insbesondere in Ägypten' and an index (p. 189) of inscriptions cited.

In the sphere of religion I note P. BOTTIGELLI's topographical repertory of the temples and priests of Ptolemaic Egypt (**Aegyptus*, xxi, 3-54, xxii, 177-265; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 366, no. 231) and C. BONNER's interesting account of Graeco-Egyptian magical amulets, in which the author sets forth some of the problems which he will discuss in a book of studies on magical amulets which will be published shortly (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxix, 25-54). O. NANETTI's article on ancient veterinary surgeons (*ἰππιατροί*), in which some inscriptions are utilized (**Aegyptus*, xxii, 49-54), receives some valuable supplements from J. and L. ROBERT (*Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 304-5, no. 38).

I now pass to a topographical survey of inscriptions discovered, edited, or discussed during the period covered by the present bibliography. The very remarkable work of the veteran epigraphist ADOLF WILHELM entitled *Αἰγυπτιακά*, I (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, CCXXIV, I, Vienna, 1946) brings a rich and varied contribution to the study of inscriptions found in Egypt; its contents will be briefly noted in the appropriate places.

Alexandria has recently been the scene of some exciting discoveries (cf. *JEA* xxxi, 102). These have been most fully published and illustrated by A. ROWE, 'Discovery of the famous Temple-Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria' (*Ann. Serv. Suppl.* 2, Cairo, 1946), who gives a detailed account (pp. 1-10) of the finding, on August 27, 1943, at the SE. angle of the older part of the Serapeum, of ten foundation-plaques, made of gold, silver, bronze, mud, glass, and faience and bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphs and Greek stating that Ptolemy III Euergetes dedicated τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος to Serapis, followed by the discovery, on December 31, 1944, of a similar set of ten plaques at the SW. angle. On October 28 and 29, 1945, two deposits, each of ten plaques, and the remains of two further similar deposits were brought to light (pp. 51-64), inscribed in Greek and in crypto-hieroglyphs (interpreted by E. DRIOTON, *op. cit.* 97-112) with the dedication of a shrine by Ptolemy IV, between 221 and 203 B.C., to Harpocrates κατὰ πρόσταγμα Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἰσιδος. In publishing these plaques ROWE discusses also (pp. 10-19, 65) the similar objects from Canopus commemorating a dedication by Ptolemy III and Berenice to Osiris, the 'Bourse-Plaques' of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe, now in the collection of King Farouk I, and similar foundation-deposits found elsewhere, in Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, and records (pp. 29-35, 53) masons' marks, inscribed bases, and a lamp unearthed in the Ptolemaic precinct, and the epigraphical finds yielded by the Roman τέμενος. A. J. B. WACE gives a succinct account of these discoveries in *JHS* LXV, 106-9, and edits five Greek inscriptions found in the course of the excavation of the Ptolemaic precinct in 1943-4 (*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University*, II, 17-26); one of these records the dedication of a statue to Serapis in the first half of the third century B.C. and its repair at a subsequent period, and all of them contain references to that god, sometimes in conjunction with Isis or the σύνναοι θεοί. P. JOUGUET also gives a brief account and discussion of the foundation-deposits of the Serapeum (*Comptes-rendus Acad. Inscr.* 1946, 680-7).

A. WILHELM rejects (*op. cit.* 33-8, 75) W. PEEK's restoration and interpretation of a third-century grave-epigram at Alexandria (*SEG* VIII, 369), which in his view refers to the death of Stratonice in childbirth; L. ROBERT comments (*Hellenica*, II, 121-2) on a long and curious poem first published by him in *Collection Froehner*, I, no. 77, reinterpreting in particular ll. 7-13; P. HOMBERT in the course of an article (*Ant. Class.* XIV, 319-29) on Sarapis κοσμοκράτωρ and Isis κοσμοκράτειρα examines (pp. 324-5) the evidence afforded by an Alexandrian inscription of A.D. 216 (*SB* 4275 = *IGR* I, 1063), and M. SCHWABE seeks to interpret a Jewish text (*SB* 2654) from Alexandria, substituting 'Ρούδας (Ruth) for 'Ρούλας and seeing in the epithet ἐντόλιος a variant of φιλέντολος (*Bull. ét. hist. juives*, I, 101-3). P. COLLART has reviewed in *Rev. Phil.* xv (LXVII), 49-50, C. E. VISSER's *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien* (cf. *JEA* xxxi, 102).

A. WILHELM (*op. cit.* 33) corrects μεγαλοπόρως to μεγαλομερῶς in l. 30 of a decree of an association of γεοῦχοι (cf. *JEA* xxv, 90, xxvii, 154) found at Kōm Truga in the Delta and now housed in the Alexandria Museum (no. 24025). He also examines (*op. cit.* 10-13) the erasure of the dedicator's name in an inscription of Canopus (*SEG* VIII, 453) in which a priest of the Nile honours Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV Philopator, and restores (*op. cit.* 5) ἐ[κπορθήσ]αντας in place of ἐ[νοχλήσ]αντας in l. 27 of the Rosetta Stone (*OGIS* 90; cf. *SEG* VIII, 463, 784), which is also briefly discussed in J. FINEGAN, *Light from the Ancient Past* (Princeton U.P., 1946), 115-16.

WILHELM further subjects to a careful scrutiny (*op. cit.* 48-54) some passages (especially ll. 1, 5, and 9) in a metrical epitaph from Naucratis, now in the British Museum (*IBM* 1084), which had already attracted the attention of W. PEEK (*Hermes*, LXVI, 331-3, LXVII, 132), and offers some valuable readings, restorations, and interpretations (cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 366-7, no. 236). A. J. B. WACE records the acquisition by Alexandrian collectors of two late Hellenistic grave-stelae; each bears a relief and an epigram and is alleged to have been found at Naucratis, but both may perhaps come from Alexandria (*JHS* LXV, 109); one of these WACE has himself published (*Bull. Soc. R. d' Arch. d' Alex.* xxxvi, 26-32) while the other has been edited by P. JOUGUET (**ibid.* xxxv, 85 ff.; cf. xxxvi, pl. i, fig. 2). P. ROUSSEL discusses some questions arising from the trilingual decree of the priests passed in honour of Ptolemy IV on the occasion of his victory over Antiochus III at Raphia on June 22, 217 B.C., found at Tell el-Maskhuta, the ancient Pithom, and now preserved in the

Cairo Museum (*SEG* VIII, 467); he shows its historical value and rebuts the suggestion of W. SPIEGELBERG that under Ptolemaic influence zoölatry spread to Syria (*Rev. ét. anc.* XLIII, 153-7).

In a metrical epitaph from the cemetery of Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehūdiyah) A. WILHELM restores (op. cit. 54-5) [κλαῦσ]ον in place of the editor's [ἀωρ]ον (H. LIETZMANN, *Zeits. f. neutest. Wiss.* XXII, 282, no. 18). C. BONNER, on the suggestion of H. C. YOUTIE, corrects his previous interpretation of a stele from Terenuthis (Kōm Abu Billu) dating from the fifth or sixth century A.D. (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXXVII, 337; cf. *JEA* XXXI, 102-3). WILHELM devotes a long discussion (op. cit. 60-70, 75) to an interesting metrical inscription (*SEG* VIII, 528 = *SB* 7806; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 367, no. 239) of Memphis (Gīzah) consisting of two fragments, one (*CIG* 4961) in Vienna and the second, found near the Sphinx, in the Cairo Museum; a new text is presented, together with a detailed description by O. GUÉRAUD and a commentary by WILHELM, who adds (pp. 69-70, 75) an unpublished graffito read by GUÉRAUD on the back of the Cairo fragment.

The hymns of Isidorus in honour of Isis-Hermuthis engraved at Medīnet Mādī in the Fayyūm (*SEG* VIII, 548-51 = *SB* 8138-41) continue to evoke interest and speculation (*JEA* XXIII, 107, XXV, 91, XXVII, 154-5, XXXI, 103). In *SEG* VIII, 548, l. 18, A. J. FESTUGIÈRE (*Rev. ét. gr.* LVI, 346, no. 77) and A. D. NOCK (*Am. Journ. Phil.* LXIII, 222, note 31) independently read κλήζουσι *Navaíav* in place of κλήζουσι *Ἀναίαν*; in 550, l. 14, WILHELM suggests (op. cit. 46-7) that καρποί is a corruption for κλήροι (for ROSTOVITZEFF's treatment of this passage see R. GOOSSENS, *Chron. d'Ég.* XVI, 284); in 551, l. 2, WILHELM proposes (op. cit. 47-8; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 368, no. 242) <τῆς> {ῆς} θεός for ποῖς θεός and in l. 20 φάτω for φάσω, and L. BORCHARDT explains the phrase used in l. 36 of Porramanres, ὡς ἐπλεῖ ἐν ὄρει ἄξουσι καὶ ἰστίωι, as relating to a festival mentioned in seven passages of the Illahun papyri, the earliest of which dates from the fifth year of Sesostri III, father and predecessor of Ammenemes III, in the nineteenth century B.C. (*Ann. Serv.* XXXIX, 377-80; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LVI, 346, no. 77).

WILHELM further restores (op. cit. 18-22; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 368, no. 241) and comments on *SB* 4626, probably from Crocodilopolis, a royal ordinance threatening with severe penalties anyone who should fell, remove, or otherwise damage the trees in a sacred grove; he also substitutes (op. cit. 32) [τε] for [γῆς] in l. 32 of *SB* 7337, the last extant decree of the Lagids, dated April 13, 41 B.C. (cf. M. T. LENGGER, *Chron. d'Ég.* XIX, 127-8, no. 28), while in l. 34 of the same decree F. VON SCHWIND writes κατὰ νομόν in place of κατὰ νόμον (*Zur Frage der Publikation im römischen Recht*, 102; cf. op. cit. 111-2, C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* XVI, 295). WILHELM examines and explains (op. cit. 55-60) a tomb-epigram (*SEG* VIII, 475 = *SB* 7542) of Hermopolis Magna (Ashmūnēn), restoring in l. 5 ἦδη [κα]ῖ θυ[σία]ς τε καλὰς ποιούμεν, and A. J. B. WACE edits a dedicatory inscription engraved on the architrave of a Doric temple discovered at Hermopolis, definitely dating the construction of the temple and its precinct and the adjoining στοά by οἱ τασσόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἐρμοπολίτῃ νομῷ κάτοικοι ἰππεῖς in the reign of Ptolemy III and Berenice, between 246 and 221 B.C. (*JHS* LXV, 109, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University*, III, 1-7). WILHELM edits with his wonted skill (op. cit. 38-46; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 368-9, no. 245) a metrical epitaph of fourteen lines from Coptus, dating from the second or first century B.C., and H.C. YOUTIE discusses a dedication of A.D. 105 from the same site (*IGR* I, 1170 = *SB* 999), accepting the reading τριχώματος in preference to the variant τῆ χώματος and seeing in it a reference to Isis cutting off her hair (τριχώμα) at Coptus upon learning of the death of Osiris (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXXIX, 165-7; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 368, no. 244). J. H. OLIVER's study of the *παιανισταί* in the Greek world includes an examination of a graffito from Karnak, *SB* 5803, and a mummy-label, *SB* 1743 (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LXXI, 313-14), which show the *παιανισταί* as a corporation connected with the cult of Serapis and Augustus. WILHELM revises and restores (op. cit. 24-32, 74; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 369, no. 246) portions of a decree (*OGIS* 194), now in Turin, from Diospolis-Thebes, passed in 42 B.C. in honour of Callimachus; R. O. FINK, A. S. HOEY, and W. F. SNYDER, in the course of their exhaustive treatment of the *Feriale Duranum*, discuss the problem of the date of *IGR* I, 1270, found at Debbābiyah, opposite to Gebelēn (*Yale Classical Studies*, VII, 141, note 620), and A. BATAILLE appeals to epigraphical as well as other evidence for his location of the Theban Kerameia at Medāmūd (*Chron. d'Ég.* XXI, 237-44; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 369, no. 247).

WILHELM explains (op. cit. 5-10, 12-13; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 369, no. 250) the appearance of the words Ἴσις καὶ Ὀρος inscribed over the erasure of the dedicant's name on a statue-base from Syene (Aswān) honouring Ptolemy VI Philometor (*OGIS* 122) and on another from Hesseh, south of Philae, honouring

the same king and his wife Cleopatra (*OGIS* 121), and cites a number of similar erasures (*OGIS* 105, 123, 125-7). L. ROBERT examines an epigram (*IGR* 1, 1310) of the first century A.D. from Philae and proposes the substitution of βοηθός (Latin *adiutor*) for Βόηθος in l. 4 (*Hellenica*, II, 119-21), and H. LEWY discusses afresh (*Ann. Serv.* XLIV, 227-34) the inscription, *SB* 4127, relating to the vision of Mandulis Aion, painted on the wall of the temple of Mandulis at Talmis (Kalabshah), which was the subject of an exhaustive study by A. D. NOCK (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXVII, 53-104).

In *The Egyptian Deserts: Siwa Oasis* (Cairo, 1944), 66, A. FAKHRY records three Greek inscriptions found on a hill some 5 km. south-west of Siwa. To C. PRÉAUX (*Chron. d'Ég.* XXII, 376-7), H. C. YOUTIE (*Am. Journ. Phil.* LXII, 502-5; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 369, no. 249), and O. W. REINMUTH (*Class. Phil.* XXXVII, 445-8) we owe valuable reviews of the work of H. G. EVELYN WHITE and J. H. OLIVER on the Greek inscriptions from the temple of Hibis in the Oasis of El-Khargah (cf. *JEA* XXVII, 155); one of the documents in question, the edict of the prefect of Egypt Tiberius Julius Alexander (*OGIS* 669), is re-edited by S. RICCOBONO in *Fontes Juris Romani Antejustiniani*², I (Florence, 1941), 318-21, no. 58.

Several Egyptian inscriptions of uncertain provenance call for brief mention. F. W. HOUSEHOLDER and D. W. PRAKKEN edit a Ptolemaic graffito, perhaps from Redesiya near Apollonospolis Magna (Edfu), now in the collection of Professor C. J. KRAEMER in New York; on a fragment of sandstone are nine elegiac couplets accompanying a votive offering to Pan εὐαγρος καὶ ἐπήκοος, probably dedicated by the leader of an elephant-hunting expedition after a successful voyage along the Trogodytic coast between 217 and 203 B.C. (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LXXVI, 108-16). C. BONNER publishes (*Hesperia*, XIII, 34) an inscription, probably of Egyptian origin, in the collection of C. SCHMIDT, which reads Διὶ Ἥλιω μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι Αἰῶνι Μοροτταῖς καὶ Ἡρών εὐχῆ, and WILHELM discusses (op. cit. 71-3) the words traced on a terra-cotta cat from Egypt (O. RUBENSOHN, *Arch. Anz.* 1929, 212-19) and proposes the substitution of εὐπατήρια for εὐγοατήρια. P. HOMBERT publishes five ampullae of S. Menas, of which two are inscribed, bought at Alexandria in 1932 (*Chron. d'Ég.* XXI, 173-6), and five more are added by E. DE BRUYN (ibid. XXII, 416-18), while J. LASSUS comments on ampullae of this type (*Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, 165). G. DAUX reads (*BCH* LXVI-LXVII, 140-3) Νέμεσις Νικέα (= Νικαία), in preference to Ζυκέα, in an Egyptian inscription in the British Museum (*BMI* 1079), and M. N. TOD calls attention (*JHS* LXI, 39) to A. J. Evans's copy of another text (*CIG* 4962) in the same Museum. E. VON MERCKLIN publishes an inscribed wooden stamp from the Fayyūm, now in the Hamburg Museum (*Arch. Anz.* 1940, 44).

I do not know U. MONNERET DE VILLARD's publication of a new Greek inscription from Axum (**Oriente moderno*, XIX, 520).

A few words may be added in conclusion about some recent epigraphical finds which illustrate the extension of Egyptian political and religious influence to other parts of the Greek world.

Two letters discovered at Thespieae in Boeotia are interpreted by their editor, M. FEYEL (*Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne*, 103-11), as probably emanating from a Ptolemy and his wife and as referring to the penteteric festival of the Μουσεία; their date falls apparently after 215 B.C., and their writers may be tentatively identified as Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe respectively. At Chalcis in Euboea a remarkable inscription, brought to light in 1938, has been carefully edited by R. HARDER (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1943, 14; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Rev. ét. gr.* LIX-LX, 342-5, no. 171) with a full commentary and index, together with a detailed examination of other evidence of the Isis-propaganda which had its centre at Memphis. It begins Καρποκράτη, Σαράπιδι, ἀκοαῖς τῆς Ἰσιδος, Ὀσειρίδι ἐπηκόω, Ἐστία κουροτρόφω . . . and proceeds with an ἀρεταλογία of Carpocrates (Καρποκράτης εἰμὶ ἐγώ, Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἰσιδος υἱός, κτλ.), ending χαῖρε, Χαλκί, γενέτειρα ἐμῆ καὶ τροφέ. The source of the document is revealed in the phrase τάδε ἐγράφη ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐν Μέμφει, ἣτις ἔστηκεν πρὸς τῷ Ἡφαιστίῳ, which occurs in the Isis-aretaology found at Cyme (W. PEEK, *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte*, 122). L. ROBERT publishes (*Hellenica*, I, 66-7) a dedication to Sarapis and Isis copied at Demetrias (Volo) by G. FOUGÈRES and calls attention to the name [Σ]εραπιάς, which occurs on another stela seen by that same scholar, and to three published texts (*IG* IX (2), 1101, 1107, 1133) attesting the existence of a Serapeum at Demetrias, and J. M. R. CORMACK gives a revised edition (*BSA* XLI, 105-6) of the dedication of an altar at Beroea Εἰσιδι λοχία καὶ τῇ πόλει (Demitsas, *Μακεδονία*, no. 61).

The publication of the inscriptions found in the course of the Danish excavations at Lindus in Rhodes (C. BLINKENBERG, *Lindos*, II) includes references to Ptolemy I, II, IV, and V (see Index, pp. 1161-2), a dedi-

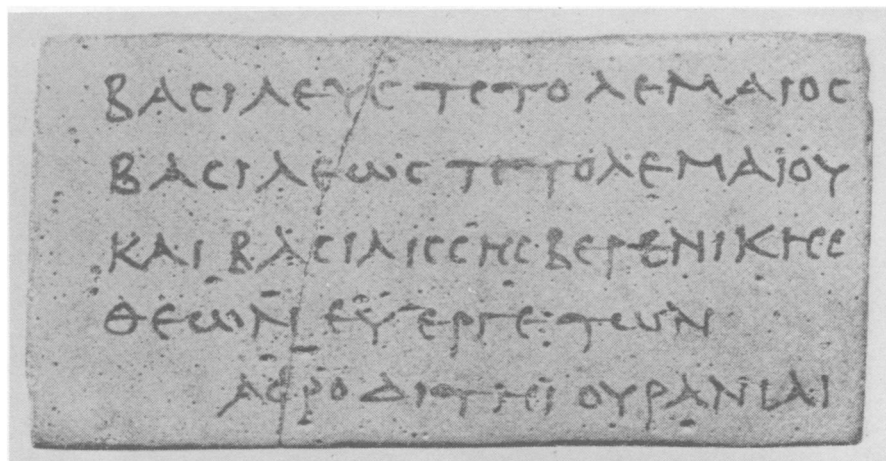
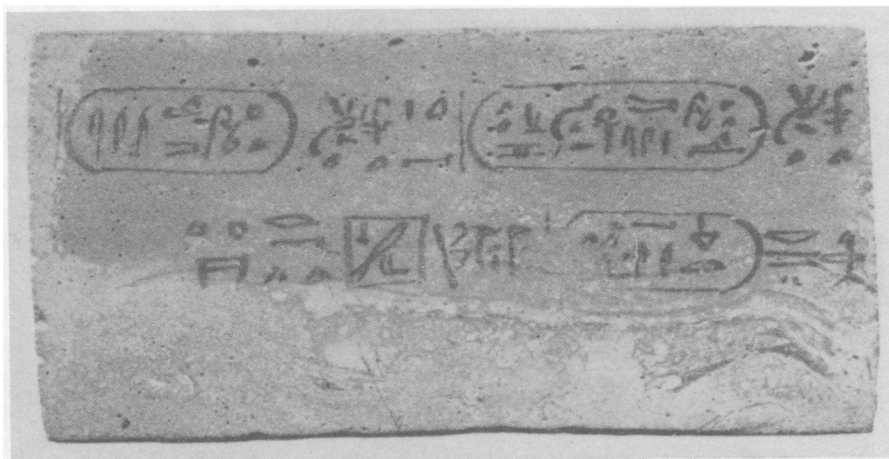
cation to Sarapis and Isis (no. 185), one to Ammon, Parammon, and Hera Ammonia (no. 77), records of cult-associations of *Εἰσιασταὶ Σεραπιασταὶ* (nos. 391-2), *Σαραπιασταὶ* (no. 656), and *Σαραπιασταὶ Ἀθαναῖσταὶ* (no. 300), of a priest of Sarapis and Isis (no. 193), and of numerous priests of Sarapis (see Index, p. 1181), and cult-guilds of Isis and Sarapis are also found elsewhere on the island of Rhodes (G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *Annuario*, N.S. I-II, 182, 185). At Termessus in Pisidia also we find a priest of Sarapis (*TAM* III (1), 144, 793).

C. PRÉAUX makes a valuable contribution to the study of the date and nature of a composite document from Cyrene (*SEG* IX, 5), consisting of a Cyrenean decree followed by a letter addressed to the Cyreneans by βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα and a royal πρόσταγμα (*Chron. d'Ég.* XVII, 133-49; cf. *ibid.* XIX, 122-3, no. 20).

Finally we may notice C. BONNER's interpretation of the inscription *Αἰὼν ἐρπέτα κύριε Σάραπι, δὸς νείκην κατὰ πᾶν ὑπὸ πέτραν*, engraved on a thin plate of gold discovered at Rome (*Hesperia*, XIII, 30-5), as a charm against reptiles and scorpions, and his criticism of suggestions offered by P. MAAS and H. SEYRIG (*ibid.* 349-51), and J. H. OLIVER's discussion (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LXXI, 312-13) of two Roman inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. (*IG* XIV, 1059, 1084) relative to the *ἱερὰ τάξις τῶν παιανιστῶν τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Διὸς Ἡλίου μεγάλου Σαράπιδος καὶ θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*, in one of which the Roman date *τῆς πρ(ὸ) α' νωνῶν Μαίων* is interpreted by *ἤτις ἐστὶν κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Παχῶν ια'*.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A Foundation Plaque of Ptolemy IV



ALTHOUGH inscribed plaques in various materials from foundation deposits of Ptolemy IV Philopator are not rare,¹ the example shown above is of interest as having come from a shrine of Ḥathōr in Upper Egypt²—possibly from the well-known little temple founded by Ptolemy IV at Dēr el-Medīneh in Western Thebes.³

¹ Rowe, *Supplément aux Ann. Serv.*, Cahier No. 2, 11–13, 17, 54–8, pl. 16, 1; Drioton, *ibid.* 97 ff.; Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis*, 145–9, pls. 84–6; Tod, *JEA* xxviii, 53–6, pl. 6; etc.

² The plaque is said by its former owner to have been obtained in Upper Egypt.

³ Neither Porter–Moss (*Top. Bibl.* II, 135–9) nor Baraize (*Ann. Serv.* xiii, 19–42) mention foundation deposits at Dēr el-Medīneh; but in describing his work on the gateway of the temple Baraize (*op. cit.* 22) says: 'Une excavation de 2 m. × 2 m. avait été pratiquée sous la fondation, probablement par des chercheurs de trésors.' Possibly these treasure-hunters were successful in finding the foundation deposits which they were obviously seeking. On the other hand, it should be noted that, whereas our plaque is dedicated to Ḥathōr

The plaque, acquired in April 1948 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,¹ measures 10.6 × 5.4 × 0.3 cm. It is of opaque glass, the colour of which 'is now largely yellowish-green with light green patches and slight iridescence in places'.² The inscriptions, written in black ink on the front and back surfaces, appear with sufficient clarity in the plate to make their further reproduction unnecessary.

On the recto, in the hieroglyphic text, we read:

1. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemaios (Ankh-djet Mery-Iset, son of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemaios,
2. and (of) the Mistress of the Two Lands, Berenike,³ the Benefactor Gods: to Ḥathōr Who-is-(in-)Heaven.⁴

and on the verso, in the Greek version of the same text:⁵




1. King Ptolemaios,
2. (son) of King Ptolemaios
3. and of Queen Berenike,
4. The Benefactor Gods:
5. to Aphrodite Urania.

The parents of Ptolemy IV (222–203 B.C.), named in the inscription, are, of course, Ptolemy III Euergetes I (247–222 B.C.) and his wife, Berenike II.⁶

Aside from its stated provenance and its dedication to the goddess Ḥathōr, differences in size, proportions, and style show that this plaque cannot have come from any of the foundation deposits of Ptolemy IV cited on p. 114, n. 1.

WILLIAM C. HAYES

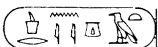
King Wadjkarē of Dynasty VIII

IN *JEA* xxxii, 20–1, I suggested that the king's name,  appearing in a decree of the Horus Demedjibtowe from Coptus (*Urk.* I, 306), might be a scribal error for , and on the basis of his position in Dynasty VIII, as indicated by the Coptus decrees, identified this 'Wadjkarē' with King 'Neferkaurē', No. 54 of the Abydos list. Although I still believe the identification to be highly probable, it now seems to me much more likely that the error in copying the king's name was made by the Nineteenth Dynasty draughtsman who drew up the Abydos list rather than by the Eighth Dynasty official who posted the Coptus decree. In other words, 'Wadjkarē' would be the correct writing of the name, and 'Neferkaurē' a mistake committed by a New Kingdom artisan, who had already copied the prenomen 'Neferkarē' six times from his hieratic manuscript and quite naturally supposed that this was a seventh occurrence of the same name. The plural strokes after the  sign are no less superfluous here than they are in the immediately preceding cartouche (No. 53) of King Ḳakarē Iby. (See *JEA* xxxii, 21.)

Who-is-(in-)Heaven (= Aphrodite Urania), the goddess worshipped at Dēr el-Medīneh was Ḥathōr Who-is-in-the-midst-of-Thebes, the Mistress of the West (Piehl, *Inscr. hiér.* I, clix ff.). A block from Cusae with Ḥathōr-heads, of the reign of Ptolemy I, is recorded by Porter–Moss, *op. cit.* IV, 258.

¹ Accession No. 48.45.

² Lucas, *apud* Rowe, *op. cit.* 7, 'P. 8358'.

³ 

⁴ *r nty (m) pt.* On *r nty* (for *nty* ?) see Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 839. This expression, which does not ordinarily occur among the Egyptian epithets of the goddess Ḥathōr (Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, 875–87; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 428–38), is perhaps a direct translation of the Greek *Oὐρανία*.


⁵ Cf. Drioton, *op. cit.* 97.

⁶ Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, IV, 245–62, 263–72.

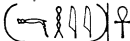
My ill-considered statement that the throne-name, Wadjkarē, as written in the Coptus decree, 'does not exist on any other extant monument', is of course not true. I must confess that it had not occurred to me to identify King Wadjkarē of Dynasty VIII with the Wadjkarē whose cartouche appears in the well-known rock-inscription at Khor Dehmit in Nubia (Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, II, pl. 108); but Petrie (*History*, I, 122) and Säve-Söderbergh (*Ägypten und Nubien*, 43 ff.) are quite possibly correct in doing so. Elsewhere the name occurs on a number of scarabs in the British Museum, dated by Hall to the late Middle Kingdom (*Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, 25; see also *PSBA* xxxiv, 290-2). In the sixth century B.C. it was adopted as his prenomens by the Ethiopian king Amtalqa (Gauthier, *Livre des rois* IV, 54; Reisner, *JEA* IX, 75).

WILLIAM C. HAYES

Prince Mehy of the Love Songs

A CHARACTERISTIC of the Love Songs which has set them in a class apart in Ancient Egyptian literature has been the apparent absence of all personal allusion, for the lover seems never to speak of the beloved by name. This simplicity in no way detracts from the charm of these poems, but gives to them rather a kind of dateless beauty. However, it can now be seen that there were occasionally exceptions to this style of composition. One song in the Chester Beatty collection¹ can only be made intelligible by assuming that the word written , *mhy* 'flax', is a corruption of a proper name, Mehy. 'He is perhaps', suggests Gardiner, 'a royal prince, for he is riding in a chariot accompanied by a band of companions.'² Both emendation and suggestion have since received excellent confirmation from two ostraca recently published in facsimile and transcription by M. Posener.³ The texts are very fragmentary and only here and there can a complete sentence be read:

'I spend the day waxing.
Do not deny me, O my mistress, do not leave me waiting. . . .
. . . my horse before the wind through love of her.
. . . drunk, an island is before him, and the zephyrs cool. . . .
. . . drunk, while I am beside him and do not leave [him]. . . .'

Enough remains to show unmistakably that they are love songs.⁴ Now on both ostraca occurs the royal name ,⁵ and he can be none other than the Mehy of the Chester Beatty love song. It is thus possible to establish the identity of at least one person who was the inspiration of these songs, though it would be useless to speculate as to who he really was and the age in which he lived—he was certainly unknown to the scribe of P. Chester Beatty I in the Twentieth Dynasty. Something perhaps might be said of his character, for it is clear from the girl's allusion in the song that he had something of the reputation of a Don Juan, '“See, I am thine!” I shall say to him, and he will boast of my name.'

PAUL C. SMITHER

¹ Alan H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1, verso C 2, 4 ff.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 32, note 1.

³ G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, t. I, fasc. III, nos. 1078-9.

⁴ One may be a continuation of the other, but they are each written in a different hand.

⁵ No. 1078, vs. 4; no. 1079, 7. The immediate context is unfortunately lost in both cases.

The Serpent Hieroglyph

IN the interesting and informative article on *Wꜣdꜣt* in his *Egyptian Onomastica*, Dr. Gardiner has equated the snake with $\epsilon\alpha\omega$, translated as 'viper'. Though it is possible that in that late period, when Coptic was the language of the country, Ⲛ meant the snake now known as the viper, it is certain that in the hieroglyphs the reptile was an identifiable species of cobra, *Naja nigricollis*, the black-necked cobra. According to Anderson (*Reptilia and Batrachia*) this snake grows to the length of six feet, the neck is dilatable, though not to the extent of *Naja haje*, the general colour is pale olive-brown, and on the under side of the neck are three transverse lines of black. In any of the early hieroglyphs which have preserved the original colour, the snake is painted dark yellow, usually with three lines of black on the under side of the neck, thus clearly showing the species (Fig. 1). Some-

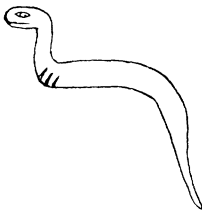


FIG. 1.

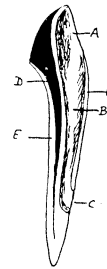


FIG. 2. Section of fang of spitting cobra. Highly magnified. A. Entrance lumen. B. Venom canal. C. Discharge orifice. D. Pulp cavity. E. Dentine. (After C. M. Bogert).¹

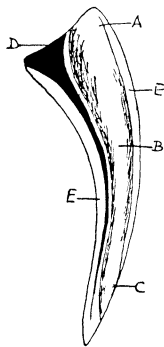


FIG. 3. Section of fang of non-spitting cobra. Highly magnified. A. Entrance lumen. B. Venom canal. C. Discharge orifice. D. Pulp cavity. E. Dentine. (After C. M. Bogert).¹

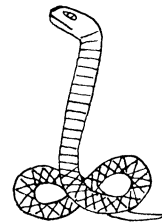


FIG. 4. Ivory panel of a small box. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 7, 12.

times, instead of lines of paint, three cuts are made in the appropriate place; and in later examples the lines degenerate into a patch of colour, often dark green.

N. nigricollis is one of the spitting cobras as its fangs show. The difference in the fangs of a spitter and a non-spitter lies in the angle of the orifice through which the poison is discharged (Figs. 2, and 3). In the non-spitter the venom is ejected downwards and only very slightly outwards. In the spitter it is directed very definitely outwards; and, according to the angle of the snake's head, it can be directed horizontally or at an upward angle of as much as 45°. The distance to which the

¹ C. M. Bogert, *Dentitional Phenomena in Cobras*. *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, LXXXI (1942-3), p. 345.

venom can be ejected is variously stated as from five to twelve feet, and the reptile is said to aim deliberately at the eyes of its victim or enemy. Should the venom enter the eyes, its effect is to cause a dreadful burning pain with immediate blindness. In the case of small animals, such as rats or even cats, the venom in the eyes causes death in a very short time; but in the larger animals and in man, if the eyes are treated at once, the blindness is only temporary and there are no fatal effects. When the creature is in the act of ejecting the venom (of which it has a copious supply), it puts itself in the 'posture of defence', the head reared and thrown backward and the neck dilated to form the 'hood'. It is this backward slope of the head and neck, without any spread of hood, which is seen in several examples of the hieroglyphs of the First Dynasty, of which the fine erect snake of the reign of Udy-mu (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 7, 12) shows the characteristic attitude of the head of a spitting cobra (Fig. 4).

It seems, then, that it is *Naja nigricollis*, and not *N. haje*, that is the royal uraeus, the basilisk, which killed the enemies of Pharaoh, not by a glance of its eyes as the Greeks believed, but by spitting venom as the Egyptians were well aware by actual observation. The burning sensation in the eyes of the victim was also the origin of the belief that the snake spat fire and flame as well as venom. The snake-guardians of the gates of the *duat*, which emit streams of venom, are also explainable by the habits of the spitting cobra.

Another point emerges from this identification of 𓏏 with the cobra, for it is the name of a king of the First Dynasty, hitherto transliterated as Zet; in view of Dr. Gardiner's article this should now be read Edjo, with the meaning of the spitting cobra. The name is thus brought into line with the other theriophoric names of that early period, the Scorpion and the Cat-fish, all of which are creatures of unpleasant and terrifying habits.

M. A. MURRAY

Fy 'cerastes'

IN Dr. Gardiner's *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, p. 69* is a note on the word *fy* 'cerastes', and he remarks 'It is curious how often the consonant *f* appears in words for snake and the like; is it because it suggested the hissing of the reptile? Possibly 𓏏𓏏𓏏 *ddft* "snake", "worm", might be a compound meaning "which says fff".' This is precisely the sound the cerastes (*Cerastus cornutus* Hasselq. Anderson, *Zoology of Egypt*, I, pp. 330ff., pl. 48) emits when at bay, and ever since I first encountered vipers (in 1891) I have regarded the name *fy* as onomatopœic. In Arabic the viper is افعى, in Hebrew פִּיפִּוּס, in Greek ὄφης; cf. 𓏏𓏏𓏏 (Pyr. 491) and 𓏏𓏏𓏏 Copt. ϩⲟϥ = κέραστῆς (Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, p. 470). J. G. Jackson (*An Account of the Empire of Morocco*, 2nd edn. 1811, p. 110) describes the horned viper thus: 'El Effah is the name of a serpent remarkable for its quick and penetrating poison. It is about two feet long, beautifully spotted with yellow and brown and sprinkled over with blackish specks, similar to the horn-nosed snake. They have a wide mouth, by which they inhale a great quantity of air, and when inflated therewith, they eject it with such force as to be heard at a considerable distance.' The present writer has often seen this viper in Egypt and other parts of North Africa to the Atlantic coast, and the sound it emits is a long-continued ef-f-f. Tristram (*Natural Hist. of the Bible*, 1911, p. 274) notes that the horns are always developed in the male and sometimes to a less extent in the adult female. Emery, *Hor-Aha*, 1939, p. 91, has noted the absence of the cerastes's horns on sealings of early Dyn. I at Saqqārah.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY

The Hieroglyphs { and }

GRIFFITH (1898, *Hieros.*, p. 26) wrote that the { sign 'seems to represent the first sprout from a root or seed with a bud at the side' and 'the special form } (BH. 1, pl. 8) apparently indicating the succession of years by an artificial multiplication of buds upon the shoot'. Gardiner (1927, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 469, M4) describes the sign as a 'budding sprout'. I believe that a better explanation was given by R. S. Poole (1851, *Horae Aegyptiacae*, pp. 9-10) who said that it represents a palm-branch stripped of its leaves and with one notch. Poole wrote 'it is worthy of remark that the Arabs make use of a palm-branch stripped of its leaves as a tally by which they keep accounts; and they use the term جریده *jereedeh*, the name of such a palm-branch, to signify a register; and the Persians and Turks make use of that word in a similar manner'. Horapollon (edn. Cory., pp. 9-10) refers to the palm hieroglyph in connexion with the year. Freytag (*Lex.* 1830, 1, 264) gives جرید 'Ramus palmae longus viridis, aut aridus aut foliis nudatus'. Lane has under جرید 'taille, bois pour marquer par des entailles ce que l'on fournit ou reçoit'. See also Dozy, *Supplément aux Dict. Arabes*, 2nd edn., 1, 184.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY

Zeberged: A Correction

IN *JEA* XXXII, 36 a comparison was instituted between the volcanic features which Mr. Vikentiev finds in the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor and the fact that Zeberged is of volcanic origin.

Mr. G. W. Murray of the Survey of Egypt kindly sends information which shows that such a comparison is not valid. He says that the volcano on the island had ceased to be active some millions of years before the Twelfth Dynasty; in fact, far back in geologic time and long before even the Miocene Age.

Hence, the catastrophe experienced by the Serpent King could not have been due to the volcano. It could not have been red-hot lava which was rained upon the island, and we are left with the simple explanation of his words, that the falling star to which he refers would have been a meteorite.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

Zeberged

WITH regard to Mr. Wainwright's most interesting article on the Shipwrecked Sailor's Island, it is possible that a little more light may be shed on the matter from some folk-lore notes collected during the war which have now appeared in *Bull. inst. fr.* XLIV, 177 ff.¹


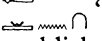
At the entrance to Aden harbour, on the west side, is a small island known to the Arabs as Abu Ḥabān. There is no classical Arabic root Ḥabān, but there is Ḥaba 'to drag oneself along the ground on the belly' (of a child) or 'to slip along the ground before reaching the target' (of an arrow). The word is clearly a South Arabian one meaning 'snakes', or perhaps 'snakiness', as the island's legend shows.

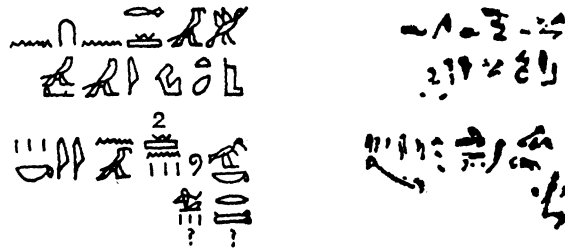
The presiding spirit of the island is Sheikh Abu Ḥabān, and he is said, like St. Patrick, to have cleared it of snakes. A local fisherman recounted that during the war a soldier was bitten by a snake on the island and the inhabitants of Little Aden told him that this was because the grave of the Sheikh had been neglected. The soldiers, so the story continued, brought a new flag (*bairaq*) and whitewash for the stones and no snakes were seen subsequently.


I did not visit the island so cannot say if there is a real grave or, as is more probable, an old shrine given that name.


¹ *Little Aden Folklore*, by O. H. Myers. Monsieur Kuentz has kindly given permission for the material to be used.

Organization of Ushabti-figures

IN his book on ushabtis (*Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes*), pp. 6–7, Speleers draws attention to the fact that cases are known of 365 ushabtis found in one tomb—evidently one for every day of the year—or 401, i.e. 365 + 36, the latter being foremen, one for every ten workmen. Speleers suggests, without being able to adduce a definite proof, that these foremen of ushabtis were  'chief of ten'. As a matter of fact they were supposed to be  'great of ten'¹ as shown by the first line of the hieratic inscription on a ushabti from Gurob published in Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob*, pl. 46, 6. The rest of the inscription presents difficulties, but may perhaps be transcribed as follows:

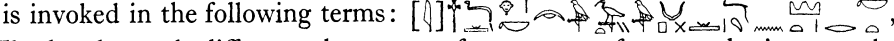
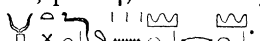


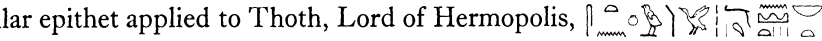


'O "great of ten" of Ēse, make thy men (?) work!' This request addressed to the figure of the foreman can hardly be invalidated by the fact that only three other ushabtis (see op. cit., p. 18) inscribed with the name of the owner () were found with it.


It is worth mentioning that another ushabti-figure from Gurob (op. cit., pl. 46, 4) bears written three times what appears to be , a common Late Egyptian word for 'chief' (*Wb.* III, 122, 4), plural in form, but used also with singular meaning.

JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

Thoth as Creator of Languages

AMONG the hieratic ostraca which Professor Steindorff bought in Egypt many years ago for the Egyptian collection of Leipzig University and kindly lent to me for examination, there was one containing a hymn to Thoth and consisting of 12 lines written on one side only of a piece of limestone. In l. 6 Thoth is invoked in the following terms: , 'Hail to thee, Moon-Thoth, who made different³ the tongue of one country from another', a remarkable statement which for a long time I thought unique in Egyptian literature. In this I was, however, mistaken, for P. Boylan, in his monograph on Thoth, p. 184, has already quoted as an epithet of Moon-Thoth from P. Turin, *Pleyte-Rossi*, 25, 10 . The papyrus is, to judge from the rather poor published facsimile, not too legible, and we must clearly read  instead of  and translate 'who distinguished (or separated)³ the tongue of country from country'. Boylan also quotes (p. 197) the similar epithet applied to Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis,  'who distinguished³ the tongue of every foreign land' from Brit. Mus. Stela 551, l. 19 (photo in *Hierogl. Texts from Egn. Stelae*, VIII, pl. xxviii), but, in note 1 on p. 101, does not sufficiently point out that it is, therefore, Thoth who according to the New Kingdom beliefs created foreign languages,

¹ Gardiner points out to me that *imy-r 10* and *3-n 10* may be identical, the former being a Middle, the latter a Late, Egyptian formation.

² The superfluous  is perhaps due to the following *n* of *ny.k*.

³ Past participles alluding probably—as Professor Gunn pointed out to me—to some lost myth or legend according to which Thoth differentiated the languages of the various countries. These epithets might even be cited as evidence of an Egyptian parallel to the Hebrew fable of Yahweh and the Tower of Babel.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes. By H. E. WINLOCK. New York, 1947.

In this book the author returns to a topic with which he has dealt on several previous occasions, and now gives us his latest conclusions regarding the two Intermediate Periods of Egyptian history in so far as the fortunes of the rulers of Thebes were involved. After a brief summary of what little is known of the city during the Old Kingdom, he goes on to discuss the relations of Thebes with Heracleopolis, and sees clearly that during the earlier period of Heracleopolitan power the nomarchs of Thebes were subject to its rule; he might have gone farther and stated that the early Heracleopolitans governed all Upper Egypt, since the frontier with Nubia was under the control of the Theban nomarchs (see the inscriptions quoted on p. 6) so that the king whom the rulers of Thebes acknowledged clearly had authority over all the south down to the First Cataract. Confirmation of this may be found in the well-known occurrence of the Heracleopolitan royal name Meryibrē at Aswān (Petrie, *History*, I, 131) and in the fact that these northern kings commanded the services of Nubian troops (*JEA* xxx, 62; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten u. Nubien*, 52).

In a short discussion of the chronology of Dyn. XI, Winlock concludes that it lasted for 143 years from 2134 to 1991 B.C., commencing with the first Intef who claimed independent royalty. He then proceeds to describe the struggle which began when the Theban nomarch Intef III (?) broke with his overlord and assumed the royal style as 'the Horus Seher-towē, the Son of Rē Intef (I)'. The general course and ultimate outcome of the bitter civil war which ensued are matters of common knowledge, but as regards the details of the earlier stages of the fighting I am not in entire agreement with the author's reconstruction; I hope in due course to deal with this topic elsewhere. As regards the slain soldiers whom Winlock found buried in the royal precinct at Dēr el-Baḥri, it is obvious that to have been accorded this unique honour they must have fallen in some desperate affray of the utmost importance which may have been, as he very plausibly suggests, the capture of the enemy capital. Since these dead numbered only about sixty, with the consequent suggestion that the force engaged was quite small, it is argued that the total contemporary population was little more than a million. This conclusion may be correct, but it is erected on a somewhat insecure foundation; these sixty men may represent, not the whole of the casualties in a particular action, but only those slain in some especially heroic and vital attack, made perhaps by a small company which suffered severely, and which therefore received exceptional honours.

The third chapter of this book is concerned with the history of Dyn. XI subsequently to the collapse of the Heracleopolitan kingdom, and includes an account of the funerary temple of Nebḥepetrē Mentḥotpe at Dēr el-Baḥri and of the adjacent private tombs; the temple of his successor S'ankhkarē was hardly begun when that king died. As for the end of the dynasty, Winlock reasserts his view, now generally accepted, that after the reign of S'ankhkarē Egypt was cursed with a dynastic struggle from which there emerged a king of non-royal parentage, Nebtowerē Mentḥotpe, and that his vizier, Amenemḥet by name, eventually himself seized the throne as Ammenemes I. Chapter IV deals with the well-known relief of Nebḥepetrē at the Shaṭṭ er-Rigāl and the accompanying inscriptions, and the opportunity is taken to give some account of the royal family and of the principal personages of the Court. The Son of Rē Intef who stands before King Nebḥepetrē in the relief, and who has been the subject of much speculation, is doubtless rightly regarded as a son and heir of the reigning king who predeceased him. Chapter V discusses the M.K. graffiti found high on the face of the mountain behind Dēr el-Baḥri; Winlock's study of them leads him to the conclusion that they were made by priests whose duty it was to watch for the start of the procession of Amūn from Karnak to the funerary foundations of the kings of Dyn. XI across the river and to signal to those below that the procession was on its way; he is also of the opinion that this annual visit of Amūn to the west bank was instituted by Ammenemes I for reasons of prestige.

Passing briefly over the history of Dyn. XII, which does not strictly concern his purpose, the author passes on to the problems of the Second Intermediate Period. In his view the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties were contemporary almost from the first, the latter having Xoïs as its capital. In common with some other scholars, he equates the King Timaios who according to Manetho suffered the shock of the

Hyksos invasion with the Dyn. XIII ruler Djedneferrē Dedmosē I, believing Djedhetepre Dedmosē II to be a later ruler of that line who succeeded in holding out in the south. The Xoite Dyn. XIV is supposed to have maintained its independence until some twenty years or so before the outbreak of the War of Liberation. Dyn. XVI, which apparently had its northern boundary at Abydos, is assumed to have followed directly on Dyn. XIII and to have ruled at Thebes until the Hyksos captured that city; Winlock believes that it was Khian who overcame Thebes, and that it was his successor Apophis who crushed the Xoite kingdom before he was himself attacked by the Theban King Kamosē. With this view I find it difficult to agree. In the first place, the fact that in P. Abbott the royal tombs of Dyns. XVI and XVII appear to follow in regular chronological and topographical sequence suggests that Dyn. XVII followed directly on Dyn. XVI, and if this be so, the Hyksos conquest and subsequent evacuation of Thebes must have taken place before the beginning of Dyn. XVI; but, however this may be, there can be no doubt that in Dyn. XVII the Theban kingdom was virtually independent, and we learn from the Carnarvon Tablet that in the days of King Kamosē the frontier with the Hyksos lay as far north as Cusae. It is hard to believe that the conquest of Thebes, the period of Hyksos domination there, the loss of the south, a peaceful interval with a stabilized frontier, and the War of Liberation, can all be crowded into part of the reign of Khian and the single reign of Apophis. These difficulties arise from the fact that in order to reduce the Hyksos names to the traditional number of six, Winlock combines the three kings named Apophis, of whom we have evidence, into one. This indeed may have been what happened in the Turin Papyrus and in Manetho's sources, but the fact remains that we have three distinct prenomen attached to the name Apophis, and it is hardly likely, despite the author's belief to the contrary, that they can all belong to a single king. If, however, we accept the view that there were three successive kings named Apophis, who in later tradition became merged into one, the chronological difficulties become much less; of the three Apophis kings, 'Awoserrē held Gebelēn, and must therefore be Apophis I. 'Aknērē Apophis II (?) from the form of his prenomen would appear to be contemporary with the earlier part of Dyn. XVII, and he is probably the Apophis named in the well-known tale of the quarrel with King Seknenrē of Thebes; according to Petrie, *History*, I, 264, all his surviving monuments whose provenance is known belong to the Delta. Nebkhepshēr Apophis III (?) is less easy to place, but, since his prenomen is built around the word *ḥpš* 'falchion' and since a dagger is known bearing this prenomen associated with a figure of a fighting man (op. cit. I, 266), we may reasonably conjecture that he succeeded to the Hyksos throne while the War of Liberation was actually in progress. Another possible reason for the limitation of the Hyksos names in the king-lists to the traditional number of six is that the lists may have recognized only Apophis I, who, at any rate for a time, held the Thebaid, as a real king of Egypt, and that his successors were ignored because they were both involved in the losing struggle with the rising tide of Egyptian nationalism.

An interesting final chapter deals with the articles of use introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos and adopted by the Egyptians. Apart from the obvious instance of the horse and chariot, the author includes the compound bow, metal arrow-heads, the *ḥpš*-falchion, modified designs of battle-axe, sword, and dagger, and the general use of bronze instead of copper. To the Hyksos also he is inclined to attribute the introduction of the helmet and body-armour as worn by the later Pharaohs, while among more peaceful importations he includes the *shādūf*, improvements in industrial apparatus, and perhaps the breed of humped cattle. In his discussion of the Egyptian horse and its harness he remarks that when first introduced into Egypt the animal was not strong enough in the back for serious riding, though it could be ridden short distances (see his pls. 22 and 24). While on this topic, however, it might perhaps have been pointed out that in the scenes of the battle of Qadesh under Ramesses II we notice a few riders, while at a later date in the stela of Pi'ankhi it is expressly stated that when Tefnakhte left Memphis after his flying visit to encourage the garrison, he departed on horseback and not by chariot (*Urk.* III, 30). No doubt the breed had been improved since Dyn. XVIII.

In conclusion, let it be said that this book is a valuable and stimulating work. If perhaps an unduly large portion of this review has been given up to criticism, it is because only by discussion and argument can we attain to some approximation to the real truth, and the fact remains that the publication here examined is an important study which no future historian will be able to ignore.

R. O. FAULKNER

Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries. By A. LUCAS. London, Edward Arnold, 25s. 3rd ed. revised and reset 1948. Pp. 570.

As a former Director of the Chemical Department in Egypt and Honorary Consulting Chemist in the Department of Antiquities at Cairo, Mr. Lucas had exceptional opportunities of applying his expert scientific knowledge to chemical problems in Egyptology. He took a large share in the work of restoring the rich stores of material from the tomb of Tutankhamūn and preserving them for the Museum in Cairo.

Much fresh knowledge has become available since the second edition of this work appeared in 1934. The book has been largely rewritten, rearranged, and much enlarged. Three additional chapters on Adhesives, Beads, and Inlaid Eyes have been added and other new material deals specially with Dyeing, Glass, Glazed Ware, Mummification, Perfumes, Pottery, Stone Vessels, Sugar, Textile Fibres, and Wood.

The problems and pitfalls which beset the research worker in this field of chemical investigation are many and varied. In the course of hundreds of years slow chemical changes may take place so that analyses of materials may yield results which are entirely misleading as regards the nature of the original substance. The solubility often decreases with age and exposure and therefore solubility in a particular solvent may not be an original but an acquired characteristic.

Even the process of cleaning may introduce misleading factors. It has been stated, for instance, that antimony plating was known in Egypt in about the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty. The author shows that the chemical, mechanical, and electrolytic methods used in cleaning may have brought about the reduction of the oxide of antimony (or other antimony compound present in the corroded surface of the copper) to the metallic state, thus producing the appearance described as plating. Besides, other considerations render it most unlikely that the metal was ever produced from the ore at such an early date.

Improved methods of chemical analysis have yielded valuable results. The author rightly criticizes many of Reutter's figures obtained from very small quantities of material, which did not permit of a duplicate check analysis, and were sometimes based merely on a probable identification by smell, or from negative results upon a process of exclusion. Thus the criticism of results obtained in the past as well as the correction of erroneous statements which, once in print, have been repeated from book to book, are particularly valuable.

A few examples may be quoted here. It has often been stated that egg-albumin (white of egg) was used as an adhesive for ancient Egyptian paint, but Mr. Lucas points out that this has not been satisfactorily proved.

Many precise statements, often mere guess-work, have been made regarding the nature of the resins anciently used and few have been identified with certainty. Mummy tissue becomes so changed with age that it has the appearance of resin and behaves with solvents in the same way as resin.

Despite many statements to the contrary (including those of Diodorus and Strabo), natural bitumen (pitch) was never employed for mummification until Ptolemaic times at the earliest. Much of the material, especially from later mummies, is black and looks like bitumen. Again, it is very improbable that emery was used as an abrasive.

The general idea that the ancient Egyptian eye-paint (other than green malachite) consisted of or contained antimony or any antimony compound, is incorrect and there is no justification for calling it antimony, stibium (an early word for the sulphide of the metal), or other name implying such composition. The misunderstanding has probably arisen from the use of an antimony compound as an eye medicine by the Greeks and Romans.

Mistranslations have been responsible for much confusion. For instance, the word *msdmt* (eye-paint) has often been mistranslated antimony. Breasted (*Anc. Rec.*) makes no mention of turquoise (*mḥkꜣt*) and has mistranslated the word wrongly as malachite, which is frequently confused with other green stones (green turq, green feldspar, and even beryl). The mineral occurs in Sinai and in the eastern desert and was obtained anciently from both places; at first probably from surface outcrops, for use as eye-paint, and later by mining for the production of copper. The Egyptian name for malachite was *šsmt*.

There has been much confusion, too, between nitre (potassium nitrate or saltpetre) and natron (sodium nitrate). The word *ntry* meant what is now called natron, a natural soda. The *nitron* of Herodotus and its Latin equivalent the *nitrum* of Pliny are often wrongly translated as *nitre* instead of *natron* and sodium nitrate is frequently referred to as saltpetre. There is no evidence that nitre was either known or used anciently in Egypt. It was not used for mummification or glass-making.

Mr. Lucas stresses the importance of the correct use of technical terms and deprecates the use of the words 'enamel', 'paste', and *pâte de verre* in connexion with glass. The material should be called what it is—glass. The term 'gesso' should be restricted to a particular plaster made of whiting (chalk) and glue and not used for plaster made of gypsum or gypsum and glue. Pens used in ancient Egypt were made, not of reed, but of a particular kind of rush. Reed pens were not used until the Graeco-Roman period. They were pointed and split (as the old-fashioned quills) and are related to the adoption of the Greek alphabet for writing the Egyptian language in the fourth century A.D.

The book brings home to the reader the resourcefulness of the ancient Egyptians, the wide range of their knowledge of the properties of materials and the varied uses to which they may be put. For instance, beeswax was used as an adhesive for luting lids on vases, fixing alabaster vases to their pedestals and flint teeth in sickles, for cementing razor handles and for curling and plaiting wigs. Materials were subjected to a variety of treatments. Silver was stained—a strange taste, as Pliny remarks—'Strange to relate the value of the silver is enhanced when its splendour has been sullied'. His description strongly suggests niello, of which a few examples are known from Egypt. Pink gold was popular in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties and was produced intentionally by dipping in some iron solution which left a very thin film after the application of heat.

Some idea of the enormous scale of the activities of the Egyptians may be gained from facts given, for example, of the mining output calculated from slag deposits. Stone vessels totalling in weight ninety tons were found in one of the passages of the Step Pyramid.

Gold is found in Egypt over a wide area either in alluvial sands and gravels or in veins in quartz rock and was worked in pre-dynastic times. Over 100 ancient workings are known and some were worked to a depth of 100 feet. As Hocart says: 'The Egyptians were very thorough prospectors and no workable deposits have been discovered which they overlooked.' Egyptian gold always contains silver (often 16% or more) and other metals, and this misled Petrie in his deductions as to foreign sources. The solid gold coffin of Tutankhamūn weighs 296 lb. troy.

In a historical summary, the author reviews the geographical and climatic conditions in which Egyptian civilization developed and gives indications of the approximate dates marking the introduction of the use of various materials. He shows how different processes originated and developed and also discusses the possible influence of exchange of ideas with neighbours.

The manuscript was revised by the author shortly before his death in 1945 and will long continue to be the authoritative and standard work on the subject.

R. W. SLOLEY

The Pyramids of Egypt. By I. E. S. EDWARDS, with drawings by JOHN CRUIKSHANK ROSE. Pelican Book No. A 168. Penguin Books, West Drayton, 1947. 256 pp., 15 plates, 34 drawings. Price 1s. (later 1s. 6d.)

Whilst the Penguin publishers have produced several reprints of remarkable books of archaeological interest, there are but few of their books which are original works and this is one of the best. Small though it is, the author has produced a very worthy successor to Vyse and Perring, which is, as far as the reviewer is aware, the only previous attempt to deal with all the Pyramids then known.


In his introductory chapter the chronology and religious background are sketched. Next follows a description of mastabas. The step pyramid of Djoser is then considered, after which comes a chapter on the transition to the true pyramid. The fundamental Gizah group comes next and then the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. There follows a chapter on later pyramids and finally a discussion of the construction and purpose. Tables, bibliography, and index complete the work. It is well printed, the illustrations are clearly drawn, and the plates are as well reproduced as can be expected in so inexpensive a book. Two small misprints of a quite unimportant character occur on p. 25.

This is an objective and clear account of the pyramids from the earliest to the latest times. If it were possible to squash a popular fallacy which has once established itself the peculiar religious notions concerning the Great Pyramid and its mystic significance should be annihilated once and for all by the description of the pyramid complex with its two temples, sun boats, etc. That it had a mystic meaning for the Egyptians is probable but it was utterly different from that of the British Israelites.

The author very wisely says little or nothing about the absurd theories that have attached themselves to the pyramids and especially to the Great Pyramid, but he might have made a little more of the astronomical features. Proctor's idea that a pyramid could have been an observatory is of course quite out of the question, but Antoniadi (*L'Astronomie égyptienne*, Gauthier Villars, Paris, 1934) devotes a whole chapter to the subject and although his data are utterly antiquated some of his matter is not wholly fantastic. Hogben in his *Science for the Citizen* (p. 225), following Neuberger, makes the quite incorrect statement that Sirius could have been observed at culmination through the air hole which enters the King's Chamber, in 2400 B.C. He is apparently unaware that the air tunnel has a kink and enters the chamber at floor-level. Also it is not square to the face of the pyramid, as Hogben assumes. John Herschel (*Outlines of Astronomy*, 4th ed., 1851, p. 192) lays great stress on the fact that the descending passage points back to the lower culmination of the pole star (alpha Draconis) about 2000 B.C. but neglects to notice that this passage has an inclination of almost exactly 1 in 2. The excellent orientation of the major pyramids is, however, a fact. Whether it was simply a matter of meticulous care or bears a real significance is open to question.

The analogy with the ziggurats of Babylonia and the teocallis of the Mayas and Aztecs has often been remarked on. The ziggurats are known to have been temples and were built in stages, so that the analogy is rather to the step pyramid than to the true pyramid. There is not the slightest indication that the pyramids, step or otherwise, were ever temples, although temples were attached to them. Ziggurats in the older cases were orientated but by the corners and not the faces. There is no good evidence that either ziggurats or teocallis developed from cairns or were at all funereal in origin, whereas pyramids were in all cases tombs or cenotaphs.

On p. 210 the author gives a figure of a circular wall by means of which the azimuths of equal altitude of any star having northern declination can be found. The bisection of these azimuths would provide the true north. Is it not, however, rather a strong assumption that the Egyptians used such a method? The centre *merkhet* must be steady and truly central, the wall must be very level, the observer must keep the *merkhet* at a constant level. Simple as the principle seems to be, it involves the whole idea of spherical astronomy which was not developed until the time of the Greek mathematicians. It is much more probable that the average position of a closely circumpolar star (possibly alpha Draconis) or the average direction of the shortest shadow of the sun on a level surface was used.

The author makes an interesting suggestion that the pyramid symbolized a ramp to heaven, perhaps as distinguished from a staircase, and remarks on a meteorological phenomenon of diverging rays of sunlight partially screened by cloud which might have suggested it. This seems rather a *tour de force* since there are many varieties of such phenomena and we have to consider the pyramids in their cult use as well as the funerary one. The symbol in Newoserrē's sun temple, in the *Benben* temples at Heliopolis and Tell el-'Amarnah, and on the top of obelisks, is difficult to reconcile with this hypothesis. In this connexion it is an interesting speculation that the *bnnw* bird (referred to in association with the pyramidion at Heliopolis in *Pyr.* 1652b) may have been thought to perch on a pyramid (compare the Phoenix legend), hence perhaps the association of the hieroglyph  with the bird called *bh* on the Senenmut celestial diagram, but *bnnw* in the later versions. The identification with the planet Venus is not unnatural since Venus flits about the sun. It also has a very exact 243-year period, six of which approximate to the so-called Sothic year.

Another line of thought on this subject is that the form of the pyramid is purely an aesthetic question. The proportions are, it is true, such that, in the best types, the height is seven-elevenths of the base, which closely approximates to the ratio of the diameter to the semi-circumference of a circle, or to an equality between the square of the height and the area of one sloping face. It cannot be *both* these things since they are independently equivalent on geometric principles. Does this proportion constitute a Platonic idea which pleases the artistic mind? Other forms look spindly or dumpy but is this because we are used to the standard type? Or again was it just an architectural royal fashion, which developed after Snofru had experimented with various types?

As to the circular relation there is no reason to suppose that the Egyptians took any real interest in *pi*. Their astronomy shows very little concern with circles, which are Pythagorean or Platonic. The 24-hour circles in Senenmut's celestial diagram are the first indications of any such interest. The famous diurnal star ring of Diodorus in the Ramesseum was probably a circuit, not a circle. Certainly if the proportions of a pyramid include this *pi* relation, it is so successfully hidden, so unpractical to apply, and so very little use when so applied, that the 'wisdom of the Egyptians' was sadly lacking if this was the best they could do!

The author supports the suggestion that brick or earth ramps were used in the construction of the pyramids. This may of course be partially true but such a ramp, especially if, as he suggests, it covered one whole face, would lead to tremendous engineering problems if it extended to the height of 480 feet. The slopes would need to be very flat if even only 5-ton blocks had to be hauled on sledges. The quantities of brick, earth, timber for roads, etc., would be prodigious. Probably it would be much easier to build ramps of light masonry. Wind effects alone would be very serious on sand or earth ramps of this height.

It is a very remarkable fact that although the pyramid has a clear relation to the solar religion, the Pyramid Texts make but comparatively few references to the deceased Pharaoh as a protégé, companion, or even surrogate of the Sun-god. The sun boats which seem to have been an essential feature of pyramids are but rarely mentioned. This is presumably due to the primitive sanctity of the texts which go back to a time when solar religion was a minor or perhaps non-existent feature of Egyptian religion, but it is very anomalous.

HERBERT CHATLEY

Egyptian Pyramids. By LESLIE GRINSELL, F.S.A. John Bellows Ltd., Gloucester, 1947. 194 pp., 14 plates, 27 line drawings, 8 maps. Small quarto. 25s.

It is a very remarkable coincidence that two books on the Pyramids should appear in one year. Fortunately they are complementary rather than competitive, since Mr. Grinsell's approach to the subject differs from that of Mr. Edwards.

In the first part, after a general introduction, the pyramid complex is described, then follow an account of the evolution and decline of the pyramids, an excellent description of constructional problems, and a discussion of the Pyramid Texts.

In the second part there is a topographical analysis of the pyramids, followed by an appendix listing the objects from pyramids which are to be found in various museums. Then come a chronological table of pyramids and their builders and indexes of subjects and Egyptian personal names.

Each chapter is followed by a very complete bibliography. This alone is a valuable item.

The discussion of construction is very well done, but the author throws no very useful light on the problem of raising the masonry, except that in fig. 7 an attempt is made to show how temporary ramps may have been used. These are indicated as of rough masonry, a view with which the reviewer is in complete accord.

There is a statement on p. 57 as to the Egyptian year which is open to question. It is stated that the three seasons 'Inundation', 'Winter', and 'Summer' with the five epagomenal days made up the year, beginning on about July 19. This bald account is misleading, since the year was 'vague' and consisted of only 365 days, so that each year the beginning shifted back a quarter of a day in the true tropical year. It is by no means certain that the first season means 'inundation' and it would in fact be much preferable that the three seasons should be given their Egyptian names without attempt to translate them. The '19th July' in the hypothetical Sothic year is not the July 19 as we understand it according to our Gregorian calendar but refers to the old Julian calendar. For the year 3000 B.C. it was June 23 by our calendar. This is a dangerous subject which has led to much misconception and hasty conclusions, as witness Mr. Sewell's highly controversial article in *The Legacy of Egypt*.

The illustration (fig. 9) on p. 104 shows the masonry of Kheops' pyramid as consisting of almost vertical layers about a central pillar. Surely this is not correct?

Would it not now be possible to make some investigations in the village of Nazlet es-Samman to discover the relics of the Valley Temple of this Pyramid? Now that the Egyptian Government is carrying out archaeological research there could be no national or religious objections, and as to cost as far as the reviewer remembers there are no important buildings in this village.

The author very rightly attaches much importance to the Pyramid Texts and remarks on the appearance of these texts when solar temples ceased to be built. It is not very clear what the functions of these temples were. The fact that they are situated in the cemetery area may perhaps indicate that they also have some funereal significance. The whole subject bristles with difficulties, many of which may never be resolved.

There are several aerial views of pyramids which give a far better idea of the layout and surroundings than has heretofore been possible. Some notion of the technical difficulties of excavation and still more of

original construction are conveyed by them. Unfortunately they have lost some of the definition in the process of reproduction but they are still quite good.

The author gives some attention to the subject of the boats which occur in both pyramids and sun temples. These boats clearly refer to the sun, although it might perhaps be indicated in some instances that the deceased was to be the sole passenger. On the principle that the image creates the invisible double it is almost certain that these were provided so that the Pharaoh might travel with or even as the Sun, especially in the Afterworld. Their presence at the Great Pyramid is rather a nasty knock for the still very numerous believers in the Pyramid as a relic of Melchizedek!

In his introductory remarks the author implies that pyramids are comparable with the cairns or tumuli of western Europe. Is this really legitimate? Of course, it has often been put forward, but there seems no reason to suppose that the cairn was a primitive type of tomb in Egypt. Is it not more probable that cairns developed from pyramids than the reverse? In China where great mounds served much the same purpose as pyramids it seems possible that they are a later development rather than the earliest form. Chinese traditions refer to surface disposal of the dead as preceding mound burial. The pyramid was essentially a royal tomb, whose form and size indicated the royal fate and was assimilated, whether by pride or religion (probably a little of both!) to the welfare of the country. Even the late Nubian pyramids, which the author dismisses with a few words, were royal tombs.

The motives that drove the builders of the pyramids to their tremendous tasks were doubtless mixed. Respect for the dead, grief, desire to enhance the family or dynastic name, belief in the magic power of ritual to benefit the dead and the living, old custom, and ambition or religiosity of the priests, doubtless all played their parts, but it still remains a wonder that early man could devote such prodigious efforts to rather futile ends. Breasted has emphasized the part which this practice played in the development of thought and conscience. On the other hand, the modern Marxian school must have considerable difficulty in reconciling it with the economic theory of history.

HERBERT CHATLEY

The Alphabet: a Key to the History of Mankind. By DAVID DIRINGER, D.Litt. Hutchinsons. London, etc. No date. 607 pp.

I must say at once that this is a review of only a very small part, about 4 per cent., of this large book, published, I believe, in 1948 (the publishers have presumably good reasons for departing from custom so far as to omit the date). It aims at being no more than a criticism by an Egyptologist of those pages relating to Egyptian writing and the possibility of an Egyptian source of our alphabet.¹

The present writer believes that no one man could adequately compile this book, with its enormous range, without obtaining the help of specialists—and good specialists—at every turn, and that no one man could review it properly without similar help. The work has obtained a very good press, mostly in very general terms. It is time that its quality was tested by someone getting to grips with a part of it the subject-matter of which he is more or less familiar with.

This, then, I propose to do, as regards the Egyptian part, which is contained mostly in pp. 58–71, 189–91, 195–7, and 467–71. With the rest I am not at all competent to deal; but a cursory glance through its pages has revealed, on p. 36, that ‘the Assyrian cuneiform writing’ is said to have been ‘in later times practically a syllabary’, the truth being that the later the writing the less it was a syllabary, and that many late Assyrian texts are mostly ideographic; that on p. 41 cuneiform is said to be probably the most ancient system of writing, when what is meant is, of course, Sumerian writing, quite a different thing; that in Fig. 18, 3, Assyrian < is said to be the vowel *o*; that Fig. 22, 3, 4, Fig. 134, 1, and Fig. 203, 5 are upside-down; that a book swarming with specimens of writing and alphabets gives not a single example of any modern European handwritings, as though the development of these from medieval ones were a matter of no importance in a book dealing with the alphabet; and that there are no specimens of Hebrew vowel-pointing, a device of great significance in the history of alphabetic writing.

¹ But I purposely omit any discussion of the controversies as to the origin of our alphabets and the possible part played by the ‘Sinaitic script’ therein.

But to get to the Egyptian parts, which alone really concern me.

It is a pity that, in the pages I am considering, there are no references to the sources of the illustrations, although nearly all of them are taken from previous works.

It is also a pity that nearly all the hieroglyphs are shown in the abnormal direction, i.e. facing left. But Dr. Dinger errs here in company with many Egyptologists who ought to know better.

In Fig. 4, 2 a series of tablets, half of them bearing quite clear Egyptian numerals, '185', '175', '164', '123', '97', and belonging to the historic period (Queen Neithotep), are called 'Prehistoric ivory labels with "numerical" (?) indications'.

Chapter II is entitled 'Hieroglyphic Writing', although it deals indifferently with hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic writing. Only writing showing the pictorial forms should be called hieroglyphic.

P. 58. It was not merely the *writing* that the Egyptians called 'speech of the gods'—why should they call writing speech? The term *mdw ntr* 'speech of the god' refers to the ancient language, as it was given to mankind by Thoth, together with the system of writing which was used to record it.

Why 'hieroglyphic' and 'hieroglyphs' are less properly applied to Hittite and Mayan writing than to Egyptian is not clear to me.

We are told that 'it is still a moot point which script, the Egyptian hieroglyphic or the cuneiform, is the older'. There is no doubt that the Egyptian is the older; but the author unfortunately uses 'cuneiform' when he means 'Sumerian', with its pictorial and linear phases preceding the emergence of cuneiform by centuries.

Fig. 25, 2 is called 'The Plaque of Akha or Akhai'. No Egyptologist renders the aspirate used here as *kh*, but as *h* or *h*.











Fig. 26. The meanings assigned to these 'determinatives' are in many cases wrong, e.g.  is hardly 'sky slipping down';  does not mean 'time for prayer', nor  'time in general, last year of a king's reign' (!), nor  'dried up', nor  'women', 'cities', nor  'incense', nor  'roll of papyrus', nor  'group together'.  means snake as well as worm,  is a piece of marshland, not a garden. The explanatory matter vacillates in a most confusing way between descriptions of the signs and descriptions of their uses.




















Fig. 27. The entire second row of seven 'hieroglyphic word-signs' is given upside-down, and in inverse order, so that a mountain upside-down is stated to be 'bread', and so on. The sign , inverted, is meant to be described as 'arch', but is really a bow (French *arc*). Why  ideogram for Upper Egypt (not 'South') should be included among 'symbols expressing abstract ideas', or why 'to find' should be regarded as a more abstract idea than 'to fight', I am unable to guess. The hieroglyphs, like most of those given in the other tables of Egyptian signs (Figs. 26, 29, 32, 1. 2), are wretchedly drawn, and utterly unworthy of the noble writing that they are intended to represent.

Fig. 28, 1. The Palermo Stone is not a well-chosen example of an 'early hieroglyphic inscription'; there are scores of earlier ones, many of which would show up much better in such a small reproduction.

Pp. 61, 63. 'In the Egyptian writing there existed different signs for the same sound, which could be represented in many ways.' This is true only for the latest period, about 300 B.C. onwards. For the earliest period we know of only three sounds which could be represented in more than one way by uniconsonantal ('alphabetic') signs, namely, *h*, *g*, *t*, each of which could be represented by two (not 'many') signs. After the Middle Kingdom four more consonants (*y*, *w*, *m*, *n*) could each be represented by two signs.

P. 63. 'They did not employ it [their "alphabet"] when they could use word-signs or multi-consonantal phonograms, and they never employed it without determinatives.' Both statements are wrong. They employed  when they might have employed ,  when they might have used , and so on. As to employing 'alphabetic' signs without determinatives, we have not only *dd*, *iw*, just quoted, but also , , , , , and many others.

In the 'alphabet' given in Fig. 29,  should not have been given as *kh*, nor  as *kh'*, nor  as *h*, nor  as *s-s*, nor  as *t*, nor  as *t'*, nor  as *d*; nor should  have been given as an example of the 'earliest consonantal signs'.

'The latest hieroglyphic inscriptions belong to the sixth century A.D. (reign of Justinian).' The latest hieroglyphic inscription is one of 24 Aug. 394, reign of Theodosius I.

Fig. 30. It is a pity that Erman's very inaccurate transcriptions of the four words have been reproduced here.

P. 65. 'In the seventh century B.C. . . . the demotic writing came into being'; p. 67: 'the earliest demotic documents belong to the seventh-sixth centuries B.C. . . . Demotic emerged as a new form of writing in the eighth century B.C.' What is to be made of this?

Fig. 32, 1-2. The signs here are called 'word-signs', although 7 out of the 10 are uniconsonantal phonetic signs!

P. 67. 'Hieratic had deteriorated so much that it had become obscure.' This is only partly true: the business hand had become obscure, but the book hand remained very clear as long as hieratic was used.

Fig. 34. No. 2 is lying on its side. No. 3 is *autokratōr*, not '*autókratos*'. 10: 'Usertsen' is half a century out of date; read Senwosret or Sesostris, and in no case 'Sesonchosis', who reigned a thousand years later. 17, b: 'Khu-en-Aten' is about 80 years out of date.

P. 70. 'The Greek version [of the Rosetta Stone] (almost a translation).' On the contrary, it is now established that the Egyptian versions are translations (without 'almost') of the Greek.

Pp. 70-1. Over one-third of the works cited in this bibliography are irrelevant or unnecessary.

Fig. 97. 1: The hieroglyphic signs are very badly copied, and the 'phonetic values' lack all diacritics, so that a quite false idea of Meroitic phonology is given. 2: Only about half the signs are given. 4: The text is upside-down.



P. 196. The controversy over the question: did the Egyptians possess an alphabet? depends, as so many controversies do, on definition. What is an alphabet? If, as Dr. Diringer said in *Antiquity*, No. 66, p. 77, 'in a true alphabet each sign generally denotes one sound only, and each sound is represented by a single, constant symbol', then I do not know where a true alphabet is to be found outside the groups of symbols devised by phoneticians for purposes of the scientific description of sounds. When he goes on to say that 'in the Egyptian scripts there existed different signs for the same sound. Thus, the same sound could be written in many different ways', this, as I have pointed out above, is not true before about 300 B.C. But the position is really quite a simple one.

(a) If possessing an alphabet means having signs to represent single sounds, then the Egyptians had an alphabet, but a very defective one, since no vowels were represented in it.

(b) If it means having *only* signs representing each a single sound, then the Egyptians did not even approximate to this before the introduction of Coptic writing.

P. 197. Dr. Diringer is 'unable to believe that if the alphabet had originated in Egypt, the Egyptians would have continued to use—for so many centuries—their old and extremely complicated writing'. Has he considered the case of the English and French, who continue to use their old and extremely complicated orthographies although simplified spellings have been before them, in the forms of shorthand, phonetic alphabets, and spelling reforms, for a century or more past?

P. 467. 'Spoken Coptic, called now *Zeniyah*.' *Zēnīyah* is the name not of the language but of the place in which it is said to be still spoken.

Fig. 208, 1. The name of No. 15 (ζ) is (*e*)*xi*, not *e(xi)*. The hieroglyphic original of No. 29 (ϱ) is , not .

P. 470. 'The development of the Coptic script was of course entirely independent of the Greek.' On the contrary, Greek (in Egypt) and Coptic writing, whether book- or business-hand, are most closely connected, and in a given period are often virtually identical. This is natural enough, since the same Egyptian scribe will often have had to write both Coptic and Greek as occasion arose.

Pp. 470-1. Most of the works listed in the Coptic bibliography are irrelevant or unnecessary, and a number of works offering valuable material for the study of Coptic palaeography have been omitted.

From the perusal of these observations, relating to only a very small part of the book, the reader will perhaps form an idea as to the quality of the rest of it; I cannot tell whether any opinion so based would be a just one. Let us hope that the estimate given on p. 572 as to the total number of faults gives an exaggerated impression.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN