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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE past year has been one of disappointment to the Society in that it has not proved possible to do any work in the field. It had been the Society's intention to send during the winter a small party to Egypt to copy the tomb of Ptahshepses at Abušir, but the state of political feeling in Egypt, which culminated in the January riot in Cairo, clearly put any possibility of sending an expedition entirely out of the question. It is devoutly to be hoped that the tension between Egypt and this country will soon have relaxed sufficiently for scholars from England to resume work in the field.

As a result of the cancellation of last season's proposed expedition, the Society has been forced regretfully to release Mr. Michael Apted to take up other employment. In view of his valuable work under Professor Blackman on the rock tombs at Mēr and in association with Mr. James on the tomb of Khentika-Ikhekhi at Saḳḳārah, it was hoped that he would also be able to help the Society further by copying the above-mentioned tomb of Ptahshepses, but the unavoidable cancellation of this expedition, coupled with the completion of his work on the plates for the publication of the tombs at Mēr, made it necessary for Mr. Apted to seek another post. We understand that he has now been appointed to the Ancient Monuments department of the Office of Works, and we wish him every success in his new role.

Although the Society has suffered a set-back in respect of its field-work, in the matter of its publications satisfactory progress has been made. The second and revised edition of *Inscriptions of Sinai*, Part I—the volume of plates—has appeared and Professor Černý is making good progress with Part II, which will contain translations and commentaries of the inscriptions reproduced in Part I. Printing is well advanced on Volumes V and VI of *The Rock Tombs of Meir* and on *The Mastaba of Khentika-Ikhekhi*, and it is just possible that these may be available to members by the time that this Foreword appears. On the Graeco-Roman side, Mlle Préaux has completed the manuscript of *Greek Ostraka*, Vol. II, and it is now in the hands of the printers, while the work on *Oxyrhynchus*, Vol. XXII, is also well advanced.

In the *Illustrated London News* for 7 June 1952 there were published some photographs of excavations by Zakaria Goneim at Saḳḳārah, near the Pyramid of Onnos, which show limestone walls reaching to quite a considerable height and displaying the pattern of recessed panelling which is characteristic of the architecture of the early dynastic period. The newly discovered walls, in fact, greatly resemble those surrounding the Step Pyramid and its associated buildings, and enclose a comparable area, so that on the evidence at present available it would appear that we have here the remains of an intended rival to the Step Pyramid complex, presumably of later date, since the blocks of limestone used in the construction are larger than those of Djoser, thus displaying a greater facility in building with stone. It would seem, therefore, that Djoser's

successor intended to erect a pyramid complex on similar lines to that of his predecessor, but that work on it was abandoned before the proposed design had reached completion. We look forward with interest to further accounts of this important discovery, which may well shed more light on the rather obscure history of the Third Dynasty.

Since the last issue of this Foreword was written we have learned with great regret of the death on 28 August 1951 of Professor Georg Steindorff at the age of 89. Professor Steindorff was Professor of Egyptology at Leipzig for some forty years, but eventually was forced by the Nazi régime to vacate the chair he had occupied for so long, and he migrated to the United States of America, where he continued his researches, working at different times at New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago. It is impossible here to enumerate all his contributions to our science; perhaps his most outstanding services were his editorship over a term of years of the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* and the production of his invaluable *Koptische Grammatik*, which for more than half a century has been indispensable to the scholar. A much expanded new edition of the *Grammatik* has been published since the author's death. Another serious loss, this time to Graeco-Roman scholarship, was the death of the rising young papyrologist, D. S. Crawford, who with his wife was murdered in the Cairo riots last January. Holding the post of Lecturer in Classics in the Fuad I University, he published in 1949 a catalogue of the papyri collected by Gradenwitz, under the title *Fuad I University Papyri*, and on the very day of his death had completed the manuscript of a catalogue of the Michailides collection of Greek papyri. It is to be hoped that it will be found possible to publish this work.

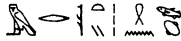
Finally, we would like to express our grateful thanks to Sir Alan Gardiner for very generously meeting the cost of his article on the inscription of Tuthmosis III and thus making a material contribution towards the expense of the present volume.

## THE STELA OF THE MASTER-SCULPTOR SHEN

By R. O. FAULKNER

As the frontispiece of the present volume of this *Journal* we reproduce, by kind permission of the Los Angeles County Museum in California, a very fine specimen of a Twelfth Dynasty funerary stela which has been known to scholars from the earliest days of Egyptology; thanks to the researches of Miss Rosalind Moss it is now possible to summarize its history. The monument in question was first mentioned by Sir William Gell, who saw it in Rome;<sup>1</sup> in 1823 it was purchased by the then Lord Kinnaird. In 1930 a photograph of it was published in Sotheby's sale catalogue of December 1 together with a somewhat indifferent translation by an unknown hand.<sup>2</sup> It would seem, however, that this lot was withdrawn from the sale, for later it was offered again by Sotheby.<sup>3</sup> This time it was bought by that omnivorous collector, the late W. R. Hearst, and by him it was presented to the Los Angeles County Museum where it now rests. The sale catalogues apart, the only mention of this monument in Egyptological literature is in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 6, 135, where the fact of its coming up for sale is recorded. The provenance of the stela is there said to be Abydos, a statement which from internal evidence is undoubtedly correct, even though there is no record of its original finding.

The stela in question is a finely carved round-topped slab of limestone measuring 35 in. high by 14 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. wide,<sup>4</sup> and bearing the museum No. A. 5141. 50-876. In its present state the top line, which contained the date, has lost a good deal of its surface, the damage involving also the first and last signs of lines 2 and 3. An undulating crack extends across the middle of the stela, and ends on the right with a gap where a chip of stone has disappeared, taking with it the first sign of line 14. The bottom of the stela has been damaged, though some of the names remain; apart from the rubbing at the top, this is the only serious loss the stone has suffered.

The owner of the stela was  the master-sculptor Shen, who flourished during the reign of Kheperkarē Sesostri I. The content of his inscription is not of outstanding interest, consisting mainly of the conventional *hṯp-dī-nsw* formula and an address to those still living on earth asking them to make a funerary offering to him at the principal religious festivals, the importance of this stela lying in the fact that it is a well-preserved and admirably executed specimen of its kind and period. We do gather from the text, however, that Shen was originally a sculptor practising at Itjet-towē—modern Lisht—the capital of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, but that he migrated to Abydos in the reign of Sesostri I and secured employment in the temples of that

<sup>1</sup> Gell MS. 1, 21, verso (upper).

<sup>2</sup> p. 11 [54].

<sup>3</sup> Sale of Apr. 30, 1935, p. 7 [37] in catalogue.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to the Museum authorities for these details. The thickness is not ascertainable, as the stela is now mounted in a concrete block.

sacred city, and that eventually he rose to the overseership of the sculptors working there. The translation of the main text runs as follows:—

*Year . . .<sup>1</sup> under [the Horus Life-of-Birth, (2) the Two Ladies]<sup>2</sup> Life-of-Birth, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkarē, beloved of Osiris the Ruler of Eternity.<sup>3</sup> (3) A boon which [the king] gives <to> Osiris Khentamenthes, Lord of Abydos, <to> Wepwawet, Lord of the Sacred Land, and <to> [Anubis (4) on] his mountain, that he (sic) may give an invocation-offering of a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of oxen and fowl, a thousand of alabaster and clothing, and a thousand of all pure things, to the ka of the blessed one, the master-sculptor Shen, (5) justified. He was appointed to<sup>4</sup> this temple, the houses and cities of eternity,<sup>5</sup> (6) the excellent desert-plateau of the gods, superior in arrangement to any other place,<sup>6</sup> with which this god<sup>7</sup> is content, the great place (7) of the thrones of Gēb, the secret place of the Mysteries in Abydos, the duplicate<sup>8</sup> of the House of Anubis. (8) Rē sheds the light of his countenance towards it, he makes gift of life in the West, and his heart is made glad thereby.*

*I have come in peace to (9) this my tomb which I have made in the Western Horizon of Abydos<sup>9</sup> in the Thinite nome, at the place of eternity, at the tomb-shaft of the august god, (10) (even I) the blessed one, the master-sculptor Shen. He said: O ye who live upon earth, who love life and hate (11) departure,<sup>10</sup> when ye follow Wepwawet in all his journeys<sup>11</sup> and your hearts are content with life upon earth, (12) ye shall give to me an invocation-offering at the Festival of the Month and the Festival of the Half-month, at the Opening of the Year, at the First Great Procession, at the Festival of Thoth when the god comes, (13) at the Wꜥg-festival, at the Festival of Heat, at the Festival of Sokar, at the Beginning of the Season,<sup>12</sup> at the Sꜥd-festival, at the Processions of Min, at the Hꜥkr-festivals, at the Festival of Laying to Rest in Peker,<sup>13</sup> (14) at the Festival of Numbering, at the Festivals of the Epagomenal Days, and all the goodly festivals of the House of Osiris, (even me) the blessed Shen. Now ye (15) shall say: 'A thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of oxen and fowl, a thousand of alabaster and clothing, a thousand of all pure things which are issued in the presence of the great god for the blessed one the master-sculptor Shen, born of (16) Iyet'.*

*I acted as sculptor in Itjet-towē of Ammenemes, given life for ever, and I came to this temple<sup>14</sup> to work<sup>15</sup> (17) under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkarē, beloved of Khentamenthes Lord of Abydos, given life like Rē for ever and ever.*

<sup>1</sup> The date is lost.

<sup>2</sup> The restoration is demanded by the space available; the Horus-name alone is not sufficient to fill it.

<sup>3</sup> At the end of the line read undoubtedly  $\text{𓂏}$ ; the shaft of  $\text{𓂏}$  and part of  $\text{𓂏}$  are visible.  $\text{𓂏}$  appears to be a clumsy attempt at restoration in modern times. <sup>4</sup> *Shnt-t(w) st:f m*, lit. 'his place was advanced in'.

<sup>5</sup> *Prw niwꜣt nt nhh*; this expression presumably describes the complex of temple and tombs at Abydos.

<sup>6</sup> *Hntt mhꜣw r st nbt*; this expression occurs also in the stela Louvre C 3, quoted by Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 102. We have here apparently a high-flown description of the Tomb of Osiris.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably Osiris.

<sup>8</sup> *Snwt*.

<sup>9</sup> For 'the Western Horizon' as a sacred locality in Abydos, see also Brit. Mus. 159, 5, cf. *JEA* 37, 50.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. death.

<sup>11</sup> An allusion to the Procession of Wepwawet in the Osirian Mysteries, cf. Ikhernofret, 17.

<sup>12</sup> On *tp-tr* see below, p. 21, n. 2. Here, however, it is a specific festival.

<sup>13</sup> The sign lost at the beginning of line 14 was  $\text{𓂏}$ , traces of which were once visible. 'In Peker' (written  $\text{𓂏}$ ) is expressed as a direct genitive. The allusion is to the burial of Osiris.

<sup>14</sup> I.e. of Abydos.

<sup>15</sup> Note the omission of the feminine ending in *kꜣ(t)*.


Below the main inscription are four registers representing members of the family of the deceased, though of the fourth and lowermost only a few names now remain; the fact that here alone the personal names have determinatives suggests that there were no corresponding figures below them and that not very much is lost. In the first register are two opposing groups each showing a man making an offering of a leg of beef to his parents. That on the right depicts *his son Dwersenkher* before *the blessed Yotsen, justified* and *his wife Iyet, justified*. These two latter are clearly Shen's parents, and the fact that it is not he that is making the offering to them suggests that he was a younger son. On the left *the blessed one, the sculptor<sup>1</sup> Shen, born of Iyet and his wife Ptaḥemsas* receive the offerings of *his brother Ptaḥi*. The subsequent registers contain each twelve named figures of male and female connexions of Shen's family, as under:

Second register. *The blessed one, the sculptor Shen, who perpetuates their names.*<sup>2</sup> This is apparently the man who designed the stela, or at any rate provided the list of persons to be commemorated upon it; it is not likely that he carved it, for the epithet *imḥ* suggests that he was already dead before this was done. He can hardly have been the Shen who was the owner of the stela, as that personage has already been depicted in the register above; possibly he was a son or a brother. The remaining names in the register run: *His son Senwosret. The blessed Henu. His wife Satseni. His brother Shen. His wife Sentyōtes. His son Ptaḥkau. His wife Rerwet. The blessed Akhtoi. His wife Rerwet. His brother Ptaḥnakhte. His brother Ptaḥkau.*


Third register. *His brother<sup>3</sup> ḲAntisaf.<sup>4</sup> His wife Iyu. Her son Yōtef. Her daughter Hathōr. Her son Ptaḥnakhte. Her son ḲAntinakhte. Her son Ptaḥnakhte. His brother Akhtoi. His brother Akhtoi. His brother ḲAntisaf. His brother Shen. His brother Anupnekh.*


Fourth register. The first half is lost, but on what remains we can read: . . . [*ḲAnti(?)*]-*saf. His brother Ptaḥnakhte. His sister Ip. . . His brother Shen.*

In the above list of persons it is not always clear to whom the pronouns refer, so that it is difficult to disentangle the family relationships with any degree of confidence. The fact that no fewer than eight members of the family bear names compounded with that of the god Ptaḥ and at least three have names alluding to the god ḲAnti suggests connexions on the one hand with Memphis and on the other with the XVIIIth nome of Upper Egypt:<sup>5</sup> there is no suggestion that the family was resident at Itjet-towē, so it would seem that the young sculptor Shen left his home for the capital to try his fortune before finally settling down and achieving success at Abydos.

<sup>1</sup> Miswritten .

<sup>2</sup> Read *imḥ gnwty Šn sḥn rn:sn.*

<sup>3</sup> The sculptor has carved , but the name and accompanying figure are alike masculine.

<sup>4</sup> The reading  seems confirmed by the name Ptaḥemsas above and by a second occurrence of the name ḲAntisaf in the same register.


<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, Commentary, p. 52.



STELA OF THE MASTER-SCULPTOR SHEN

## TUTHMOSIS III RETURNS THANKS TO AMŪN

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

IN the course of the last visit I was destined to pay to Georges Legrain at Karnak, that friendly Egyptologist demonstrated to me the method he was employing to reconstruct whole walls out of a multitude of inscribed fragments. The blocks with which he was at that moment engaged belonged to a lengthy hieroglyphic text in which Tuthmosis III set forth the benefactions whereby he manifested his gratitude to Amūn for the great victory accorded to him at Megiddo. Legrain had photographed to scale all the larger pieces, and had pasted prints upon blocks of wood of the exact shape of the original stones. Thus he hoped to build up within his own workshop an exact model of all that was left of this important historical record. Unhappily the undertaking was left unfinished. Legrain died in 1917 and I have never been able to ascertain what became of the miniature blocks I had seen at his house. He had, however, favoured me with prints from his negatives, and six or seven years ago I cut out the separate pieces and tried my hand at putting them together. In this I was successful beyond all expectation. Before long it emerged that the tops of all the vertical columns had survived, besides considerable portions of the text below. To the left of these 103 columns was a scene of the king enthroned, and to the right parts of a calendar of feasts. The lay-out was in fact closely similar to that of another long inscription<sup>1</sup> of the same reign partially extant on the south wall of the chambers immediately south of the Sanctuary, namely that famous inscription in which Breasted found, or claimed to have found, an authentic account of Tuthmosis III's elevation to the kingship.<sup>2</sup> The two texts turn out to be as closely parallel in content as they are in outer form, though that with which we are here concerned refers mainly to the part of the great temple of Karnak which lies to the east of the Middle Kingdom area and is generally known as Tuthmosis III's Festival Hall, in Egyptian  'Beneficent of Monuments', primarily an epithet of the Pharaoh himself, but subsequently applied to the actual building.<sup>3</sup>

The skill of Miss Broome<sup>4</sup> having provided me with admirable drawings made from Legrain's photographs, I was well equipped at the conclusion of the Second World War to take further steps for an adequate publication. Permission to undertake this was readily given me by M. Drioton and M. Chevrier at the Paris Congress of Orientalists (1948). But even previously, in the early part of 1947, I had been in correspondence with a member of the Chicago Institute who ought by rights to have become the joint-

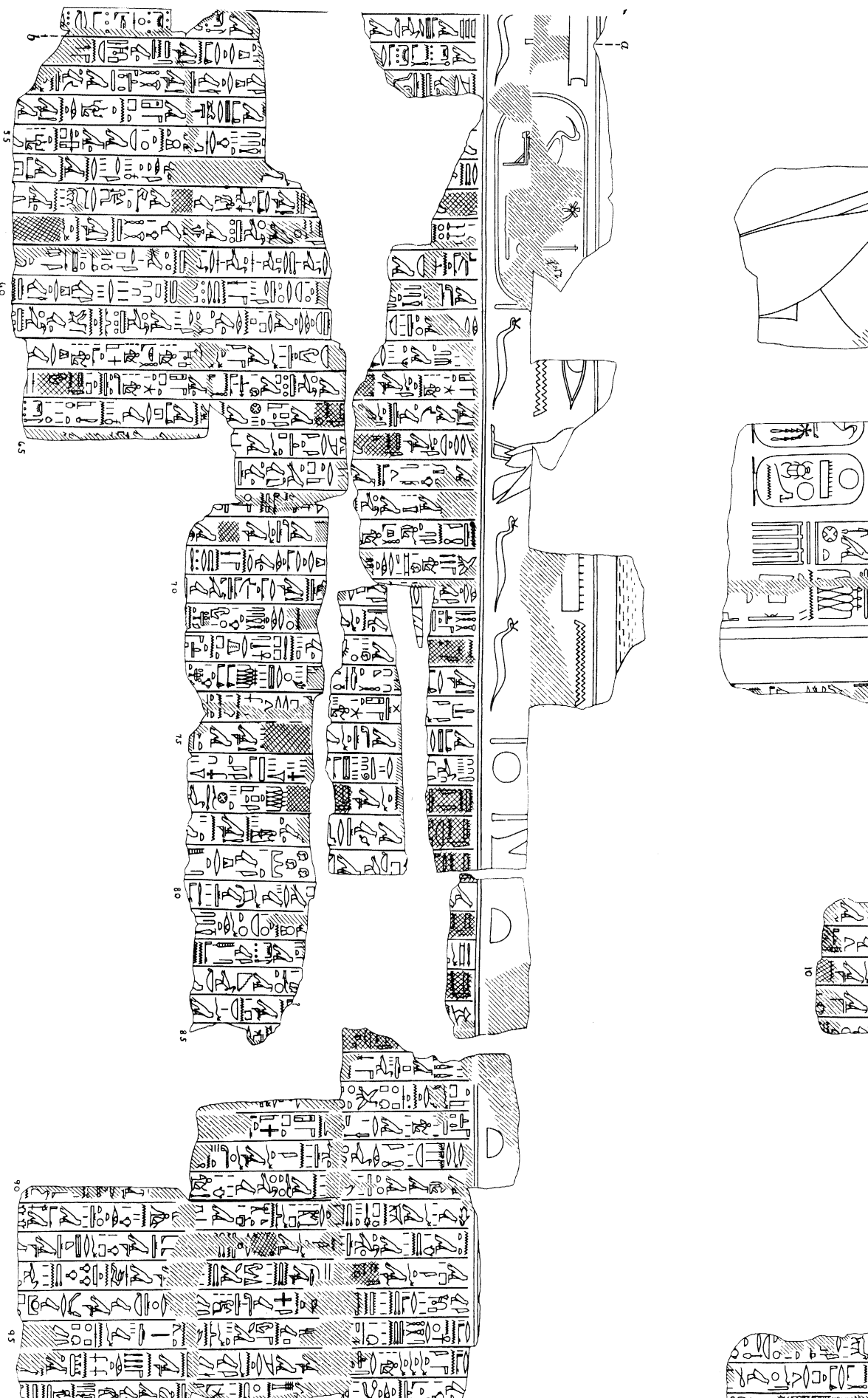
<sup>1</sup> Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II, pp. 39-41, Nos. 112-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV, 155-76; Breasted, *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III*, in K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen* II, part 2, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* I, 14, 12. 13. Examples of both uses will be found in *Urk.* IV, 855 ff. *Wb.* renders *mit herrlichen Denkmälern*; I am not prepared to dogmatize as to the superiority of my own rendering.

<sup>4</sup> I have also to thank Mrs. Davies for completing the drawings when, to Miss Broome's great regret, circumstances prevented her from doing so herself.

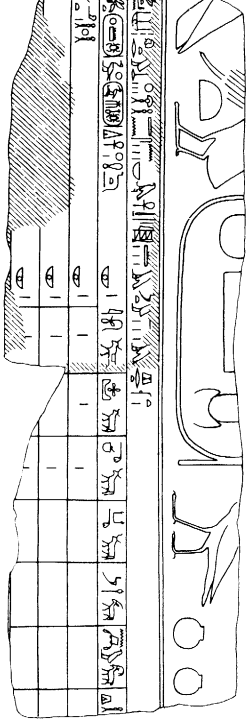
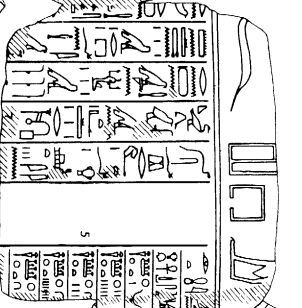
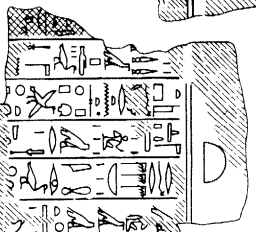
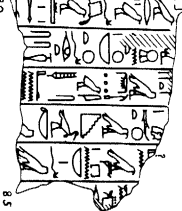
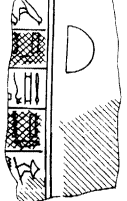
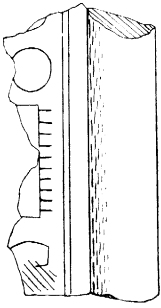
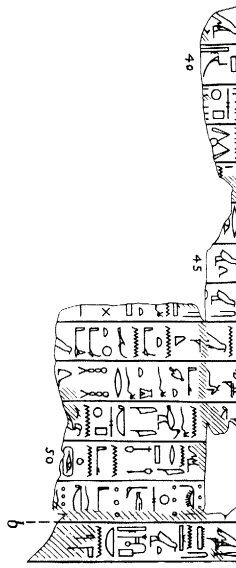




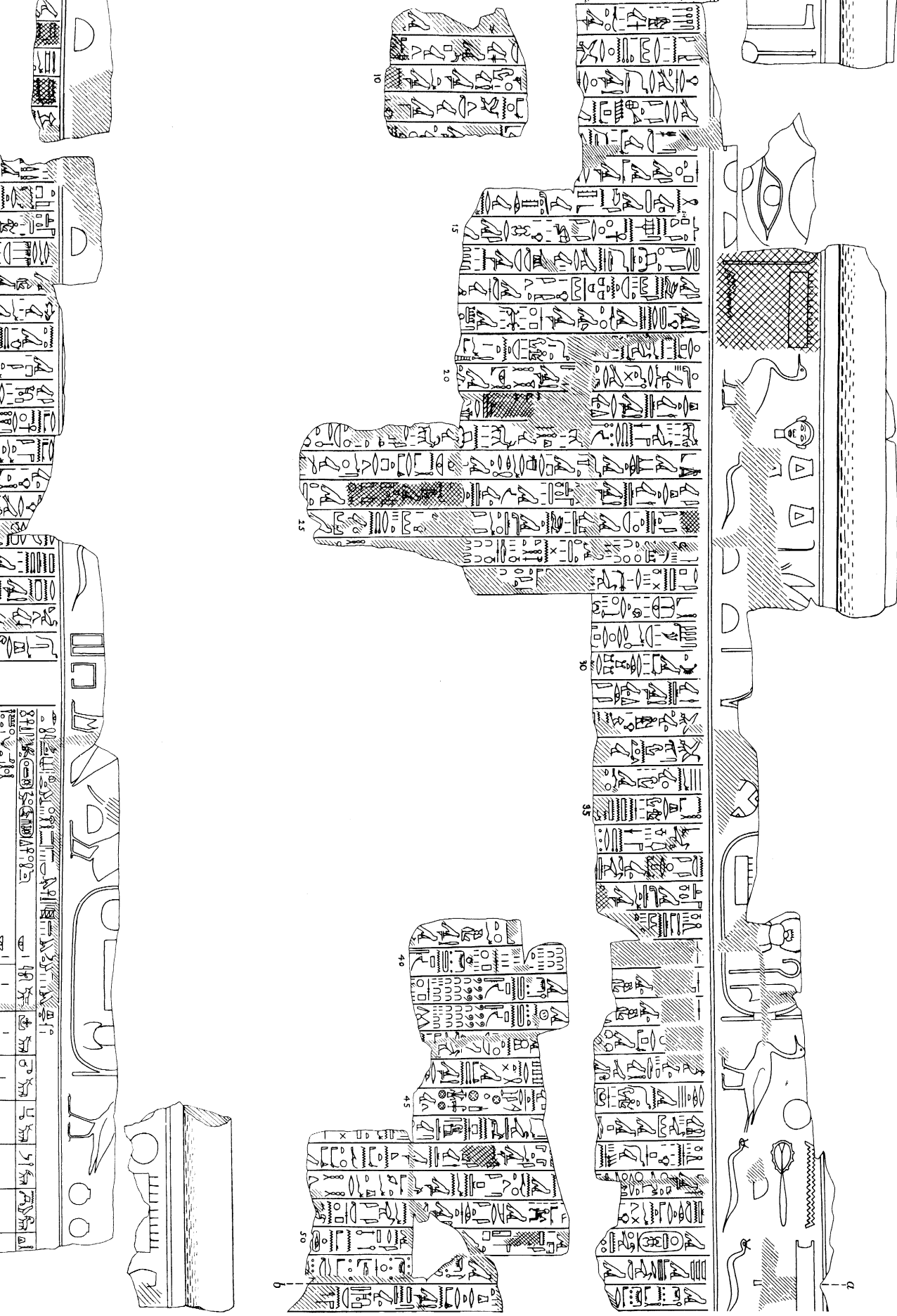
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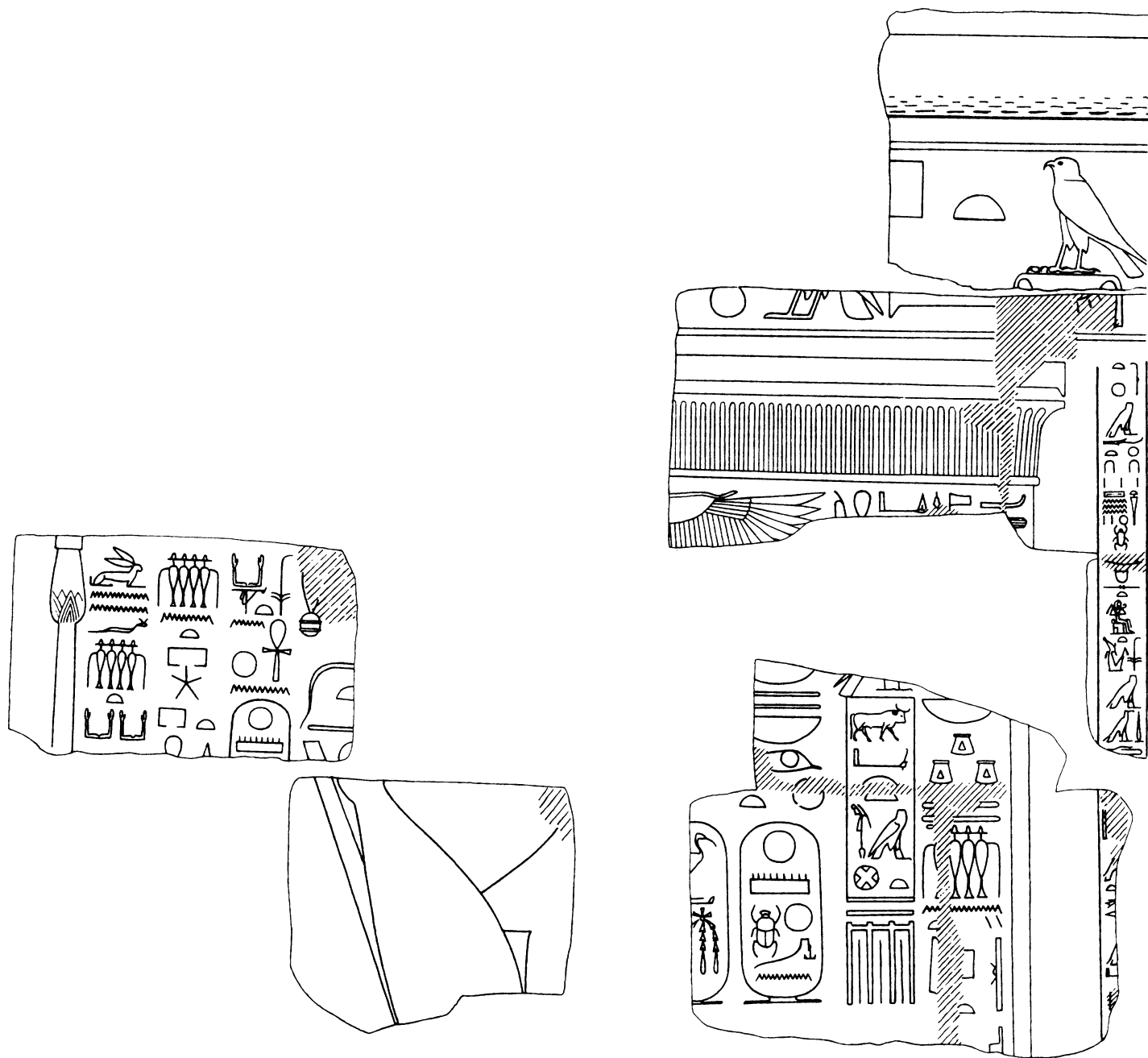
For bottoms of columns and all the more important fragments, placed and unplaced



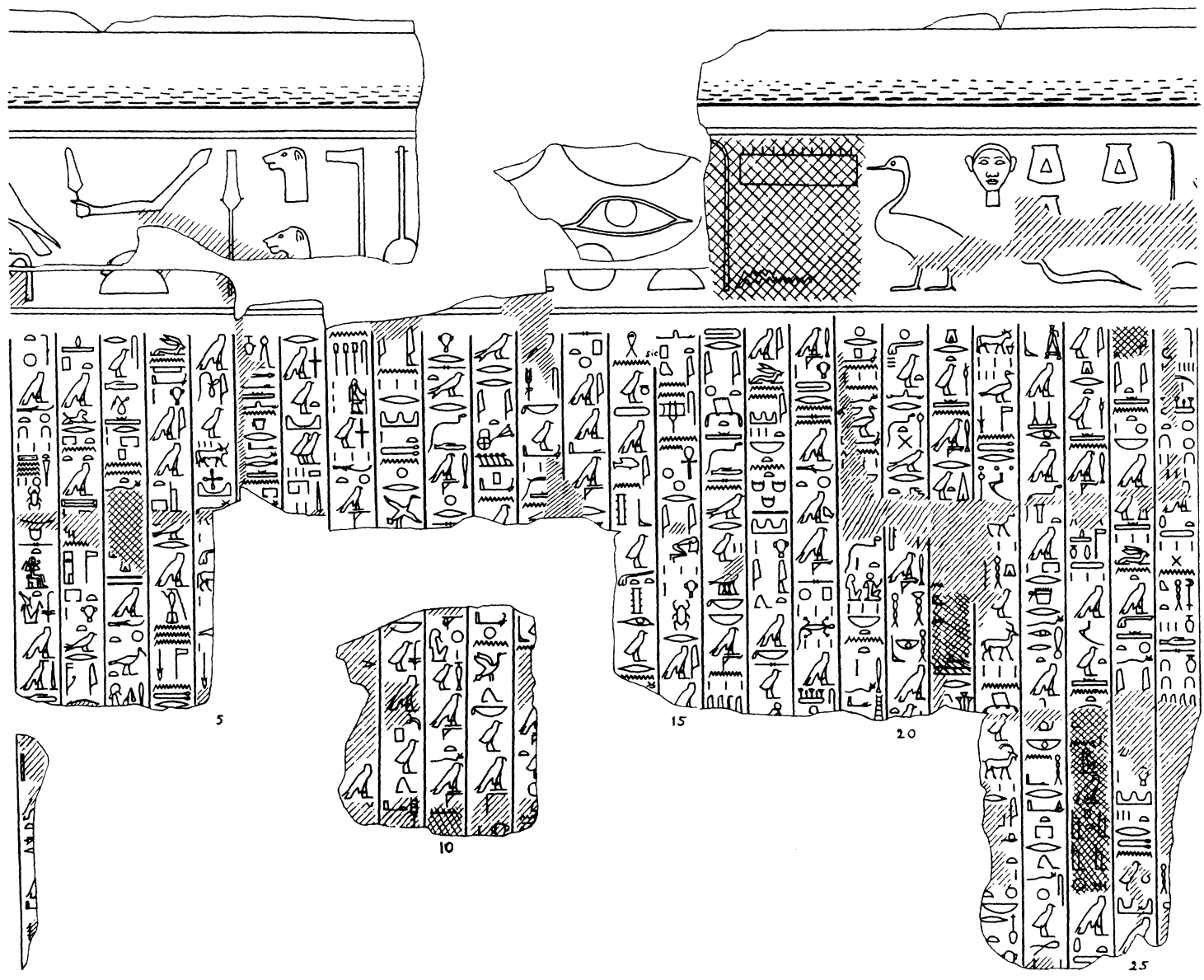


Reconstruction of the top of the entire length of the wall  
 ans and all the more important fragments, placed and unplaced, see Plates III-IX





Two-thirds of height lost

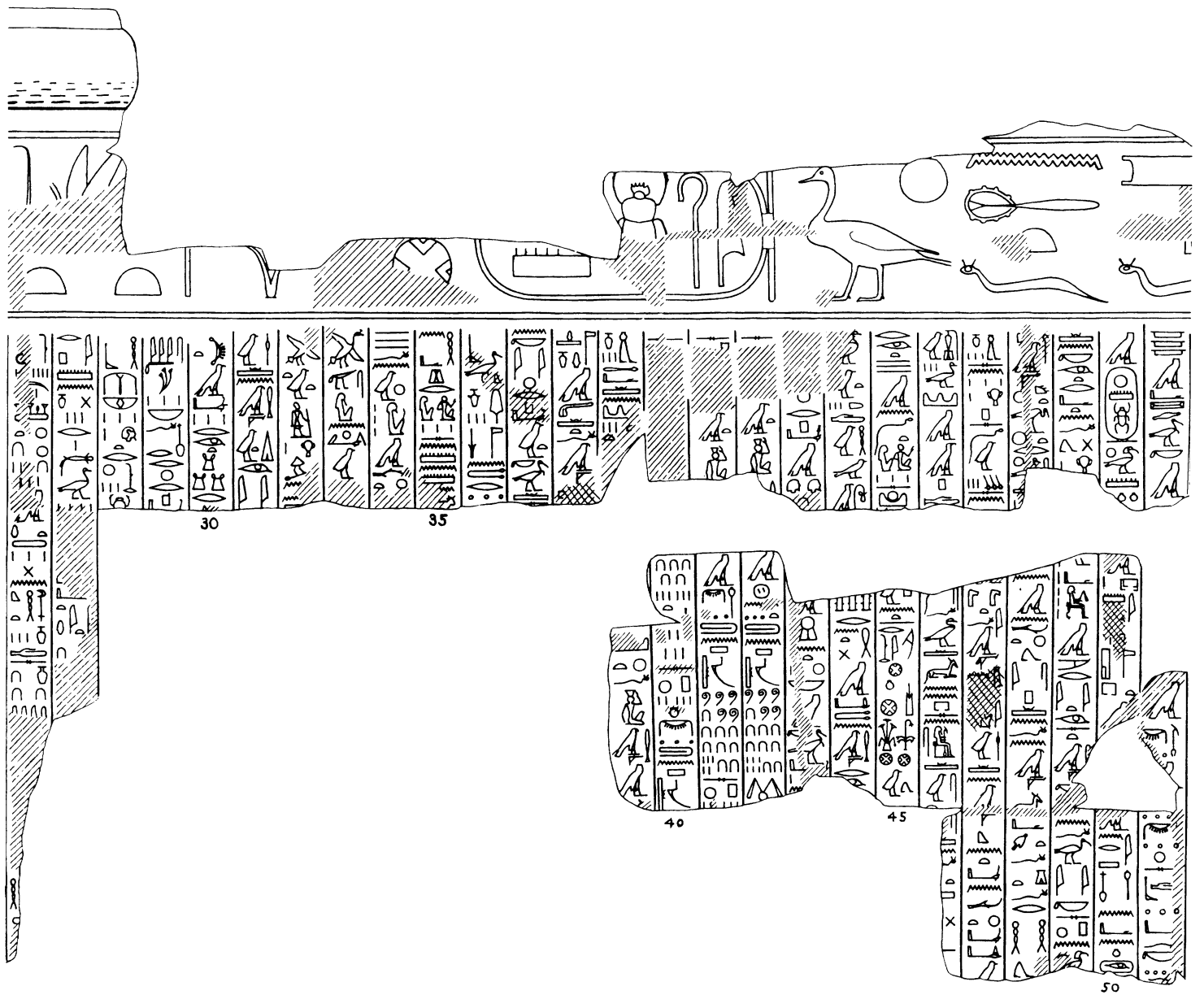


two-thirds of column lost

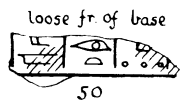
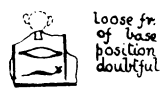
Loose fr. of vase seen by M. Lacau

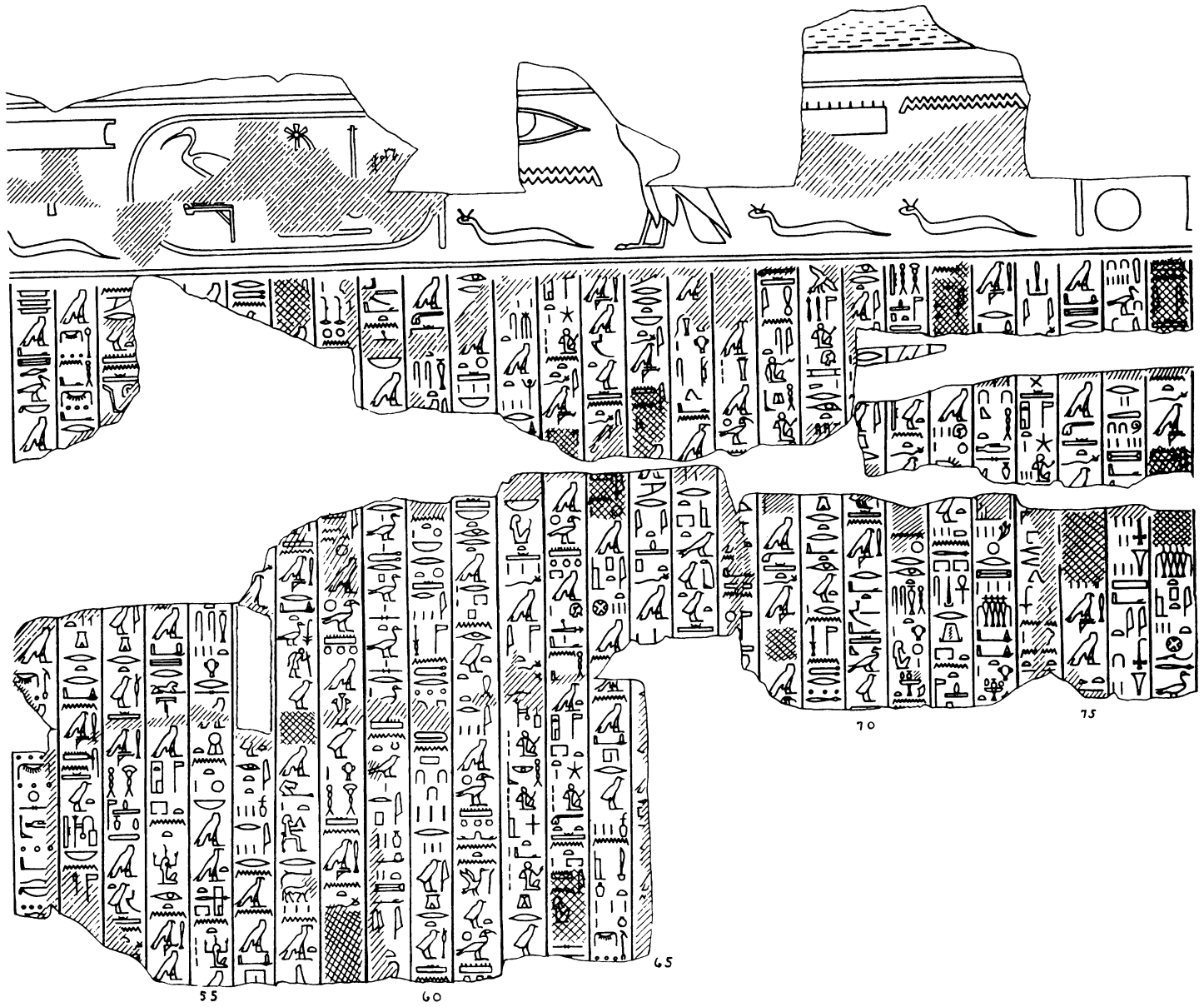


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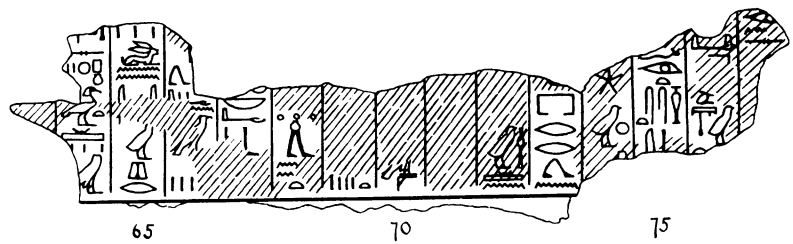
two-thirds of column lost



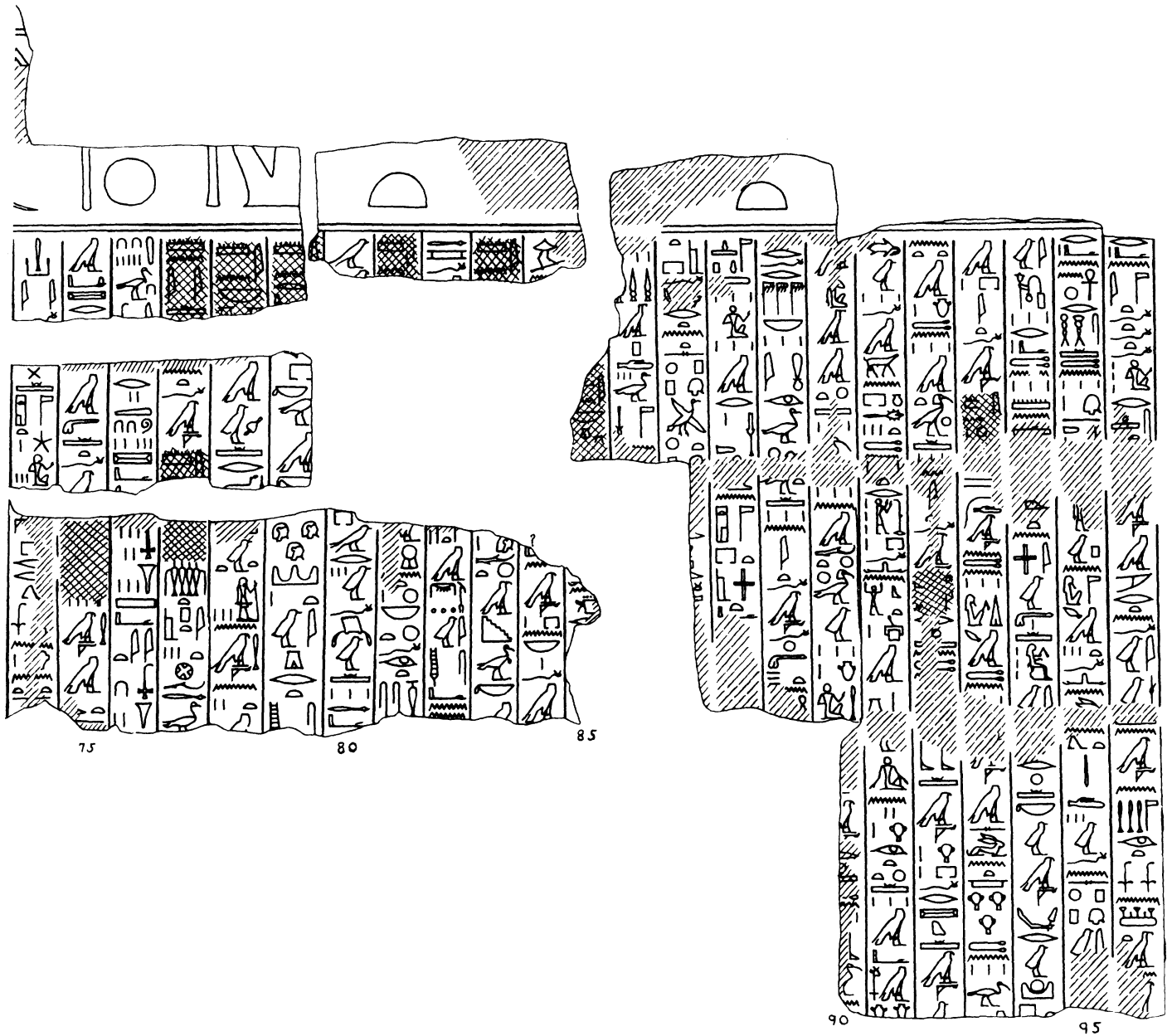


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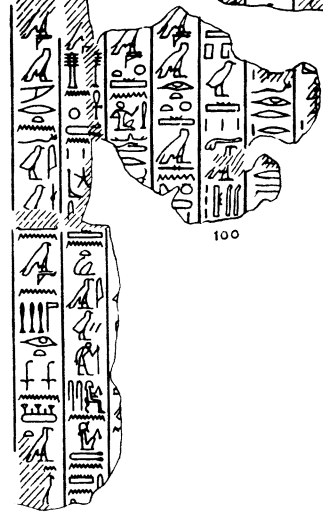
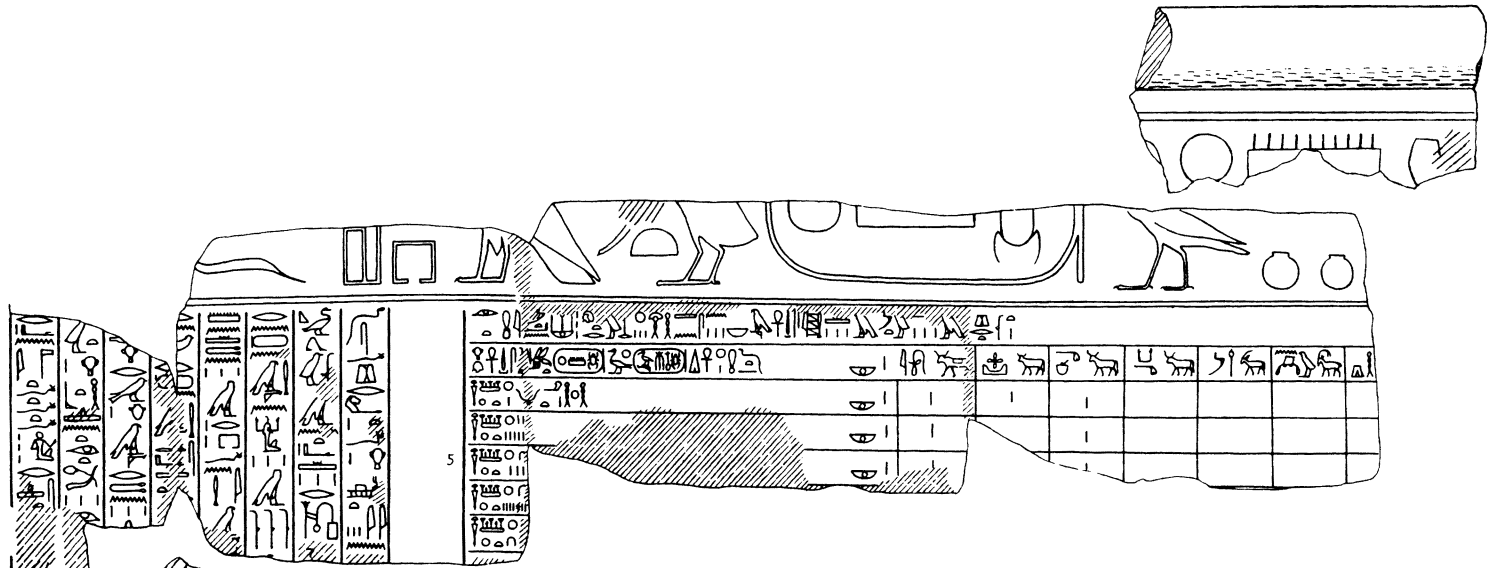
still in situ



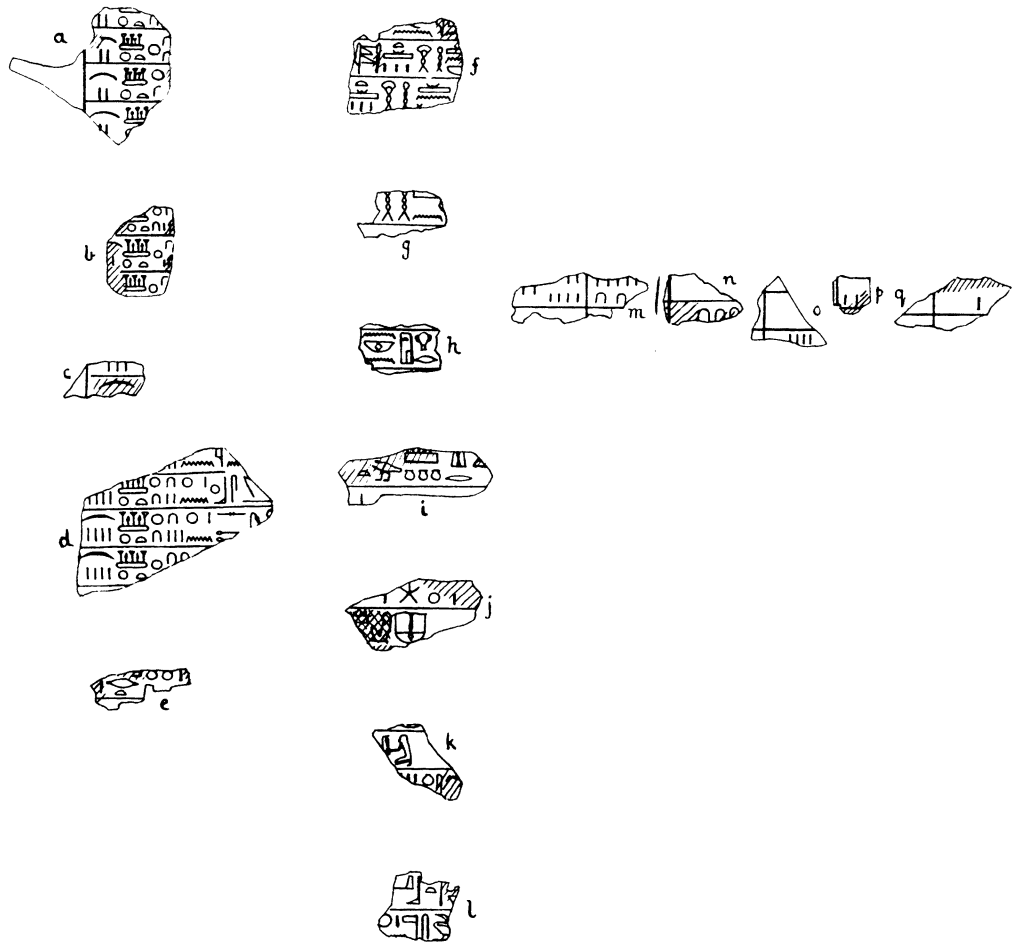


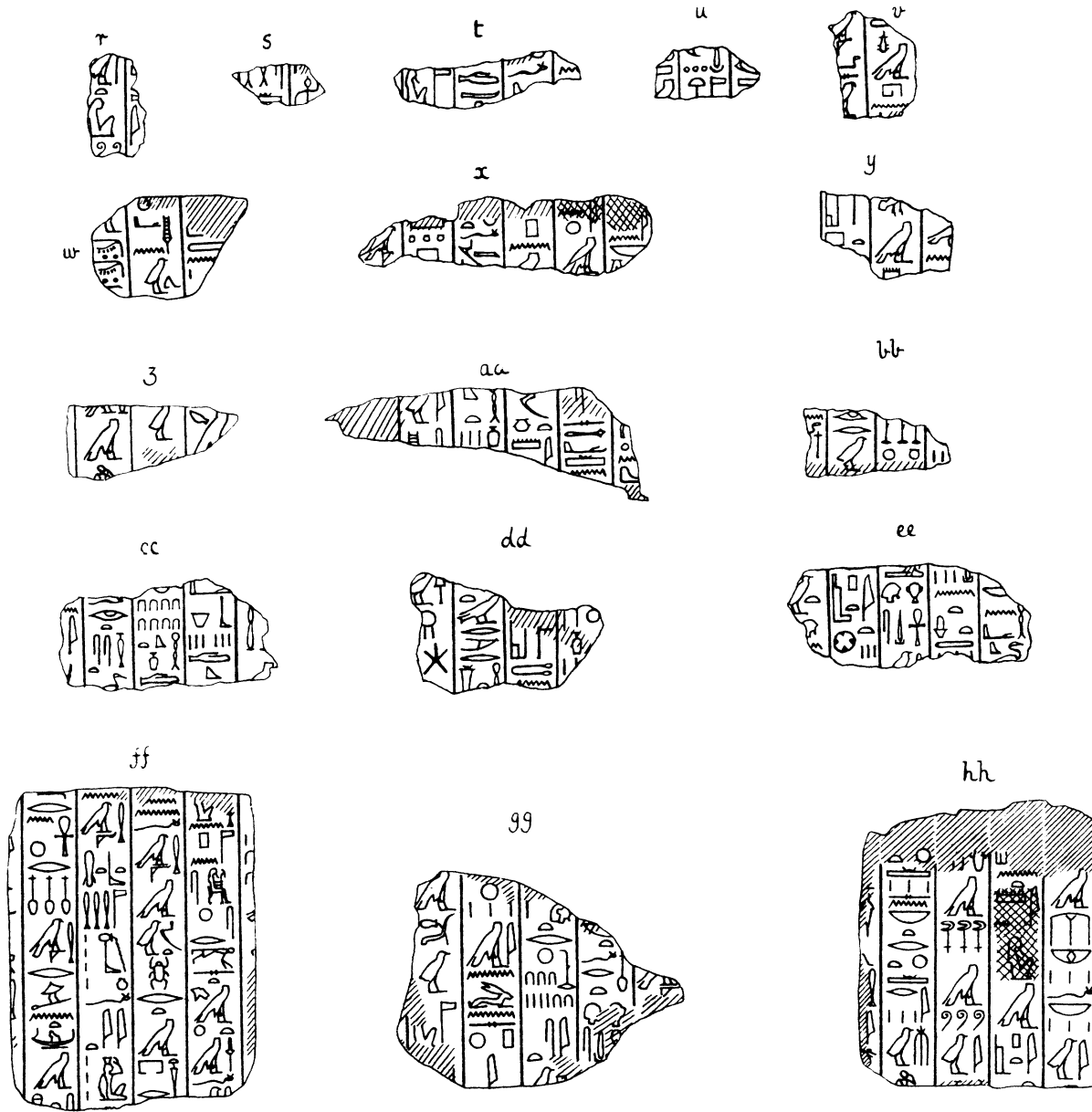


two-thirds of  
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Unplaced Fragments





KARNAK, FESTIVAL HALL OF TUTHMOSIS III, SOUTH WALL  
The more important of the unplaced fragments

author of the present article. To Professor C. F. Nims I owe not only excellent photographs and collations of nearly all the blocks still discoverable, but also knowledge of the lower parts of 14 lines (ll. 64–77) still *in situ*,<sup>1</sup> as well as of over 120 fragments mostly too small to reproduce, and which have in fact proved of but little service. It was not until February 1951 that I was myself able to revisit Egypt, and to investigate the whole problem anew under the guidance of Professor Nims. Together we recollated the majority of the larger fragments, many of them ranged side by side between Ramesses II's girdle wall and the Sacred Lake, but others removed to near the canal beside the road leading from the Nile to M. Chevrier's house. It is to be hoped that the present article will facilitate the gathering together of all the blocks and their building up into the kind of reconstruction contemplated by Legrain. It must be admitted, however, that a few of the blocks are missing, that the edges of some of them have suffered loss owing to removal from place to place, and that the large number of small fragments not dealt with in this publication will be an obstacle rather than an advantage in the achievement of this aim. Before going on to discuss the inscription as a whole, I have one more acknowledgement to make: M. Lacau, who has shown himself keenly interested in my enterprise, mostly kindly placed at my disposal early hand-copies of his own. Though these added but little to what had been ascertainable from Legrain's photographs and our subsequent collations, they afforded satisfactory assurance that no block of importance had been overlooked. Also we observed with pleasure that M. Lacau had found the true sequence of all the columns copied by him, and had identified as belonging to the same inscription the bottoms of columns still *in situ*, as already described.

The inscription originally occupied the full height of the southern side of the Festival Hall, inside the girdle wall of Ramesses II.<sup>2</sup> A curious fact noted by both M. Lacau and Professor Nims is that the upper part of our text is of sandstone, while the lower courses of the same wall were of limestone. Professor Nims proved to me that this is no unprecedented feature, and M. Lacau made the plausible suggestion—that the reasons why only the tops of lines are—except in the place already mentioned—preserved are, firstly that near the ground the wall is more accessible to damp, and secondly that limestone, when wet, disintegrates much more quickly than sandstone. Certainly Tuthmosis III's architects had been none too farsighted in this matter. The length of the south wall of the Festival Hall is about 42 metres, and the length of the inscription as here published, together with what remains of the initial scene, is approximately 24 metres. The dates of festivals in the calendar to the right are shown by an unplaced fragment to have extended as far down into the year as at least the first day of the fourth (or third?) month of winter.<sup>3</sup> It is probable that the list continued to the end of the calendar year. If, as we shall find to be indicated by an unplaced fragment,<sup>4</sup> fifty-four festivals were recorded, there would be room for these in a single tabular section without

<sup>1</sup> There are also three other pieces showing the bottoms of columns, but they are not *in situ*, being only loose fragments.

<sup>2</sup> See the plan in Porter & Moss, *op. cit.* II, 40. The bottoms of lines still *in situ* are found just outside the room there marked XI.

<sup>3</sup> See pl. VIII, fragm. *e*.

<sup>4</sup> Fragm. *gg* on pl. IX.

recourse to one farther towards the right, though the wall would probably have allowed room for this latter.





A long dedicatory line in hieroglyphs of monumental size ran along the top of the wall under the torus moulding. Let it be noted once and for all that, both here and in the main text beneath, the name of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> with its accompanying epithet has everywhere been cut out by the adherents of Akhenaten, and subsequently restored, presumably under Sethos I; the restoration may not always agree with what stood in the original. After this necessary preliminary remark I proceed to translate the dedicatory line<sup>1</sup> which can best be read in the double plate pl. II. [*The Horus* (called) '*Strong-bull-arisen-in-Thebes*', the *Two-Ladies* (called) '*Enduring-of-kingship*]-like-[Rē<sup>c</sup>]-in-heaven', the *Horus of Gold* (called) '*Holy-of-appearings-powerful-of-strength*', the *Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Achievement, son of Amūn*<sup>2</sup> upon his thrones, *King of Upper and Lower Egypt*, [prince] of *South [and North]*,<sup>3</sup> '*Menkheperre<sup>c</sup>-prince-of-Truth*', *Son of Rē<sup>c</sup> of his body, beloved of him, 'Tuthmosis-beautiful-of-forms*'. He made as his monument for his father Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>. . . . . [the making for] him of a [Great] Mansion<sup>4</sup> as (something) new (named) Menkheperre<sup>c</sup>-Beneficent-of-Monuments [in the House of his father Amūn].

The scene to the left of the main text showed the king, accompanied by his *ka*, seated within a none too ornate baldachin facing right. The general appearance, though in rather more elaborate form, will be seen in Naville, *Deir el Bahari* [III], pl. 85, which is of special value as enabling us to estimate the height of the neighbouring inscription when it was complete. In Naville's publication the distance from the sky above the canopy to the bottom of the crown is a trifle above half the distance thence to the ground on which the dais rests.<sup>5</sup> From this we may conclude that the longest of the existing upper parts of columns (ll. 54-64) have preserved little more than one-third of their original height. In these circumstances all we can hope to obtain is a rough idea of the purport of the whole, but even so we shall have gathered enough novel information to justify our present venture. The legends accompanying the king and his *ka* are too banal to be worth translating. His face is turned towards the right, where we must imagine to have been standing the courtiers whom he addresses. This accounts for the peculiar disposition both of the columns themselves and of the hieroglyphs within them. The columns follow one another from left to right, which is the direction in which the king's words were spoken. Nor could the signs with which those words were written be turned towards him, since in that case they would never have reached their intended audience. We find precisely the same considerations governing the above quoted inscription of Tuthmosis III to the south of the Sanctuary at Karnak, as well the long text to which the Dēr-el-Bahri scenes served as the frontispiece.

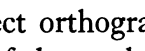
<sup>1</sup> The titulary differs only slightly from that usually found on the monuments of Tuthmosis III. For its main constituents see *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 92.



<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 585, 6, but there without *hr nswt:f*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *hkꜣ·k Šmꜣw Mhw*, *Urk.* IV, 561, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Probably  , not simply  ; so in connexion with this particular temple, *Urk.* IV, 745, 14; 865, 14-16, as well as in Col. 55 of the main text below.

<sup>5</sup> Actually 11.5 cm. as compared with 21.5 cm.



What remains of the first two columns, taken in conjunction with the preceding scene, describes the situation underlying the entire inscription. The date at the beginning reads: *Regnal year after 23, first month of Summer, day 2*. This dating, as I have explained in *JEA* 31, 16, is an archaistic imitation of the method employed in the Old Kingdom, when the correct orthography would have been {  }, to be rendered *Year after the 23rd time* (of the cattle-census), i.e. the forty-seventh year of the reign. In the article in question I was over-hasty in assuming that the twenty-fourth year was here intended, though I still believe this assumption to have been upon the right lines. We have no means of telling when the inscription was actually carved. Since it stands upon the south wall of the Festival Hall, it must be posterior to the building of that splendid addition to the main temple, but when this was completed is apparently unknown. It is certain, however, that the datings in the early part of Year 23 at the beginning of Tuthmosis III's Annals were retrospective, since the very same inscription mentions Year 40.<sup>1</sup> The suggestion I now make is that there was a good reason apart from the mere love of archaism why the author of our text chose the mode of expression here under discussion. On the fourth day of the first month of summer, being Tuthmosis III's accession day, the number of the regnal year would have moved one place forward (*JEA* xxxi, 26), and our text bears a date only two days earlier. Thus, although according to the mode of dating current in the Eighteenth Dynasty the date in Year 23, ix. 2 was still in Year 23, this was so close to Year 24 that it might well be considered as belonging thereto. Hence, according to my conjecture, originated the form of dating here chosen. We shall soon find Tuthmosis III alluding to the victory at Megiddo only seventeen days after the beginning of Year 23, and the present report of a formal meeting between the king and his courtiers 346 days later allows a suitable time to have elapsed in which Tuthmosis could have laid his plans for honouring the god to whom he owed his great military success. With this view agrees the generally accepted view that there was no fresh military campaign in Year 24; Tuthmosis will have been remaining at home and able to give his whole mind to peaceful undertakings.

The date is followed by the words *there occurred a sitting<sup>2</sup> of the king in the Audience Hall of the West, behold (?)*. . . . ., the restoration  being guaranteed by the existing traces combined with exactly the same expression in an inscription at Dēr el-Bahri (*Urk.* iv, 257, 1).<sup>3</sup> Following this, the actual narrative may have started with .

**Col. 2.** *Resting in the gateway which is in the Northern<sup>4</sup> Lake of the temple purifying* . . . . . It is difficult to harmonize these words with the

<sup>1</sup> See Sethe's remarks, *Urk.* iv, 672 ff. Grapow's criticisms (*Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten*, 12) do not invalidate the statement here made; they turn solely on the use made by Sethe of this date in Year 40 for his interpretation of other parts of the Annals.

<sup>2</sup> *Ḥpr ḥmst*, e.g. *Urk.* iv, 256, 17; 349, 10; similarly *ḥpr swt snḏm*, *ibid.* 26, 12.

<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted, however, that there is no visible trace of  and that the  found at the end of the Dēr el-Bahri parallel is here absent. The latter sign is probably a spurious determinative borrowed from the Old Kingdom term registered *Wb.* i, 73, 8; here there can be no reference to a priestly phylē as supposed in Sethe's translation of the *Urkunden*, p. 118, bottom.

<sup>4</sup> The traces suit *mḥty* well.

situation described in col. 1. *Htp* may be an absolutely used infinitive as in *Urk.* iv, 656, 6 (of the king); Legrain and Naville, *L'aile nord*, pl. 14 (of the boat of Amūn resting in its shrine after being carried in procession). If the reference is to the king, perhaps a preliminary to the royal session was here described; in that case *m-ht* 'after' might have stood at the bottom of col. 1.

**Cols. 3-6.** . . . . . (3) *renovate this sanctuary for [my] father Amūn, lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, after My Majesty had found* . . . . .  
. . . . . (4) *unveiling there in the Great Seat with libation and incense* . . . . .  
. . . . . (5) *with iwꜣ-bulls, shorthorns, steers, geese and incense* . . . . .  
. . . . . (6) *a great gift unlimited. (I?) filled his house* . . . . .

It seems likely that all these tops of columns belong to the king's speech, in which case we might restore at the beginning something like [*The desire of My Majesty is to*] *renovate*. Throughout this text *My Majesty* is elsewhere always written ꜥꜣ, just as the suffix 1st pers. sing. referring to the king in other contexts is regularly written ꜣ (e.g. cols. 8, 13, 18, 48), but ꜣꜣ is used as suffix in cols. 93, 97, so that ꜥꜣꜣ at the bottom of col. 3 need not be completed into ꜥꜣꜣꜣ 'His Majesty', for which ꜥꜣ is written in col. 19. What the king 'had found' is a mystery; he could hardly have pretended that the temple of Karnak had fallen into ruins, which is the usual statement in passages of this kind. For the various senses of *wn hr* see *Wb.* i. 312, 15. 16; 313, 1-5; I imagine the unveiling of the god's statue to be the sense referred to here, but this does not accord well with the concluding words of col. 4. In ꜣ of col. 6 the suffix 1st sing. appears to be omitted, the sole case of such omission in our text; curiously enough it is in precisely the same phrase that the suffix is omitted in *Urk.* iv, 767, 1, on a stela which elsewhere always uses ꜥꜣꜣ or ꜣꜣ alone.

**Cols. 7-8.** . . . . . (7) *between the mountains of Djahi* . . . . .  
. . . . . (8) *to the courtiers who were (or are?) in my suite* . . . . .

Those familiar with the inscriptions of Tuthmosis III will at once realize that he is here about to recall the famous victory at Megiddo of which he was so proud, and in cols. 9-20 we shall note the well-worn phrases employed elsewhere in describing that event. A list of the passages in question is given by Grapow on pp. 20-22 of the essay quoted above p. 9, n. 1, but at the time of compiling it he had not yet obtained knowledge of the important Armant stela utilized by Faulkner in *JEA* 28, 14. The difficulty in the two columns dealt with here is to account for the reference to the courtiers of the king's entourage. Is Tuthmosis, in speaking to his court on Year 23, ix. 2, recounting what he had said to the nobles on an earlier occasion? Here, as elsewhere, I refuse to indulge in restorations of the text which, however plausible, rest upon no sufficient basis of evidence.

**Cols. 9-20.** . . . . . (9) *we came to this land. Now it[s(?) prince, be]hold he was in hiding.<sup>2</sup> Then* . . . . . (10) *on account of it greatly.*

<sup>1</sup> Here and hereafter words intentionally erased and subsequently restored are printed in roman.  
<sup>2</sup> *Kpw*, perhaps an abstract like *ksw* in col. 17. The det. Δ is strange. For the verb *kꜣp* see *Wb.* v, 104, 14-17.

*My Majesty said to th[em: As] Rēc [lives for me and loves] me,<sup>1</sup> and as my father [Amen-Rēc] praises me . . . . . (11) chariot. I took . . . . .  
 alighting in . . . . . (12) with squadrons (?).<sup>2</sup> [I?] filled<sup>3</sup>  
 . . . . . [my] arising(?). They fled<sup>4</sup>. . . . . (13)  
 what remained therefrom in my hand to . . . . .  
 . . . . . (14) surrounded with a thick wall<sup>5</sup> the name of which  
 was made to be . . . . . (15) they could not breathe the breath  
 of life.<sup>6</sup> A battle<sup>7</sup> occurred there in . . . . . (16) a long space  
 of time, they saying: 'How great is thy might, our lord and sovereign. . . . .'<sup>8</sup>  
 . . . . . (17) there. Thereupon came all countries of the ends of the earth  
 bowing down . . . . . (18) [the heart of (?)] My Majesty  
 turned to them after I had heard many occasions of supplication<sup>9</sup> . . . . .  
 . . . . . (19) that we may offer to him all our produce<sup>10</sup> [like?] all subjects of His  
 Majesty. Thereupon . . . . . (20) who planned to harm  
 Egypt.<sup>11</sup>*

It will have been seen from the notes that the phraseology of this passage agrees closely with that of other accounts of the Megiddo victory. Among the unplaced fragments there are at least two which may with some probability be placed in the lower part of cols. 18–19. The larger of them (pl. IX, *hh*) shows in consecutive lines . . . . .  
*all their things. List thereof: children [of the princes(?)] . . . . . [gifts?] in  
 thousands and hundreds . . . . . of Amün in Ipet-Esut . . . . . in  
 all his festivals . . . . .* On the smaller (pl. IX, *r*) we read *Asiatic women,*  
 3(?)00. The reference is, of course, to tribute and persons surrendered to Pharaoh as hostages or slaves.

**Cols. 20–43.** We pass now into a portion of the text in which the institution of new festivals and offerings was recorded, together with references to certain ceremonies and the like the performance of which was prescribed by the king. Too little of the context remains for a coherent narrative to be made of it. *My Majesty commanded to institute<sup>12</sup>  
 a new festival . . . . . (21) My Majesty commanded that one should cause  
 [Amen-Rēc, lord of Thrones of] the Two Lands, [to come] out<sup>13</sup> . . . . .*

<sup>1</sup> For this exact oath see *Urk.* IV, 751, 17 and *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 218.

<sup>2</sup> One might have expected *m skw ršw* as in *Urk.* IV, 653, 9, but the next group is quite clearly *mḥn*.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'seized' *mḥ* [*m*].

<sup>4</sup> *Wth-n-sn*, with a verb not unusual in the inscriptions of Tuthmosis III, e.g. *ZÄS* 69, 29 (l. 13); *Temples of Armant*, pl. 103, l. 14; *Urk.* IV, 767, 9.

<sup>5</sup> In closely similar context *šnw*, see *Urk.* IV, 184, 16; 758, 16; *inb n wmtt*, *Urk.* IV, 767, 11. For the synonyms found elsewhere in accounts of the Megiddo episode see Grapow, op. cit. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Identically *Urk.* IV, 758, 15.

<sup>7</sup> It is uncertain whether *hry* or *hryt* should be read; both forms are found.

<sup>8</sup> For the sense of this and the next two lines see particularly *Urk.* IV, 759. 907; *ZÄS* 69, 32 (ll. 23–24). Cf. too *wr bꜣw-k*, Davies, *Tomb of Huy*, pl. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *phr ib-k n sšy n-k*, Piehl, *Inscr. Hier.*, I, 131, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 759, 12, where Sethe has perhaps wrongly taken *bꜣk-n* as a verb.

<sup>11</sup> Rendering rather doubtful. *Wb.* III, 211–13 quotes no examples of *hꜣ* followed by *r*.

<sup>12</sup> It is surprising to find *wꜣ hm-i* here without any introductory *iw*.

<sup>13</sup> Probably [*pr*]. . . . *r hꜣ*.



. . . . . (22) *steers of the herd,<sup>1</sup> geese, incense, oryxes, gazelles, ibexes, wine, drink-offerings and all good things on [behalf of the life, prosperity and health of My Majesty?]<sup>2</sup>*  
 . . . . . (23) *clothing in linen and offering ointment in the entire house as is done in the New Year festival, and one shall cause the cast off garment to go forth<sup>3</sup>*  
 . . . . . (24) *And My Majesty commanded to be instituted new offerings for his father Amen-[Rē<sup>c</sup>] in Ipet-Esut of bread . . . . . consisting of the*  
 . . . . . (25) *daily loaves<sup>4</sup> of every day in excess of what there was before when [My Majesty] returned from the countries of Retjnu in . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (26) *regnal year 7,<sup>5</sup> first month of Inundation, day 16, consisting of bread, various, 1000; beer, 30 jugs; vegetables*  
 . . . . . (27) *wine, 3 measures;<sup>6</sup> fattened geese<sup>7</sup> . . . . . cakes, 10(?) . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (28) *the calendar festivals<sup>8</sup> which occur . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (29) *all good vegetables to offer . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (30) *field-workers to make sacks (?)<sup>9</sup> into (?) . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (31) *My Majesty commanded that one should cause to be made . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (32) *the statue moving in procession (?) . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (33) *the tabernacle<sup>10</sup> . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (34) *the lands of the Fenkhu after . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (35) *with their inhabitants, cattle . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (36) *oil, incense . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (37) *to another, produce is offered . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (38) *divine offerings before my father Amūn . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (39) *great tribute of foreign lands . . . . . My Majesty weighed (?) a[new] . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (40) . . . . . 56, . . . . . 3, 5 *times of gold, new deben-weight . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (41) . . . . . *weighing . . . . . of silver, new deben-weight 595, 5 times . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (42) . . . . . *weighing . . . . . of carnelian, new deben-weight 595, total . . . . .*  
 . . . . . (43) . . . . . *tribute of the heads (?) . . . . . in the course of every day consisting of the produce of . . . . .*

So distressingly defective are the remains of the twenty-four columns which I have here attempted to translate that some students may begrudge the space devoted to them.

<sup>1</sup> Probably to be read *kꜣw n idr*, see *Wb.* I, 154, 14, but the sign in front of the bull is clearly  $\dagger$ , not  $\cup$  as in the heading at the top of the calendar.

<sup>2</sup> In all probability *hr-tp ꜥnh, wdꜣ, snb hm-i*, a phrase which, though not occurring in our connected text, is found in the annexed Calendar and at least twice in the fragments, see below pl. IX, frags. *ee. gg.*, also *Urk.* IV, 188, 3; 768, 19 and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> The construction *hnc rdit pr* makes it probable that instructions are here being given for the ceremonial to be performed over the statue of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> on the particular festival day in question. For *irt mdt* see *Wb.* II, 185, 16.

<sup>4</sup> The position of *m ꜥkw* at the end of col. 24 seems assured by the entire phrase in *Urk.* IV, 745, 16-17, but how the ending *-w* at the bottom of col. 25 is to be explained is not clear.

<sup>5</sup> Almost certainly Year 7. The purpose of this date is quite obscure.

<sup>6</sup> *Mn*, see *Wb.* II, 66, 5.

<sup>7</sup> *R šd*, see *Wb.* IV, 565, 13; cf. *ht-ꜥ šd*, *ibid.* 755, 17; 770, 6; *ꜥš šd*, *ibid.* 756, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Hbw tp-trw*, see below, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> The reading and the hieroglyph itself appear to be unknown. The appearance is not unlike that seen in Wilkinson, ed. Birch, II, Fig. 474; also *JEA* 11, pl. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ssm n hꜣw*, thus rendered by me not very satisfactorily, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 16.

Nevertheless they have yielded at least one new hieroglyph and a few unknown or rare expressions or writings. More comment than could be given in a footnote is required for the word  $\text{𓆎}$  found in col. 42. Several examples of this, written  $\text{𓆎}$  and dating from the Twelfth Dynasty, have been found on stelae from the diorite quarries in the Western Desert.<sup>1</sup> Černý points out to me that the writing found in one inscription occurs in hieratic in the expression  $\langle \text{𓆎} \rangle$  'red beads are there of *mhnt*',<sup>2</sup> in the last word of which, as Erman duly observed, the first sign cannot possibly be  $\text{𓆎}$ . The same word, but in the fuller spelling  $\text{𓆎}$ , is found between *hsbd* 'lapis lazuli' and *mfk>t* 'turquoise' in the statement of the large amount of precious metals and semi-precious stones utilized by Amenophis III in the building and reliefs of his Karnak temple dedicated to Mont;<sup>3</sup> here Varille rendered 'cornaline', *anglice* 'carnelian', without giving a reason. That is the rendering usually given to  $\text{𓆎}$ , *hrst*, which similarly could be red in colour.<sup>4</sup> The evidence quoted in n. 1 shows that Varille may be right. It is impossible to doubt that our word is that written  $\text{𓆎}$  *mhnm* in a number of places (*Wb.* II, 132, 4), and depicted as of light red colour in the Theban tomb of Amunedjeh,<sup>5</sup> where the spelling is  $\text{𓆎}$ . Whether the word is identical or not with  $\text{𓆎}$  *hnmt* (*Wb.* III, 294, 4-8) must be left for others to decide; I denied it in one place,<sup>6</sup> translating *hnmt* as 'red jasper'; earlier<sup>7</sup> I hesitated between carnelian and red jasper. That sort of vacillation should not be condemned too harshly, being inherent in our studies; at all events it is equalled by the vacillations in the Egyptian spelling of this word or words. I now incline to equate *hnmt* and *mhnm*; possibly there had been a metathesis, in which case the alternative forms might be *hnmt* and *mhnt*. The appearance of  $\text{𓆎}$  or  $\text{𓆎}$  in the writing is accounted for by the variant  $\text{𓆎}$  *Mhn* for the town  $\text{𓆎}$  *Nhn* 'Hieraconpolis'.<sup>8</sup>

**Cols. 44-48.** In Col. 44, after some utterly obscure words,<sup>9</sup> Tuthmosis III announces an intention, and since the first allusion to the Festival Hall follows in col. 50 it seems not unreasonable to suppose that it is the building of this to which his words are leading up. In the intervening columns, however, there are further references to the Pharaoh's warlike exploits, so that the founding of the new temple may have been represented as a thanksgiving to Amen-Rē. (44) *ground low . . . . . walls . . . . . Behold ye, My Majesty will make . . . . . (45) will make the lands into its<sup>10</sup> slaves. They are the . . . . horizon<sup>11</sup> of Egypt, On of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>12</sup> come . . . . .*

<sup>1</sup> *Annales du Service*, 33, 71-72; the stones found in the neighbourhood are enumerated by Mr. Little, *ibid.* 79. Mr. G. W. Murray appears to have noticed carnelian pebbles on the road to these quarries, see Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*<sup>3</sup>, 448.

<sup>2</sup> *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, rt. 1, 1, cf. *Hieratische Papyrus aus . . . Berlin*, III, pl. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Varille, *Karnak I*, pl. 27, with p. 12. <sup>4</sup> *Wb.* II, 150, 9. <sup>5</sup> *JEA* 28, pl. 5, with p. 52, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* <sup>7</sup> *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, p. 41\*, n. 10. <sup>8</sup> *Onomastica*, II, under No. 320 of On. Am.

<sup>9</sup> The fragmentary *w*, followed later on by *šnt* with the unexampled determinative *x*, suggests that some defect (*šni* 'be sick'?) of the walls was here described. But it seems impossible to reconstruct the sentence.

<sup>10</sup> This fem. suffix perhaps refers to 'Ipt-*swt* lost at the end of col. 44. See the next note.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the well-known words on Ḥashepsowe's obelisk: 'I know that Ipet-Esut is the horizon on earth, the noble high place of the earliest times, &c.', *Urk.* IV, 364, 1-3. See too below col. 94.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. Heliopolis and Thebes. For 'Iwnw *Šmꜥw* see now Kees in *Orientalia* 18, 427 ff.

..... (46) *the region of wild fowl with birds [so as to] furnish with provisions their noble sanctuary (after?) he had widened its(?) boundaries* .....  
 ..... (47) *their tribute upon their backs [through?] the strength of my father Amūn. There was (?)<sup>1</sup> decreed for me might and victory, there being given* .....  
 ..... (48) *Ruler of the Black Land and the Red Land in order to sanctify(?)* .....  
*after<sup>2</sup> he had assigned to me his inheritance and his throne in order to seek<sup>3</sup>* .....

**Col. 49.** Somewhere in the lacuna of col. 48 began the reply of the courtiers, following a common literary device of which the earliest monumental examples are perhaps the stela of King Neferhōtp from Abydos and that of King Raḥotpe from Koptos.<sup>4</sup> The reply may have been quite short, since it seems preferable to believe that the announcement of the name of the projected Festival Hall was put into the mouth of the king rather than into that of subjects of his. ....<sup>5</sup> (49) *thee to do, and which he has caused to surpass [that which was done by the an]cestors,<sup>6</sup> in order that Thy Majesty may do [what is pleasing] to him, and that thou mayst find a beneficial deed* .....

**Cols. 50–55.** Since details about the doors, etc., are given, what follows in these lines is probably Tuthmosis III's own account of the building of his Festival Hall, not merely his expression of an intention to build it. The first person expression *My Majesty* does not occur again until col. 52, but after this it is found constantly right down to the end of the inscription. I conjecture that the account of the king's consultation of his courtiers ends in col. 49, and that henceforth we have undated personal narrative. .... [its name was made] (50) *to be Menkheperrē-Beneficent-of-Monuments in the House<sup>7</sup> of Amūn, the temple* ..... *in good white stone of 'Ainu* ..... (51) *the doors in cedar wrought in* ..... *fine gold in* ..... [silver], gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise ..... (52) *in silver and gold, tied (?)* ..... *Now My Majesty caused every writing of the God's words to be established* ..... (53) *in order that the rules* ..... *should be firm* ..... *And My Majesty commanded to institute new offerings for my father [Amūn]* ..... (54) ..... *evening in the Mansion of Millions of Years<sup>8</sup> which My Majesty made in* .....

<sup>1</sup> The 𓂏 seen to the right of the restored determinative 𓂏 of *Imn* must surely belong to *i(w)*. It seems unlikely that the king should have said that he himself *commanded* might and victory, but on the other hand the use of *iw wꜣ n-i* passively is unusual. <sup>2</sup> *M-ht*, mistakenly written *mnht*.

<sup>3</sup> What followed may have been something like [*excellent things to do them for my father Amūn*].

<sup>4</sup> If the Berlin leather document (*Stud. Aeg.* i, 48) is the genuine transcript of a stela of the reign of Sesostris I, this would of course be earlier.

<sup>5</sup> I suppose in the gap some such words as the following: [*Then said the courtiers: How excellent are the works which thou hast undertaken for thy father Amūn, how goodly is what has been commanded] thee to do* .....

<sup>6</sup> Doubtless [*tpyw*]-.

<sup>7</sup> It is not clear whether the twice-cut 𓂏 was due to the restorer who reinserted the name of Amūn or whether it was a correction by some contemporary reviser; so too with an 𓂏 in the word 𓂏yt in col. 59. The doubled *w* in *wꜣ* of col. 70 is difficult to explain, being unique in this expression and grammatically purposeless.

<sup>8</sup> The expression 'Mansion of Millions of Years' seems elsewhere always to refer to a funerary temple or cenotaph (for Tuthmosis III see particularly *Urk.* iv, 1020, 14), and I therefore doubt whether the Festival Hall at Karnak can here be meant. See below, p. 15.

..... (55) *in* ..... [doing] that on account of which the god is pleased in the course of every day in this Great Mansion of Millions of Years<sup>1</sup> in .....

.....  
**Cols. 55–58.** ..... [cows of?] (56) *Retjnu* ..... [to (?) my fath]er [Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> ..... that] the milk thereof [may be milked<sup>2</sup>] into the pails [of fine gold?]<sup>3</sup> ..... (57) *Amün in* ..... My Majesty [com]manded to appoint the eldest King's son *Amenemhē* to be overseer of cattle of the . . . . c[ows]<sup>4</sup> ..... (58) the [calendar festivals]

..... Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> in *Beneficent-of-Monuments over and above what My Majesty instituted for his father* [Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>] ..... This makes the fourth passage<sup>5</sup> from the reign of Tuthmosis III which singles out for special record the dedication of foreign cattle to supply milk for the temple services, and the remains of a fifth are to be recognized in col. 64. It is not quite clear for what particular rites the milk was needed, but Schott has convincingly demonstrated the existence of a ceremony in which four priests extinguished the flame of their torches in basins or troughs filled with milk.<sup>6</sup> At all events it is evident that special store was laid by the milk of certain imported cows, so much so that golden milk-pails were used for its reception. In *Urk.* IV, 1020 a royal butler named *Neferprō*, who had accompanied Tuthmosis III on one of his expeditions to Palestine (*Retjnu*), was by a special decree of the king put in charge of four cows from *Djahy*, besides two Egyptian ones together with a bull which he had brought to be dedicated in the Mansion of Millions of Years called *Henket-ōnkh*, i.e. the funerary temple of Tuthmosis III on the west side of Thebes. This inscription suggests that the cows referred to here were devoted to the service of the same temple, to which allusion is not improbably made in cols. 54, 55. In the case of *Neferprō*, however, the royal command stipulated that the cattle in question should not pass into the control of the Overseer of Cattle (*imy-r ihw*). Differently here, where the king's eldest son *Amenemhē* is appointed Overseer of Cattle for that express purpose on what, therefore, cannot be exactly the same occasion. We are astonished to find a prince of the name *Amenemhē* mentioned as the eldest son of Tuthmosis III. No other reference to this prince has been found, but the name was not altogether unknown among the Tuthmosid royalties; Tuthmosis IV had a son bearing that name.<sup>7</sup>

**Cols. 58–64.** ..... (59) *offered to each one, consisting of* ..... I ro-goose, I tjerp-goose, I set-goose, I ser-goose, I pigeon, wine 2(?), drink-offerings,<sup>8</sup> cakes,<sup>9</sup> ..... (60) *in the presence, the doing there (the god's)*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 14 above, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Restore [*shr*] *tw* as in the very similar context *Urk.* IV, 188, 11, the passive of *sdm:f* being replaced by *r shr* 'in order to milk' in the even closer parallel, *ibid.* 743, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *nw qm*, cf. *Urk.* IV, 743, 15 and below col. 64. Restored too by Sethe, *ibid.* 188, 11.

<sup>4</sup> The *l* occupying the centre of the column is in all probability the initial letter of the rare word  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  found in the two passages quoted in the next note, see too *Wb.* I, 114, 18. A number very possibly followed this word.

<sup>5</sup> The others are *Urk.* IV, 188, 6 ff.; 743, 11 ff., besides the statue of *Neferprō* discussed below in the text.

<sup>6</sup> *ZÄS* 73, 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 303.

<sup>8</sup> Similarly col. 22 above.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 14, n. 7.

good pleasure [in the course] of every day. List thereof: incense, pellets(?),<sup>1</sup> 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  deben. And [My Majesty] commanded . . . . . (61) made there (?) consisting of everything . . . . . every[thing?]<sup>2</sup> made in this sanctuary, the like thereof shall be made in Beneficent-of-Monuments. Beneficent-of-Monuments shall not be distinguished<sup>3</sup> . . . . . (62) . . . . . born (?) in offices, causing every [man to know] his duty,<sup>4</sup> namely god's fathers, scribes, lector-priests, managers, those carrying . . . . . (63) temple-priesthood of my father Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> in Beneficent-of-Monuments in conjunction with<sup>5</sup> the regular<sup>6</sup> temple-priesthood of the House of Amūn . . . . . [which] (64) My Majesty [made] anew for my father Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> in Ipet-Esut in the milk-pails and ewers of fine gold . . . . .

The whole of this passage seems to turn upon the details of the administration of Tuthmosis III's Festival Hall, this administration apparently to be conducted along the same lines as that of the main Karnak temple. The last column clearly dealt with the cows which provided milk for the temple ceremonies, as above in cols. 55-58.

**Cols. 64-87.** . . . . . My Maj[esty sought out] beneficial deeds consisting of (65) all that my father Amūn loves in order that he may rest in [any?] place [that he desires (?)] . . . . . [the attendants(?) who carry (66) ointment presenting myrrh<sup>7</sup> into the Great Place, the priests collected together . . . . . who present myrrh (67) [carrying(?)] incense in Beneficent-of-Monuments make(?) this ordinance of divine ritual in . . . . . everything offered(?) [in] (68) the presence according as the lector-priest is summoned . . . . . in the presence of my father [Amūn] in Bene[ficent-of-Monuments] . . . . . which (69) the great prophet brings, . . . . .<sup>8</sup> to do what is praised. There was caused to be made a spell(?) for incense, great . . . . .<sup>9</sup> (70) which are made there in this sanctuary.<sup>10</sup> And My Majesty commanded to cause to be offered loaves . . . . . My [Majesty commanded] (71) to institute new offerings to my father Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> in order to do (his) good pleasure on the altar of Rē<sup>c</sup> . . . . . (72) to Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> of the best(?) of

<sup>1</sup> *Ph(?)*, doubtless the epithet of *sntr* given *Wb.* I, 543, 6. The literal meaning may be 'fragment', something 'split'.

<sup>2</sup> Or every ordinance (*nt-r*)?

<sup>3</sup> Some such phrase as *from the main temple* must have followed.

<sup>4</sup> For this *cliché* see *Urk.* IV, 102, 5; 1006, 5; 1148, 12.

<sup>5</sup> For this expression, but apparently with a different sense, see *Wb.* v, 268, 8.

<sup>6</sup> The use of *mtt* here confirms the interpretation I gave to this word in my *Wilbour Commentary*, p. 22. The stem *mty* appears to signify evenness or normality, and so applies naturally to what is time-honoured, traditional, or the like. Cf. below *hpw mtyw*, col. 100.

<sup>7</sup> For *šms rntyw*, which is found again in participial form at the bottom of this same column, see *Wb.* IV, 484, 11, where the meaning *Myrrhen darbringen* is assigned to it, in agreement with Graeco-Roman passages where it refers to the presentation of jars of myrrh by a recumbent figure. In the very obscure passage *Urk.* IV, 347, 8 it might seem rather to refer to the preparation of myrrh, see too R. O. Steuer, *Myrrhe und Stakte*, 35, n. 1. The present passage throws no light on the meaning, but confirms the connexion with *mdt*-ointment.

<sup>8</sup> *Tp-mr* is utterly obscure. A phrase *tpt-mr* is found as the name of a particular woven fabric, see *Wb.* II, 97, 1.


<sup>9</sup> At the end of col. 69 an almost completely destroyed plural word.

<sup>10</sup> *M r-pr pn*.

*Egypt, the soil(?)<sup>1</sup> of Pharaoh, into the granary of divine offerings . . . . .*  
*. . . . . There commanded (73) My Majesty to give 20 . . . . .; beer, . . . jugs;*  
*vegetables, 4 bundles; out of what is placed on the altar [of Rēr(?)] . . . . .*  
*. . . . . which(?) goes forth for (74) his ka-priests(?) . . . . . my(?) temple-priest-*  
*hood, this goes forth because . . . . . [in] morning and*  
*in (75) evening in the presence of my father [Amün] . . . . . My Majesty in . . . . .*  
*. . . . . him to do (the god's) good pleasure, bi(t)-cakes, (76) 25;*  
*b̄i(t)-cakes<sup>2</sup> . . . . . 125; š̄cy(t)-cakes, 5; . . . . 3; š̄cyt-cakes, 10; . . . . 2; . . . . .*  
*. . . . . evening (77) . . . . . to my father Amen-[Rē̄] in*  
*front of Ipet-Esut, a ht-ꜥ3-goose<sup>3</sup> . . . . . [they(?) made]*  
*. . . . . (78) Amün, lord of Thrones [of the Two Lands,] in exchange for the flourishing*  
*of the statues of My Majesty which are in . . . . .*  
*(79) Amün . . . . . wrought in gold [of] the best<sup>4</sup> of the desert. And [My Majesty(?)] erected*  
*. . . . . (80) chieftains . . . . . great of*  
*splendour, great . . . . . (81) Amün . . . . .*  
*. . . . . in the course of every day while doing (the god's) good pleasure . . . . .*  
*. . . . . (82) great whom he loves in . . . . . of fine gold. [My*  
*Majesty(?)] erected for [him(?)] . . . . . (83)*  
*Amün . . . . . [cedar] of the top of the terraces<sup>5</sup> wrought in . . . . .*  
*. . . . . (84) statue(?) . . . . . I gave(?) a house*  
*to its(?) lord in . . . . . (85) . . . . . Amün,*  
*lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, . . . . . without limit . . . . .*  
*. . . . . (86) . . . . . ornaments, birds, incense . . . . .*  
*. . . . . (87) his holy place of the first time;<sup>6</sup> the first age . . . . .*

The pitiable fragments of these twenty-four columns have been translated almost mechanically. Little more can be gleaned from them than that they described various details of the new offerings and regulations which Tuthmosis III instituted in honour of Amen-Rē̄, perhaps exclusively in the Festival Hall. This appears to have had its separate priesthood and administration, though presumably subject to the supreme authority of the High-priest of the main temple. I think it will be accepted that the position at the bottoms of columns still *in situ* has been rightly determined. It is indeed a little awkward that in cols. 66–67 the word *ꜥntyw* should occur twice in such close proximity; the word *ꜥb(ꜥ)* at the end of col. 67 can clearly have nothing to do with the *ꜥb(ꜥ)* 'gleam' found in pl. IX, fragm. *dd*, but the alternative 'offered' (*Wb.* I, 177, 2) does not seem very probable.

**Cols. 87–100.** This section consists of an exhortation to diligence and devotion to

<sup>1</sup> The signs that remain seem to require completion into , but the space available is uncomfortably small. In any case we have here one of the earliest examples of *Pr-ꜥ* as a designation of the king, cf. *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* I, 417, 7. I do not know how to interpret the enumeration that follows. For some of the strange signs here employed I have no parallels.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. (e.g.) *Urk.* IV, 754, 12; 770, 6.

<sup>4</sup> For the writing cf. *Urk.* IV, 845, 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Wb.* III, 349, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 882, 11. For *sp tpy* see again below col. 95.

Amūn addressed by Tuthmosis III to the priests and officials newly appointed by him, accompanied by allusions to his own dutiful behaviour and to the ample remuneration and security he had arranged for these his servants. This passage, to which *Urk.* IV, 752, 8 ff. presents a close analogy, may have begun in col. 87 with an enumeration of the various priests and officials whom Tuthmosis was about to address: . . . . . [bearers of] (88) *divine offerings*,<sup>1</sup> *overseer(s?) of properties<sup>2</sup> of the temple, managers* . . . . . [whom] (89) *he<sup>3</sup> loved beyond all gods, even as a son does things beneficial to his father. I(?) foresaw e[ternity(?)]* . . . . . (90) *pondering(?) upon<sup>4</sup> things beneficial for the future, be serviceable-minded(?)<sup>5</sup> [my(?)] servants(?)* . . . . . *ye know* . . . . . (91) *the fear of him in your bellies, reverence his house without presumption. Weary you<sup>6</sup> not in performance, be not unconscious* . . . . . (92) *what is in your hearts of things beneficial to my father Amūn. You know [that] I* . . . . . *concerning his house, I rejoice* . . . . . (93) *in the house of my father Amen-Rēꜥ, [lord of the Thrones of] the Two Lands. I speak to you, I cause you to hear,<sup>7</sup> I* . . . . . *in enlightening your eyes,<sup>8</sup> [I] find* . . . . . (94) *There are scribes to your hand, established* . . . . . *what was made by(?) those of aforetime. [I] know the holiness of [this?] horizon<sup>9</sup>* . . . . . (95) *means of living<sup>10</sup> to cause you to endure upon earth. Obedience<sup>11</sup> to God is that which is heard of him, without transgressing his words of the first time<sup>12</sup>* . . . . . (96) *the state of the god's fathers to propitiate* . . . . . *with what he wishes. I commanded the prophets to do this that I had decreed* . . . . . (97) *one* . . . . . *upon the ritual-book of making purifications. Make(?)* . . . . . *that(?) your life may be perpetuated, an instruction for the end of old age. I have enriched<sup>13</sup> you* . . . . . [Do not suffer(?)] (98) *my heart to be bitter against(?) you, my not [resenting(?)]<sup>14</sup> aught towards a*

<sup>1</sup> *Wb.* I, 574, 6 gives a *f'y-htpt*, but not *f'y-htp-ntr*; but something like the latter seems necessary on account of the determinative found here.

<sup>2</sup> *'Imy-r hrp*, cf. *Duties of Vizier* (Rekhmerēꜥ), l. 4 = *Urk.* IV, 1105, 10. *Wb.* III, 329, 14 gives a single Graeco-Roman example of *hrpw* written thus phonetically, but apparently ignores the title. The word *hrp* or *hrpw* occurs also Cairo 20539, i. b. 2 in the epithet of the Vizier 'establishing old landmarks (*isw?*) and boundaries, separating (one) *hrp* from its fellow'. The exact technical meaning is unknown.

<sup>3</sup> One expects 'My Majesty' or 'I'.

<sup>4</sup> The top of this col. is divided between two blocks, but the reading seems exact as given. Could the first word be *wmm*, see *Wb.* I, 320, 16? The rare particle *y* occurs once in the contemporary inscription *Urk.* IV, 164, 8.

<sup>5</sup> It is more than doubtful whether *shw* here is really an imperative; for the rarity of such forms see *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 335.

<sup>6</sup> *Ny* must be the adverbial form of the preposition *n*, see *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 205, 1; but surely the use as substitute for *n:tn* after an imperative (*Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 337, 2) must be unique.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 350, 17; 351, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Berlin leather 4, see *Stud. Aeg.* I, 49.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV, 157, 14, and above, p. 13, n. 11.

<sup>10</sup> If *r-r* is the compound noun (*ZÄS* 77, 6, 4) here, as it probably is in col. 96 top, the sense is probably the same as that of *r-n-ꜥnh* 'means of subsistence' in *Peas.* R 125.

<sup>11</sup> If the half-destroyed determinative has been rightly read, as seems probable, the verb must be either *nis* or *rš*. Ought [*sgm-*]rš to be restored? If so, the sense might be: God only hears those who are obedient to him. But this conjecture is very doubtful.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. of the earliest age, as often.

<sup>13</sup> *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 210, n. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps restore [*šnt*] as in *Westcar*, 12, 9.

*servant, not repressing* . . . . . (99) *the great name of My Majesty, magnify* . . . . . *in doing things after the likeness of* . . . . .  
 . . . . . (100) *you being established in his sanctuary. My Majesty it is [who makes (?)] proper<sup>1</sup> laws* . . . . .  
 (101) *the name of My Majesty for millions of years [in] his [temple(?)]* . . . . .  
 . . . . .

If the above very tentative renderings serve no other purpose, they will at least indicate how interesting must have been this royal exhortation as a whole. Whether the top of col. 102 belonged to it is doubtful. The few remaining words of col. 103 certainly described how Tuthmosis III headed a procession closing the audience at which he gave his final instructions to the priesthood: . . . . . (102) *he enters into the ordinances more than<sup>2</sup> the scribe(s?) and(?) priests* . . . . . [*the king*] (103) . . . . . *himself in front of him,<sup>3</sup> wondering at* . . . . .  
 . . . . . (end of the main inscription).

Before passing on to discuss the Calendar it will be well to deal with the fragments of the vertical text which I have been unable to place. As already mentioned, these number 120 or more, but most are so small and uninteresting that it would have been useless to encumber this article with them. The original photographs, both those given me by Legrain and those taken by Professor Nims, will be deposited at the Griffith Institute at Oxford for the use of any student who may have the courage to attempt a more complete edition of the inscription than has here been found possible. I have, however, collected upon pl. IX some fragments that are either of larger size or else contain words or expressions worthy of note. It will be seen from pl. II that the principal areas from which we should expect blocks to be extant are between cols. 1 and 21, 26 and 45, 65 and 90, and finally between 98 and 103, and it is in these areas that I have specially tried to allocate the loose blocks, unhappily without success. The most important fragment of all is undoubtedly *ff* on pl. IX. Here the first relatively complete line alludes to a water-procession in which 'My Majesty' took part, but the phrase *ꜥnh r nfrw* and the sense of *st* further down defeat me completely. In the second column it seems to be said that the king commanded *to provide with sandals<sup>4</sup> the prophets and carrier-priests<sup>5</sup> of [Amün(?)],* i.e. those priests who bore abroad the statue of the god on his feast days. The third column alludes to some festival celebrated in the first month of winter, but the fourth column, harking back to the defeat of the Syrian enemy, provides us with the striking sentence<sup>6</sup> *the Majesty of this noble god overthrew them by the onslaught<sup>7</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> For *mtyw* see above, p. 16, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the dependent pronoun *sw* after *ꜥk* makes it probable that *r* here is the *r* of comparison, see *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 374.

<sup>3</sup> The suffix may refer either to Amün or to his high-priest. *Hr* bit cf. *Urk.* IV, 159, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Wb.* v, 363 appears to know this verb only as intransitive or in the passive, and gives it as a 2-lit. not as a 3ae inf. verb. Since the giving of sandals seems too paltry a gift to have been mentioned in an inscription of this kind, it seems possible that *tbt* here may have had a metaphorical sense. Is it too daring to suggest that this verb is the original from which the Middle Kingdom  $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$  'reward' was taken; for this see *Wb.* v, 261, 3, and Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, 31, 5. 12; *ZAS* 57, 8\*\*.

<sup>5</sup> *Wcbw nw fꜣyt* is probably a synonym of the fem. collective *tꜣ fꜣyt* discussed *JEA* 34, 21, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> The particle *in* must have preceded *hm n ntr pn*.

<sup>7</sup> For *st* see *JEA* 34, 13 ff.



of his power. I have been tempted to place fragm. *w* immediately to the right, but the second  $\overline{\text{m}}$ -sign is followed by a trace that cannot belong to the  $\overline{\text{m}}$  of which the tail is seen on the larger block; nor does the suffix 2nd plur. to the right of fragm. *w* throw any clear light upon the position. Next in interest is fragm. *gg*, in the first line of which *m cbw* recalls the words *irt cbw* in col. 97. In l. 2 *n wn sp* is puzzling. The third column gives the valuable information that the calendar [festivals] (cf. col. 58) numbered fifty-four, see below. In l. 4 the phrase *hr tp rnh wd; snb* is found elsewhere in this text and was discussed above, p. 12, n. 2. *Hnc rk* to the right in *ee* suggests the construction seen in col. 23, but I have found no way of connecting with this. Fragms. *hh* and *r* have been mentioned already on p. 11 above. The first line of *z* gave the word *dym* for 'troops', 'youthful soldiers'. Fragm. *u* is shown by *Urk.* IV, 56, 10 to come from the description of a door of 'copper', on which was graven the 'god's shadow' (*šwt-ntr*), i.e. a figure of the god Min, cf. further *Urk.* IV, 183, 10; *Rec. trav.* 20, 42, 21. Fragm. *v* may once again refer to offerings of milk, but this time the milk-pails are termed *mhn*, which *Wb.* II, 115 takes to be a mere variant of *mhr*, cf. for this cols. 56, 64. The middle line of *y* appears to speak of the king 'alighting (*hn*) in the palace (*rh*)'. In *cc*, three lines of which refer to laudable deeds done and offerings made by the Pharaoh, the column farthest to the right contains part of the sign for a columnar hall; the word in question may have been  $\overline{\text{hrt-ib}}$ , the term several times (*Urk.* IV, 855, 16; 856, 8; 857, 12; 858, 2) used for the 'central chamber' of the Festival Hall. The remaining fragments must be left to speak for themselves.

#### The Calendar (pl. VIII)<sup>1</sup>

This, when complete, consisted of a two-line heading followed by a long list of festivals in the order of their occurrence throughout the civil year. The date was as a rule followed by some words naming the occasion for the festival or the deity in whose honour it was celebrated, often with the additional comment that Tuthmosis had instituted it as a new feast-day (*wsh [m mswt]*, frags. *f, g* on pl. VIII). Then follows the rather superfluous expression *I festival*<sup>2</sup> succeeded by a table giving the number of *iw*-bulls, shorthorns, steers of the herd, bulls, oryxes, ibexes, gazelles,<sup>3</sup> together with other desirable edibles lost farther to the right, which were to be presented on the various days in question. Were this Calendar intact, it would be the most valuable of all surviving lists of the kind. As it is, it merely confirms what we know already. How many festivals were enumerated? It seems to me probable that all the fifty-four<sup>4</sup> mentioned in the unplaced

<sup>1</sup> The first seven lines have been published by S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten (Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. (Mainz), Abh. 1950, No. 10)*, Table 16 on p. 947. He rightly restores two signs in l. 1 not given in my Plate, but as Legrain's photograph shows, cannot have seen them. For l. 3 see below p. 21, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The occurrence of these words at the end of the second line of the heading is meaningless and clearly an oversight.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above col. 22; also *Urk.* IV, 741, 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> Schott, in his chapter on Theban festivals in Nelson and Hölscher's *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33 (Or. Inst. Comm., No. 18)*, pp. 89-90, quotes a Theban tomb of Saïte date now lost (Champollion, *Not. descr.* I 510-12) which mentions the number as 50+x; he adds that 'in the Medinet Calendar there are some sixty feast-days'.



whether in the two examples of the reign of Sethos I the phrase refers to the beginning of a Sothic period, as Sethe imagined.<sup>1</sup> Much more probably *hst nhh* merely served to convey that the date in question was one inaugurating a new and prosperous period, just as with ourselves most well-bred children and some grown-ups like to think of New Year's Day as the starting-point for a fresh era of good conduct and happiness.

The next three festivals to be recorded, all of them in the first month of the year, were on the 7th, 14th (rather than 13th?) and 18th respectively.<sup>2</sup> There is no indication of the nature of the festival for the 7th, nor does any other source enlighten us on this point. Similarly for the 14th, though here what follows the date is broken away. The 18th was very possibly described as the date of the *Wag*-festival, but here again a lacuna deprives us of definite knowledge. L. 7 possibly gave the 19th day, the festival of Thoth; to the right of  $\circ$  and on a level with the top of it, there seems a trace of  $\iota$ , but this was too small a trace to be inserted in our place. In my desire for caution I have given nothing in l. 8, but there is visible both in photographs and original a stroke which suits neither  $\uparrow$  nor  $\widehat{\text{III}}$ . On the fragment *a* are seen the remains of four dates which all belong to the second month, and one of which shows the signs for 20; hereabouts, in the inscriptions of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, was recorded the festival of Southern Opë, i.e. the later Phaophi, if at least Sethe's reading  $\widehat{\text{III}} \overline{\text{ms}} \circ \text{III} \text{||||}$  is right,<sup>3</sup> and it appears to be confirmed by the Elephantine calendar,<sup>4</sup> though here there has been an erasure by the supporters of Akhenaten, and a subsequent replacement. Fragm. *c* may have recorded festivals in the third month of Inundation, while fragm. *d* gives for the 22nd day of the fourth month a welcome reference to the festival of 'hacking up the earth' (*hbs-ts*), likewise assigned to this date at Medinet Habu;<sup>5</sup> the 'day of water-pouring' on the morrow gives us a rare pictorial determinative seen again in fragm. *k*. Fragm. *e* has a date in the third or fourth month of winter, as already noted on p. 7. The festival of Ḥathōr named in fragm. *h* was doubtless that which gave rise to the month-name Athyr, fixed to the 1st day of the fourth month of Inundation by Ramesses III's calendar at Medinet Habu; it cannot have been allotted to the 1st day of the following month, as the Greek order of month-names would demand, since Tuthmosis III reserved that date for the festival of Neheb-kau,<sup>6</sup> which I impenitently<sup>7</sup> continue to equate with the later Khoiakh. Which festival of Amūn is that named in fragm. *j* is uncertain; the calendar of Tuthmosis III just referred to alludes to eleven festivals described by that name doubtless spaced out over various months of the reign. It is regrettable that fragm. *l* is not more complete. Its second line contains the words

<sup>1</sup> *ZÄS* 66, 2-4. It is, however, not improbable that the whole series of phrases there used, including *wḥm mswt* 'renewing births', may have been intended to convey Sethos's claim to be inaugurating a new period, and the proximity of the beginning of a new Sothic period may have helped.

<sup>2</sup> Schott's Table 16 has 7th, 13th, and 16th, whereas most strangely his enumeration on p. 961 gives 6th instead of 7th.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* IV, 742, 1. Schott No. 39 (p. 965) gives day 15, though 13 + would have been a more accurate statement.

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* IV, 824, 10.

<sup>5</sup> See Schott, *op. cit.* 970, No. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* 973, No. 83; see *Urk.* IV, 177.

<sup>7</sup> I hope to return to the discussion of the month-names in an article to be written in due course. In the meantime I desire to put on record my inability to agree with the criticisms of my paper *ZÄS* 43, 136 ff. contained in Excursus A of Professor R. A. Parker's recent book entitled *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*.





## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE NAURI DECREE

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

A RE-READING of this famous inscription (*JEA* 13, 193 ff.) has brought home to me anew how difficult the interpretation of Egyptian texts can often be, even when the grammar is clear and the general sense of the words not open to question. The chief reasons for this obscurity are (*a*) that the background against which such a text is written, though well known to the contemporary Egyptians, is only partially familiar to ourselves; (*b*) that though the meanings of the words may have been roughly ascertained, their application in the individual case may conceal some technicality that escapes us; and (*c*) the absence, in the hieroglyphs, of importantly directive equivalents of our 'and', 'or', 'but', 'for', and the like. Where lies the remedy? Less, I fancy, in a microscopic attention to the individual words employed than in a just appreciation of the Egyptian habit of mind, and in a recognition of the overall tendency and purpose of the inscription as a whole. Even so we shall be left with ample room for differences of opinion, as the present article will show.

We may take it that Griffith's copy from the squeezes is as nearly perfect as his great knowledge and scrupulous care could make it. Mr. Addison's squeezes, which are at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are available for any student who may have the time to collate the text afresh; a very brief examination of my own showed that some slight corrections might still be possible where, as not seldom happens, the impressions are defective or the shapes of signs indeterminate;<sup>1</sup> but anything except petty improvements could be secured only after intensive study of the text as published. Re-collation on the spot is highly desirable, but one has only to read Griffith's first two pages to realize what a difficult undertaking it would be.

The aim of the present paper is to discuss certain points in the decree where I cannot see eye to eye with W. F. Edgerton (henceforth referred to as E.) in his new translation and commentary *JNES* 6, 219-30. Applying the admittedly somewhat intangible criteria recommended above, I feel sure that the clauses were drafted with the carelessness characteristic of Pharaonic scribes. A pretence of legalistic formulation to meet all contingent cases is certainly paraded, but looking closer we become uncomfortably aware of useless repetitions and important omissions. And secondly, the impression I receive from the whole is that it had no other aim than to protect the employees and property in Nubia belonging to Sethos I's great temple at Abydos from all interference whatsoever, whereas E. appears to believe that it sought to define with lawyer-like precision the exact powers possessed by the lay administration in dealing with the new Foundation's Nubian possessions.

<sup>1</sup> I managed to elicit  in place of  in l. 128, the very last line of all.

As point of departure for E.'s final analysis he (p. 227) takes two portions of one and the same paragraph in which he thinks to discern a highly important difference. The paragraph as a whole threatens with a beating of 200 strokes and 5 open wounds the authors of certain specified interferences with people belonging to the Abydos temple; the two portions in question are rendered by E. as follows:

(I.B.1.a = ll. 42-44) As for any viceroy of Kush, any commandant, any mayor, any agent, (or) any (other) person who shall take any person belonging to the Foundation by capture from (one) district for (another) district by *corvée* (or?) by forced labor for plowing (or) by forced labor for harvesting. . . .

(I.B.1.c = ll. 45-46) likewise any charioteer, any stable-chief, (or) any (other) person belonging to the King's Estate sent on any mission of Pharaoh who shall take any person belonging to the Foundation from (one) district for (another) district by *corvée* (or?) by forced labor for plowing (or) by forced labor for harvesting, likewise to do any task. . . .

Ignoring for the moment the few points of difference between E.'s translation and that which I have made for my own purposes, I concentrate upon his main argument. 'We must assume', says E., 'that the writer had a reason for separating these two lists.' Granted, but the plain reason, as it seems to me, is that I.B.1.a is concerned with permanent, or more or less permanent, officers of the Nubian administration, while I.B.1.c speaks only of less important officials belonging to the Royal Palace who may be sent out from Egypt on special missions. E. has, I think, seen this difference, but it does not seem to him a good enough reason for separating the two lists. 'The reason', he tells us, 'can lie only in the phrase "by capture" (*m kfrw*), which occurs in I.B.1.a, but not in I.B.1.c.' He goes on to argue that, whereas the charioteers, etc., of I.B.1.c are forbidden to remove persons belonging to the Temple in any circumstances, the Viceroy and his subordinates are forbidden to do so only if they do it 'by capture', i.e., I suppose, by press-gang methods. In other words, the paragraph would contain an implicit admission of the right of the Viceroy, the mayors of towns, and even lesser local authorities to commandeer the services of people of the Temple provided they went about it in a gentlemanly manner. In E.'s own words, 'Evidently there was a regular, lawful way of taking men<sup>1</sup> for forced labor (not "by capture").' Now this appears to me not only improbable in itself and contrary to the whole tenor of the inscription, but also contradictory of a correct philological interpretation of the passages in question. These two passages are by no means the only ones in which substantially the same types of conscription are enumerated. For example, all of these types, including *m kfrw* 'by capture', are named in I.A.4 = ll. 32-33, where the potential offenders are given as 'any viceroy, any commandant, any mayor, any agent, (or) any person sent on mission to Kush'. I.A.4 does not mention the charioteers and stable-chiefs of I.B.1.c, but it does mention officials sent on some special business from Egypt, and that in a paragraph governed, according to E. if I understand him aright, by the phrase *m kfrw*. Why should persons 'sent on a business' be here in I.A.4 prohibited from removing people in the very special case of 'capture', if afterwards, in I.B.1.c they are to

<sup>1</sup> The logic of E.'s argument compels us to interpret 'men' here to mean any men, whether attached to the Abydos temple or not.

be forbidden a like removal in every case whatsoever? This question leads me on to the further one of the relationship of I.A.4 to I.B.1.a and I.B.1.c, though discussion of that point will mean some postponement of the philological objections to E.'s hypothesis that were adumbrated above. A careful reading of E.'s analysis has failed to find in it any discussion of the lines along which the decree as a whole has been constructed. Unless I am mistaken, the writer's plan was to proceed by stages from the comprehensive and simple to the detailed and particular, even if in its execution this plan should involve some strictly unnecessary repetition. Ll. 31-32 (E.'s I.A.2, I.A.3) contain the wide generalization that the decree is directed against offences in respect of (a) the temple's personnel and (b) its material property ( $\text{ⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ}$ ). Ll. 32-42 (E.'s I.A.4 to I.A.11) go into details over possible offenders and the possible manners of their offence, first against the personnel generally (I.A.4) and then in respect of the material property, now defined as consisting of boats (I.A.5 = l. 33), fields (I.A.6 = ll. 33-34), and cattle (I.A.7 = ll. 34-36). Next the writer turns back to the personnel, and after discussing conduct towards men engaged in fowling and fishing (I.A.8 = ll. 36-37, together with the somewhat more specific I.A.9 = ll. 37-38), proceeds to consider the cases of other work-people whose occupations are enumerated, doubtless incompletely<sup>1</sup> (I.A.10 = ll. 38-40). Then follows (I.A.11 = ll. 40-42) a sort of summary of all that has gone before, with regard, however, only to the personnel, these to be actively protected (*hwy mky*, the time-honoured phrase) in their occupations. At this point the list of authorities whose infringement of the decree might be feared is enlarged to include standard-bearers and soldiers of the army, while agents (*rwḏw*), who were mentioned in I.A.4 (l. 33), are now omitted. This seems to me a good example of the haphazard way in which the decree has been worded; the writer puts down just such potential offenders as come into his head, and to take the various categories too seriously is to over-estimate the legal ability of a people as yet only slowly awakening to the advantages of strict and exhaustive legalistic formulation.<sup>2</sup>

In E.'s sections I.B.1.a-I.B.5.b (= ll. 42-55) an entirely new consideration is introduced, namely, the punishments to be inflicted upon the possible offenders. I shall have something to say later about these punishments. Meanwhile I will only point out that the introduction of this new element has involved considerable duplication with what has preceded. Thus I.B.1.a, together with I.B.1.c—the two passages are translated above—to a large extent duplicates I.A.4 (ll. 32-33), the subject of which, roughly speaking, is the forbidden conscription of any of the temple-people for forced labour. Similarly I.B.2.a (ll. 47-49), dealing with the temple's boats, duplicates I.A.5 (l. 33), and the paragraphs I.B.3.a (ll. 50-51) and I.B.4.a.b (ll. 52-54), of which the topics are the fields and the fishermen of the Abydos Foundation respectively, add little to the

<sup>1</sup> Thus the Elephantine Decree (De Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, I, 119; translated Griffith, loc. cit., 207 ff.) adds natron- and salt-gatherers; a similar, but very fragmentary, decree from Armant (Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pp. 102, 7) adds 'door-keepers', cf. below the note on l. 98.

<sup>2</sup> It may be recalled that the magical texts have similar enumerations of dangerous beings, often terminated by the word  $\text{ⲕⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ}$  *hmt-r*, lit. perhaps 'skill of the mouth', which is in effect the equivalent of our 'etc.': this word does not, however, occur in legal texts.

earlier I.A.6 (ll. 33–34) and I.A.8.9 (ll. 36–38), apart from the statement of the threatened punishments, which is the *motif* underlying all these paragraphs.

I pursue no further my attempt to show that the decree sought to move from the simple to the detailed, from the comprehensive to the particular. As this development progresses, there seems a good deal of repetition, accompanied by a happy-go-lucky disregard of completeness in respect of the persons and actions mentioned. We must now return to the vexed problem of the presence of *m kfrw* in I.B.1.a and its absence in I.B.1.c. If E.'s explanation is correct, is it not clear that *it* . . . *m kfrw* must govern all the following phrases from *m w n w* 'from district to district' down to *m bhw n cw:y* 'in a corvée of reaping'? For were it not so, if in fact the phrases just mentioned were alternatives to *m kfrw* rather than an elaboration of those two words, then I.B.1.a would say precisely what E. declares it does not say, namely that conscription for the purposes of ploughing and reaping, etc., was completely forbidden to the Viceroy and his underlings. But now we find in a later paragraph, E.'s II.B.1 = ll. 67–71, proof positive that the phrases *m w n w*, etc., do contain alternatives to the phrase *m kfrw* envisaging violent commandeering of the temple's employees. The proof resides in the explicit insertion there of the particle  $\text{𐎏} \overline{\text{𐎏}} \text{𐎏}$  'or' between *m kfrw* and *m w n w*, etc. Consequently 'or' must be inserted four times in our translation of I.B.1.a, which now, in my own version, reads as follows:

As for any King's Son of Cush, any troop-captain, any mayor, any agent, (or) any (other) person who shall take away any person belonging to the Mansion (named) Menma'rē-is-content-in-Abydos, (whether) by capture (or by removal) from district to district (or) by contract(?) (or) in a corvée of ploughing (or) in a corvée of reaping . . . (he shall be punished by beating, etc.).

In other words I.B.1.a, in prohibiting and threatening with punishment removal of the temple's employees by the Viceroy and his underlings, enumerates five different ways in which, or purposes for which, such removal might be likely to occur, and all these ways and purposes are declared to be equally punishable. But if this be so, E.'s hypothesis that the only form of conscription forbidden to the Viceroy is violent capture falls to the ground. It remains, however, to explain why *m kfrw* 'by capture' is absent from I.B.1.c. By far the most probable explanation, in my opinion, is that the sculptor, or rather the scribe who mapped out his work for him, has carelessly neglected these words in passing from l. 45 to l. 46. It is far less plausible, I think, to explain the omission as due to the less opportunity for violent conscription which officials on a visit from Egypt would have. But whatever explanation be accepted, I hold to my point that the minutiae of such an inscription cannot be seized upon as a basis for far-reaching conclusions. E.'s sophisticated explanation (pp. 227–8) of the clause numbered by him II.B.1 (ll. 66–71) is open to the same criticism, but the space available to me does not permit elaboration of this point.











Some comments on the punishments threatened do, however, seem to me indispensable. It is strange, to say the least, that precisely the same punishment of 200 blows and 5 open wounds is ordered to be meted out to an offending Viceroy and to the meanest of his subordinates (ll. 42–47). One has a feeling of unreality and lack of proportion























































compound with Coptic τῆνν, plural τῆνοοτε, leaves little to be desired. The etymology cannot be disputed on the ground of the presence of  in the writing, this having a perfect counterpart in the well-known Late-Egyptian spellings  or  for  *it* 'moment', see *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 113a, 9c. More problematical is the meaning of  here. It certainly does not mean 'the best of' as *Wb.* v, 267, 4 supposes, nor must we be misled by our expression 'head of cattle'. There are grounds for thinking that  in some compounds has a generalizing force, though one not easy for our modern minds to grasp; the expression     *hbw tp-trw* 'seasonal feasts' provides an analogy, see on this above, p. 21. Hence it seems legitimate to render *tp-n-ixwt nb* as 'any (other) kind of animal'.

L. 58. In so careful a copy as Gr.'s the least trace deserves attention, so that I am tempted to read                                                 



papyrus suggests it was, its contributions will have been paid from Abydos itself and not directly from the provinces. Some information is given about the occupations of the temple's dependants in Nubia, about the fields it owned and about the herds these fields supported; also about the boats which served to carry the country's produce to Egypt. But such knowledge as we thus obtain is given incidentally in describing the various ways in which the temple's immunity might chance to suffer infringement.

The enumeration of those ways is of value for another reason. It shows to what hardships the people of Nubia were exposed unless they were protected by some such royal charter; and we gather that the civil administration was apt to be very high-handed, if not actually lawless, in its governmental methods, although, as E. rightly concludes (p. 227), it undoubtedly possessed certain powers of conscription for agricultural work and the like. That administration was, on the other hand, responsible for the punishment of all offences against the property of the great god Osiris, and, as E. does not fail to point out (pp. 228, 230), the penalties inflicted in such cases were of a severity out of all proportion to those exacted when religious possessions were not involved. For instance, in common cases of theft, restitution had to be made at the rate of twice or three times the value of the object stolen; when that object belonged to the temple one hundred times the value had to be restored. We might even think that a temple would welcome certain transgressions of its rights, if the offence thereby added one to the number of its field-labourers.

Doubtless much more of interest will be extracted from our decree by those specially competent in juristic and administrative matters. My personal aim in this paper has been merely to express my scepticism as to the conclusions drawn by Professor Edgerton, and to give my reasons for that scepticism. The verdict as between our divergent views can be safely left in the hands of our colleagues.

## ANOTHER GEOGRAPHICAL LIST FROM MEDINET HABU

By CHARLES F. NIMS

IN his discussion of the Medinet Habu geographical list, from the rear terrace of the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Sir Alan Gardiner remarks, 'Had these wall decorations survived intact, they might well have rivalled even the Onomasticon of Amenopĕ in their usefulness for our studies, the more so since they are concerned as much with local cults as with topographical data'.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it is of great interest that another such list, apparently from the same source, was inscribed by Ramesses VI on the front walls before the temple compound.<sup>2</sup>

The scenes proceed in geographical order from south to north, with central prominence given to Thebes, which is in the last position on the southern wall before the porter's lodge. The first preserved scenes in this series, E 149-147, to the south of the ruined tower, are very fragmentary, with only portions of the lower part of the wall remaining. These were still covered by debris when discovered, and were cleared under the direction of the writer early in 1950. They are important because they serve as the connecting-link with the southern series of Ramesses III's list, A 12-14, the last there preserved. In the remaining portion of the wall of Ramesses VI, a third of its original total length, the larger part of each scene is preserved. North of the entrance of the temple about one-third of the wall was removed in antiquity to make way for the Ptolemaic pylon to the Eighteenth-Dynasty temple. The first scene corresponds to B 4 of the Ramesses III list. Some part of each scene is preserved. All scenes are oriented toward the gateway, with the king, offering to the local deities, facing the gate.

That the full import of these inscriptions previously was unrecognized is not strange. They are in exceedingly bad condition, and in many cases the closest inspection and study was necessary to determine what was once carved on the stone.<sup>3</sup> Had not the

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (henceforth referred to as *AEO*), 1, 53-54. References to the geographical list in the Onomasticon of Amenopĕ will be given as *On. Am.*, followed by the number given in Gardiner's commentary on the same. Where numbers are followed by a letter, the reference is to a place named only in some other source, the practice in *AEO*. *On. Ram.* refers to the Ramesseum Onomasticon; see *AEO* 1, 6 ff. Reference to the Medinet Habu list of Ramesses III is given according to the numbers first assigned by Daressy and followed by Gardiner: see *AEO* 1, 54. However, Daressy did not include the last two preserved scenes in his list; these are designated according to the location numbers given in Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations* (*OIP* LVI). So also are designated other scenes from temples in the area, the abbreviations being in accord with those used in *ibid.* p. vii. The plate of that publication on which each location number occurs can be found from *ibid.* p. xi, index.

<sup>2</sup> For location, see Nelson, *op. cit.* pl. 30, fig. 3, MH E 100-49. A slight correction should be made in the position of the scenes shown there. Those on the north side, E 100-30, should extend to the corner. On the south side E 147 should be to the south of the now destroyed tower, and the numbers E 148, 149 added to the south of this.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 36\*, notes 'how necessary it is to quote photographs or to verify readings in some way'. The writer, who has been in charge of the photography on the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey since

writer been studying the lists in Sir Alan's publication<sup>1</sup> it is doubtful whether he would have realized their importance when he first gave them his attention late in 1949.

That the lists of Ramesses III and Ramesses VI are from the same source, as suggested above, is evident on comparison. The conclusion that the latter is not a copy of the former rests on the following data. The spellings of the names of the deities as well as their depictions are occasionally different, and the number of the secondary deities varies. There is one change in the order of the scenes, and two scenes found in the list of Ramesses III, B 21, 22, are omitted from that of Ramesses VI. Between H-wōr and Memphis the earlier list had only two scenes, with names of places and deities now lost,<sup>2</sup> while the latter list has six scenes. It is well known that Ramesses III copied much of the material for his mortuary temple from the Ramesseum,<sup>3</sup> and it seems probable that this temple was the independent source of each Medinet Habu geographical list.

An attempt has been made in the plates and commentary to present the pertinent material as completely as possible and, at the same time, duplicate no more than necessary of the excellent geographical data given in *AEO*, the knowledge of which is assumed. The names of the deities and places, as they appear on the wall in the Ramesses VI list, are given in figs. 1, 2, and the upper part of 3. The first column gives the MH scene number. The name of the chief deity may appear in three places: A, over the head of the deity; the inscription given in this column follows immediately after the words *dd in*, and a space indicates that something is missing. In some instances the original inscription is in two, and perhaps once in three, columns on the wall, and this is indicated. B, before the king; a typical example is, 'Presenting *mst* to his father X'; the copied inscription follows the word 'father'. C, in alternate scenes, at the lower part of the scene-divider inscriptions which follow the scenes. These inscriptions alternate between 'Ramesses VI shall appear upon the throne of Horus', and 'Ramesses VI, beloved of (the god named)'.

Columns D and E give the subsidiary deities. Where a broken line appears through the column, it indicates that on the wall a second column begins. In E 135 columns D

autumn, 1946, would like to emphasize that even the best obtainable photograph can be misleading, and that often only the closest personal observation can recover the evidence. In the standing monuments of Egyptian antiquity this frequently requires the use of ladders and scaffolds; the writer wishes to express his appreciation to the Epigraphic Survey for making such equipment available.

<sup>1</sup> See *Egyptian Catalogues of Things*, *JNES* 9, 253-62, a review article of *AEO*. <sup>2</sup> See *AEO* I, 54.

<sup>3</sup> See the Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, II, pls. 111, 127 for the similarity of the scenes about the Window of Appearances, *ibid.* III, pls. 187-90 for the duplication of parts of the Ramesseum calendar at Medinet Habu, and compare *ibid.* IV, pls. 201, 203, 205, and 207 with pls. 215 A, 213, and 214 for the two versions of the Min Feast. The epigraphic notes made by Professor Harold H. Nelson and the writer give evidence that the MH Min Feast was copied from the walls of the Ramesseum. Drawings prepared for a future MH volume demonstrate that the MH astronomical ceiling in the Osirid suite, MH A 457, could have had as its source only the extant ceiling at the Ramesseum, R 181.

Nelson has called to my attention an earlier copy of the Karnak list of goddesses (see *AEO* I, 49-51) made by Sethos I, K B 343; this preserves only the tops of the first few lines, and gives no new information. However, it seems probable that the other three copies are not interdependent, but that each is an independent copy of the list of Sethos I, or of a prototype.



MH	A	B	C	D	E
E 149	A GOD			R.III	X
E 148	A GODDESS		X	R.III	X
E 147			𐎢 𐎠		
E 146	A GOD			R.III	X
E 145	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	R.III	X
E 144	𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠		𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	X
E 143	𐎠𐎢𐎠		X	X	X
E 142	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	R.III	X
E 141	𐎠𐎢𐎠		X	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X
E 140	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	X
E 139	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	X	X
E 138	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠

MH	A	B	C	D	E
E 137	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X
E 136	𐎠			𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠
E 135	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠
E 101		𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	X
E 102	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X
E 105	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠	R.III	X
E 104	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠
E 105	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠	X	𐎠𐎢𐎠	𐎠𐎢𐎠

cm 2 3m

FIG. 1. A geographical list from Medinet Habu.



MH	A	B	C	D	E
E 128					

MH	A	B	C	D	E
E 129					

cm 0 50

MH A 318

MH A 529

MH A 49:24

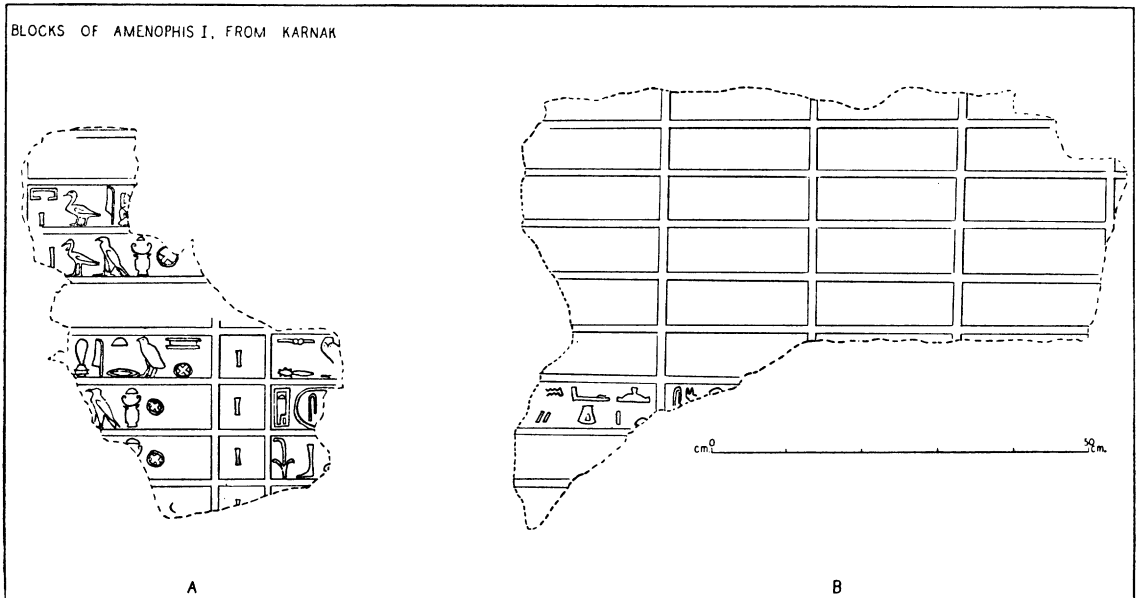
MH A 49:37

cm 0 50

0 50

cm 0 50

BLOCKS OF AMENOPHIS I. FROM KARNAK



A

B

FIG. 3. A geographical list from Medinet Habu.

and E are used twice; in E 105 and in E 119 D and E represent two columns on the wall, but one deity. In six instances on the south wall and in two on the north the deceased Ramesses III stands behind the deities or deity. These depictions appear to be of no geographical significance; at least, present knowledge does not indicate thus, but note the discussion under E 118. The frequency of the appearance of Ramesses III in the southern series may be due to the smaller number of places to be noted, and hence the greater available space. In two cases in the southern series a goddess stands behind the king; the names appear in the figures and the position is given in the commentary. In most cases the epithets of the deities do not appear in the figures, but all discernible are given in translation in the commentary. Where preserved, the head and crown of each deity is noted.

The drawings were made on photographs by the writer, whose inexperienced draughtsmanship is all too evident. An X through a space indicates that no inscription or deity is present in this position. A blank indicates that the inscription is lost, except in column A, to the right or left of the inscription, and below the inscriptions, where a blank is left by the accommodation of the material to the table. Only those lines which appear on the wall are drawn, and it seemed advisable to give no other indication of damage in the figures. The lettering in the figures was done by Mr. Douglas Champion, staff artist of the Epigraphic Survey.

Note must be made of the friezes of scenes of the king offering to various deities which appear on the upper portions of the north and south outer walls of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, MH A 48: 1-33 and MH A 49: 17-45. The names of the deities from the scenes on the northern wall appear in Leps., *Denkm.* III, pl. 214 e, f, where the copies are inadequate. Some of the deities in both strips have geographical designations, but there is no order. Reference is made in the commentary to several of these, and from two scenes names which are of peculiar interest appear in fig. 3, second panel, right. To the left of these are pertinent inscriptions from two other scenes at Medinet Habu. The lowest panel on fig. 3 contains a copy of two blocks of Amenophis I, from Karnak. Inscriptions occurring in panels two and three of fig. 3 which are not treated in the commentary are discussed in a supplement at the end. Throughout the commentary location numbers are followed, in parentheses, by the correspondences in the Ramesses III list and the list of *On. Am.*, where applicable.

#### COMMENTARY

E 149 (A 12, *On. Am.*, under 320). Falcon-headed god, crown lost, followed by R. III. The name is lost, as is the figure of the officiating king. In the R. III list, in the corresponding scene, the name of the god is Harendôtes.


E 148 (A 13, *On. Am.* 322). A goddess, followed by R. III. The goddess is probably Anukis (of *Pr-mrw*) of the R. III list.

E 147 (A 14, *On. Am.* 323). *Hnmw*; only that part of the scene-divider is preserved which shows the end of the cartouche and the name of the god. In two other scenes in MH, A 168 and A 318, the name of the town, modern Esna, is written *T3-sny*, so it is probable that this was the reading in A 14, where *Sny* is the only preserved group.

The relevant inscriptions of A 318 are shown in fig. 3; the god is 'Khnum, lord of *Tj-sjny*, who is in *Iwny*[*t*?]', confirming the reading of a Silsilis inscription by Gardiner, *AEO* II, 11; the accompanying goddess is 'Bast-Menhet-Nebu, who is in *Iwny*'. This identifies the goddess shown in A 14. Measurement shows that there was space available in E 147 for three figures, so the same goddess may have been present. A stele of Sesostris I, marking the north-west boundary of the nome of Nekhen, has 'Khnum, lord of *Snst* (or *Snt*?), apparently an earlier writing of the town name.<sup>1</sup>

Between E 147 and E 146 once stood a tower, of which only the foundations remain. On the evidence of the extant tower on the north side, E 114 (see below), there was no geographical scene upon it.

E 146. A god, followed by R. III. No traces of the names of the deity and town remain; the head of the god is largely gone; it was not human. From its position one might expect that the scene represents 'Agy. However, the deity of this place is usually Ḥaṭḥōr, and once the 'Ennead in 'Agy' is mentioned; see *AEO* II, 12 f. A block of Amenophis I, found by Chevrier at Karnak, has on it *Tjt cgn*; see fig. 3, lowest panel, block B. This suggests that *On. Ram.* 196 (*On. Am.* 323 A), *Tjt . . .*, had the same reading, and also that *Tjt ngnw* from Mo'alla is a mistake for *Tjt cgn(y)*. Vandier, *Mo'alla*, p. 26, n. 1, suggests a similar solution for these place names.



E 145 (*On. Am.* 325). *Hr-hmn m . . .*, the god, face destroyed (not human), wears the double crown, and is followed by R. III. By comparison with other lists, the town almost certainly is *Hwt-Snfrw*; a part of this name appears on the Amenophis I block A; see fig. 3. The combined name *Hr-hmn* here and in E 142 seems to be unrecorded elsewhere. However, the name *Hmn* is often written  at Mo'alla; see the publication by Vandier, op. cit. index, 299.

E 144. *Ht-hr hry-ib . . . ws*, 'lady of heaven, mistress of the gods'. The king, holding a *hs*-vase in his left hand, with his right arm lost, is running before the goddess, of whom only the disk and horns of her crown remain. The signs of what is probably the place-name seem to preclude any possibility of the town being 'Agy given out of the usual order.

E 143. *cnkt*, 'mistress of the gods', with no town given; the goddess wears her usual feathered head-dress.

E 142 (*On. Am.* 326). *Hr-hmn nb sw[t-ib](?)*; the god, whose figure is largely destroyed, is followed by R. III. One would like to take the *sw* following the *nb* as part of the place name *Hfsw(t)*, but there is no place for the *f* and the *h* would be very crowded; nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Ḥfō(et) is the town represented. Only in this list are other localities placed between Ḥe-Snofru and Ḥfōet. The intervening presence of these two unidentified places gives strong support to the conclusion of Vandier, op. cit. 5-13, that Ḥfōet was situated at modern Mo'alla, about 9 km. downstream from Aṣfūn el-Maṭā'nah (ancient Ḥe-Snofru), as opposed to Gardiner's belief, *AEO* II, 16\*, that the towns were closer together.

<sup>1</sup> *Orientalia*, n.s. 19 (1950), tab. 38. Note that this monument was found at Karnak; the provenance of an object is not always indicative of the place named thereon.



E 141 (*On. Am.* 327-9). *Ht-ḥr nb[t] In(r)ty*; the goddess wears the crown with disk and horns. The damaged sign was probably , not , as in the common N.K. writing of the ancient name of El-Gebelēn. From examination of the wall, it is probable that there was never any inscription in the B position. Behind R. VI is *Nwt* 'the great, who bore the gods', with the crown of disk and horns; she holds the *rnḫwt*-branch, from which hang *ḥb-sd* emblems.


E 140 (*On. Am.*, under 327-9, end). *Inḫw nb tḥ ḥd(t)*; the figure of the god is lost. The position in this list is the same as that conjectured by Gardiner, *AEO* III, pl. xxiv.

E 139 (*On. Am.* 330). *Sbik S[w]mn(t)*, without *nb*; the god has a crocodile head, and wears a crown of two opposing *šw*-feathers, surmounting horns, with a disk at the base of the feathers, and a uraeus with disk on either side.

E 138 (*On. Am.* 331). *Sbik nb Iw*; the crocodile-headed god wears the same crown as that described in the preceding scene. Behind him are *Inḫw ḥnty šḥ ntr*, ram-headed, with horns like the ram of Amūn, no crown, and *H[n]sw [ḥry-]ib [Iw]*, falcon-headed, crowned with disk. The name of the town given here is an abbreviated form of *Iw-m-itrw*; in column A it is certain that nothing was carved on the wall below *Iw*. Professor John A. Wilson brought to my attention a similar writing in K B 70, *Sbk-rc nb Iw mry Imn*.

The close association of *Inrty*, *Smn* and *Iw-m-itrw* has often been observed, and is shown on monuments at Luxor. MH A 49: 36 has *Sbk nb Iw-m-itrw* and *Ht-ḥr nbt Inrty*. MH A 206 a has *Sbk-rc nb Swmnw* and 206 b *Ht-ḥr nbt Inrty*, these being the upper and lower scenes on a square pillar. In the Khonsu temple K M 202 has *Sbik nb Swmnw*, *Sbik ḥry-ib Iw-m-itr*, and *Ht-ḥr nbt Inrty*.

E 137 (*On. Am.* 331 A). *Mnt(w) nb Drty*, falcon-headed, crowned with sun disk and two straight feathers, followed by a goddess crowned with sun disk, no horns evident, with traces of the name *Tnnt*, probably written as in the following scene. In MH A 49: 23 there occurs *Itmw ḥry-ib*   and *Tnnt*; neither the connexion of Atum with Tōd nor this orthography of the ancient place name seems to have been noted elsewhere.

E 136 (*On. Am.* 332-3). *Mn[tw]* . . ., with head and crown the same as in E 137, followed by *Tnnt*, with  on her head, and *Rct-tḥwy ḥry-ib Iwn[w]*, crowned with disk and horns.

E 135 (*On. Am.* 335-6). *Imn-rc nsw ntrw* . . ., with human head, crowned with usual feathers, followed by *Mwt [wrt ḥnwt] tḥwy*, with double crown, [*Hnsw-m-Wḥst nfr-*]*ḥtp*, crowned with crescent and disk, and R. III. Behind R. VI stands *Shmt*, with lioness head, crowned with sun disk and uraeus, who holds the *rnḫwt*-branch, from which hang *ḥb-sd* symbols.

E 101 (B 4, *On. Am.* 345). *Bnw*, 'the great god', in column C, as in B 4. The figure of the god is largely lost; in B 4 he is falcon-headed, crowned with sun disk and uraeus.

E 102 (B 5, *On. Am.* 348). *Hr ḥry wḥdw [ḥry-ib Pr-]dḥdḥ*, with falcon head, wearing white (or perhaps double) crown, followed by *Shmt ḥry-ib Pr-dḥdḥ*, with head lost, crowned with sun disk. The same god is shown in MH A 252 b, where no place-name

is given. From these occurrences it appears that in B 5 the name of the god must have read originally  $\text{𓂏}=\text{𓂏}(\text{𓂏})$ , for the present traces of which see *JNES* 9, 258. The writer still holds the view suggested there that the name of the god on the Dakhlah Stela is *Hr wd*.

E 103 (B 6, *On. Am.* 348 B). *Imn-rꜥ ꜥb(?) st*, 'lord of heaven', head lost, with feathers of Amūn, followed by R. III. For the full reading of the name as it appears in B 6 see *JNES* 9, 258-9.

E 104 (B 7, *On. Am.* 350). *Wsr hry-ib ꜥbdw*, with usual mummiform figure wearing white crown, followed by *Ist wrt hry-ib ꜥbdw* wearing crown of disk and horns, and *Hr [sꜥ] Ist hry[-ib] ꜥbdw* with falcon head, crown lost.

E 105 (B 8, *On. Am.* 353). *In-hry Šw-sꜥ-rꜥ hry-ib Tnw*, 'the great god, lord of heaven', with human head, wearing crown of four feathers, and *Mh[yt] hry-ib Tnw*, with lioness head, crown lost.

E 106 (B 9, *On. Am.* 354). *Mn [nb I]p(w)*, usual ithyphallic human-headed figure with two-feather crown, accompanied by *[Is]t* 'the great, mother of the god', crowned with disk and horns, and *Hr sꜥ Ist*, head lost, with double crown.

E 107 (B 10, *On. Am.* 355 C). *Hr-Iwn-mwt-f*, head lost, with double crown.

E 108 (B 11, *On. Am.* 355 D). *Hr . . .*, crown and head lost; probably the *Hr imy Šnwt* of B 11.

E 109 (B 13, *On. Am.* 357 B). *Imn n(?) Š(?)-rsy*, or possibly *Imn hry(?) rsy*, with ram head, crowned with disk, as in B 13. The first *n*, queried in the figure, may be only superfluous marks on the wall. If the sign following the name of the god, which appears to be  $\text{𓂏}$ , ever had at its lower corners the extensions of  $\text{𓂏}$ , they are not now evident. Neither Hughes nor Caminos, who examined the inscription, were able to add to these observations. The chief objection to the first reading, 'Amūn of the Southern Lake', is that *Š-rsy* is a well known designation of the Fayyūm, Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, v, 123 f., and except for the present instance there is no evidence of a place so named in the area just to the north of Ekhnīm-Sōhāg. For the second suggested reading, 'Amūn who is over the south', there seems to be no parallel.

E 110 (B 12, *On. Am.* 357 A, 353 A). *Ht-hr nbt Hmw*; the goddess is crowned with disk and horns. This list reverses the order of the R. III list, where the trace of the name of Hātḥōr in B 12 makes its equivalence with the present scene almost certain. The position given in the MH lists, to the north of Ekhnīm, differs from that of the Karnak list of goddesses, where the town is placed south of Ekhnīm. To make this list compatible with the MH lists entails the reversal of position of *Hmw* and *Ipw* in the Karnak list, while it requires moving *Hmw* backwards three or four places in the MH lists to bring them into harmony with the Karnak list. Therefore the position in the MH lists seems preferable. On present evidence we cannot tell which of these two lists is correct as to the relative positions of *Hmw* and *Š(?)-rsy*.

E 111 (B 14, *On. Am.* 357 C, 360 A). *Imn Ty[t](?)*, 'the great god, lord of heaven', shown as the usual Amūn figure crowned with two feathers. If 'Amūn of *Tyt*' is the

correct reading,<sup>1</sup> the place apparently is the same as *Hwt-tyt* of the Roman period, modern Ṭaḥṭa, for which see *On. Am.* 360 A. This gives another certain location which, assuming that the list is trustworthy, narrows the area for the position of the two following places.

E 112 (B 15, *On. Am.* 358). *Špsy nb Hwt-k*; the god is in human form, with right arm across the body, holding some sort of a baton over the left shoulder, and crowned with the disk.

E 113 (B 16, *On. Am.* 359). *Sbk-r nb Pr-ꜥnh*; the god is of human form, and has the same crown as worn by Suchus in scenes E 139, 138. There is no vertical divider on the left of the scene.

E 114 is a tower, on the lower part of which are five Hꜥpy figures, with no geographical material in the inscriptions in so far as preserved.

E 115 (B 17, *On. Am.* 361). *ꜥntywy nb T̄b(w)t*, with the figure of the god too damaged to make description possible.

E 116 (B 18, *On. Am.* 363–4). *Mwt nbt M[g]n*, of whose depiction only her double crown is preserved. It is of interest that the orthography of the place name, in so far as preserved, is that of *On. Am.* 364; in other instances the name is *Mgb*. The writing of '[Mut] lady of *Megeb* who is in (the nome of) Edjō', from MH A 529, given by Gardiner, *AEO* II, 63\*, from a copy made by Daressy, is shown correctly in fig. 3, second panel. Adjoining on the plate are the names of the gods from MH A 49: 24, *ꜥntywy nb T̄b[w]* and *Mwt nb(t) <M>gb*. In the latter evidently 𓄠 is to be read *gb*, and perhaps also it was confused with 𓄡, causing the omission of *m*.

E 117 (B 19, *On. Am.* 367). *Hnmw nb [Šꜥs-htp]*, with the upper part of the figure lost, followed by a god, presumably *Šꜥw*, upper part of figure lost except for part of back of head, and by [𓄦]𓄦𓄦[𓄦], with crown of *šw*-feathers above disk, with horns at side. The last name is restored on the basis of Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 18, ll. 66–68, where occur 'Khnum, lord of Shashōtp'. 𓄦𓄦𓄦𓄦𓄦𓄦, and 'Shau, lord of Shashōtp'. The place name *Knn(t)* is unrecorded by Gauthier.

E 118 (B 20, *On. Am.* 368). *ꜥnty* (the tip of the 'boat' on which the falcon stands ensures the reading), with figure of the god lost; he is followed by R. III. The place was probably the *Dw-f(yt)* of B 20, where the goddess Matyet follows the god. Her exclusion, in favour of R. III, may indicate that the figures of the deceased king have a special significance. The R. VI list agrees with the others in placing *Dw-f(yt) = Pr-ꜥnty* upstream from Asyūt. It may be significant that both B 21, *Pꜥ-šnc*, and B 22, *Tꜥ-ꜥnh* and *R-kr̄rt*, are omitted in the R. VI list. Were they a R. III addition to the prototype, and B 21 placed in the wrong relative position? If so, then Gardiner's suggestion, *AEO* II, 73, that the placing of *Dw-f(yt)* before Asyūt was due to the position of the nomes is credible.

E 119 (B 24, *On. Am.* 371; B 23, *On. Am.* 367 B). *Wp-wꜥwt [nb Sꜥw]ty šhm tꜥwy*, 'the great god, living in truth', with the figure of the god mostly lost, and *Ht-ḥr nb[t*

<sup>1</sup> Another possible reading, from the traces, is *Imn nsy[t](?)*, which makes little sense; note, however, *Šhmt nsyt pš(?)*, from a statue of the goddess in the Mut temple at Karnak. This is evidently the same as that given by Newberry, *The Sekhmet Statues*, *PSBA* 25, 221, no. 54.



*M]dd(ny)*, 'lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands', of whose depiction only the disk and horns of her crown remain.<sup>1</sup>

E 120 (B 25, *On. Am.* 377). The god is lost, but certainly was *Thoth*; he is followed by *Špsy*, of human form with disk on his head, and <N>*hm-ꜣ[wꜣ]y hꜣy-ib Hmnw*, 'wife of all the gods', crowned with disk and horns. The name of the goddess has no initial *n* written, unless that in *dd in* does double duty. On a loose block at Karnak, which must have come from the south wall of the hypostyle hall (Sethos I), the goddess has the compound name *Ht-hꜣ-Nhm-ꜣ[wꜣ]yt*; this was called to my attention by Nelson.

E 121 (B 26, *On. Am.* 379). *Hmnw* . . ., with figure of the god lost, and *Bwyt*, of whose figure only the crown of disk and horns remains. These are the deities of *H-wōr*.

E 122 (*On. Am.* 379 A). *Imn [m(?)] Iw-r[d]*; only the two feathers of the crown remain of the representation of the god.

E 123; this scene presents difficulties. The block on which the traces in column A are found is on the ground, out of position; thus it cannot be entirely certain that it belongs here. However, the only other possible place for it would be with E 124, where the lower blocks alone are preserved. The proposed readings of the names here and in the next scene rule out this position. The name of the god has been effaced, perhaps deliberately, and the traces given on the plate are the lines which appear to belong to the original. On the basis of these the god was *Sbk-rꜣ*. The traces of the name of the goddess, *Ht-hꜣ*, are on a block still in place. While a ram-headed Suchus appears together with *Hathōr* as gods of *Šd(y)t* (*On. Am.* 392 B), in MH A 48: 10, such a place name would be out of position here. A more plausible suggestion is that the place represented is *Inš* (*On. Am.* 383 A).

E 124. [*Stḥ*]-*rꜣ*, followed by a goddess; the figures are preserved in part only below the waist, with all of the wall above gone. The restoration of the name given is based (1) on the shape of the effaced area above the *Rꜣ*, which is better suited to the Seth animal than to the crocodile, and (2) on the appearance of *ꜣ pḥty*, 'great of strength', an epithet of Seth, in the place where the scheme of decoration would normally bring '(The king shall) appear upon the throne of Horus'. The place represented may have been *Spr-mrw* (*On. Am.* 388).

E 125 (*On. Am.* 389). *Hꜣr-šf(y)*, followed by a goddess, with both figures destroyed above the shoulders. The place is *Nn-nsw*.

E 126. *Sbk*, from the traces discernible, with a crocodile head, wearing the same crown as does Suchus in E 139. The place name seems to be *Š* (*On. Am.* 390), less probably [*Tꜣ-]š*, which is 'a designation of the Fayyūm province as a whole', see *AEO* II, 117\*. For a full discussion of the Fayyūm place names, see Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, *Commentary*, 43-47.

E 127 (*On. Am.* 393). *Ht-hꜣ nbt Tpy-ih(wt)*, crowned with disk and horns. The upper part of the sign *ht* in the name of the goddess was never carved in C.

E 128 (MH A 652, *On. Am.* 394). *Pḥ ꜣ rsy inbꜣf nb ꜣnh-tꜣwy*, with the god in his

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner has called attention to an error in the review of *AEO* in *JNES* 9, 258, fig. 1, and 259; there the numbers of the Luxor geographical list given as 53, 54, 55 should be 54, 55, 56.

usual form, behind whom is *Shmt ʿst mry Pth*, ‘mistress of the two lands’, with lioness head crowned with disk.

E 129 (MH A 651, *On. Am.* 400). *Hr-ḥty* ‘the great god’, with falcon head, crowned with sun disk, followed by *Ht-ḥr Nbt-ḥtp* and *Iw-s-ʿs*, each crowned with disk and horns. The scene has no vertical inscription to the right.

#### SUPPLEMENT

In addition to the names from the geographical list of Ramesses VI, there are, in fig. 3, several other MH inscriptions and the inscriptions from two blocks of Amenophis I. These were found by Chevrier on the third pylon at Karnak, and are published here with his permission. Some references to this additional material have been made above, but several items remain to be discussed.

MH A 49: 37 shows *Bḥyt nb Sḥky* and *Ht-ḥr nb(t) K(r)s(t)*. The first is a unique orthography for ‘Bata, lord of Sakō’ (*On Am.* 386), and the writing of the name of the town confirms the contention of Gardiner, *AEO* II, 103–4\*, that this name is to be read *Sḥ-kḥ*, and not the reverse. The presence of Ḥaṭḥōr of Kōs (*On. Am.* 386) in this scene is puzzling. El-Ḳūṣīyah (ancient *Kis*) is about 135 km. up-river from El-Ḳēs, site of Sakō. In all other scenes of geographical significance which occur in MH A 48: 1–33 and MH A 49: 17–45 the god and goddess are from the same or contiguous communities; this scene is the only apparent exception. The Coptic name of El-Ḳēs was *ⲕⲟⲓⲥ*, *ⲕⲁⲓⲥ*,<sup>1</sup> and the place appears in the Rylands Bishopric list as *ⲠⲃⲁⲚⲒ ⲕⲁⲓⲥ*.<sup>2</sup> This last has the same appearance as *ⲕⲁⲓⲥ Ḥ*, *ⲕⲁⲓⲥ B*, ‘embalming’, &c.,<sup>3</sup> derived from the hieroglyphic *ḥ(r)st*, *ḥst*.<sup>4</sup> It seems hard to believe that the presence of *K(r)s(t)* in the same scene as *Sḥ-kḥ* is a mere coincidence. Rather it appears that *K(r)s(t)* must be in some way associated with the ancient word from which the modern name of El-Ḳēs is derived.

The two Amenophis I blocks are from a sort of list or lists, but their nature is uncertain. In A, if the towns read in vertical columns, the second column presents a north-to-south order. First vertical column: (a) *Pr-sḥ-i* . . . , otherwise unknown. (b) *Bḥt*, the name of the VIIth U.E. nome (*Wb.* I, 416, 14), not mentioned by Gauthier, and probably also the name of a town, perhaps identical with *Bḥtyw* of *On. Ram.* 208 (*On. Am.* 343 B). (c) [*Iw-*]*m-itrw*, see E 138, above. (d) and (e) Apparently both repeat (b). (f) Only part of the city sign remains. Second column: (g) *Shm* . . . , elsewhere only in *On. Ram.* 201 (*On. Am.* 336 A), which perhaps reads *Shmi*; see facsimile, *AEO* III, pl. ii. (h) *Hwt-S[nfrw]*, see E 145, above. (i) *Nḥb* (*On. Am.* 321). Block B has only two names; of one only . . . *wsr* is preserved, and the second, *Iḥt ḥgny* is discussed under E 146, above.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, *Commentary*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; see also *AEO* II, 105\*.

<sup>3</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 121 a.

<sup>4</sup> *Wb.* v, 64; Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwb.* 45.

## GEBEL ES-SILSILAH NO. 100

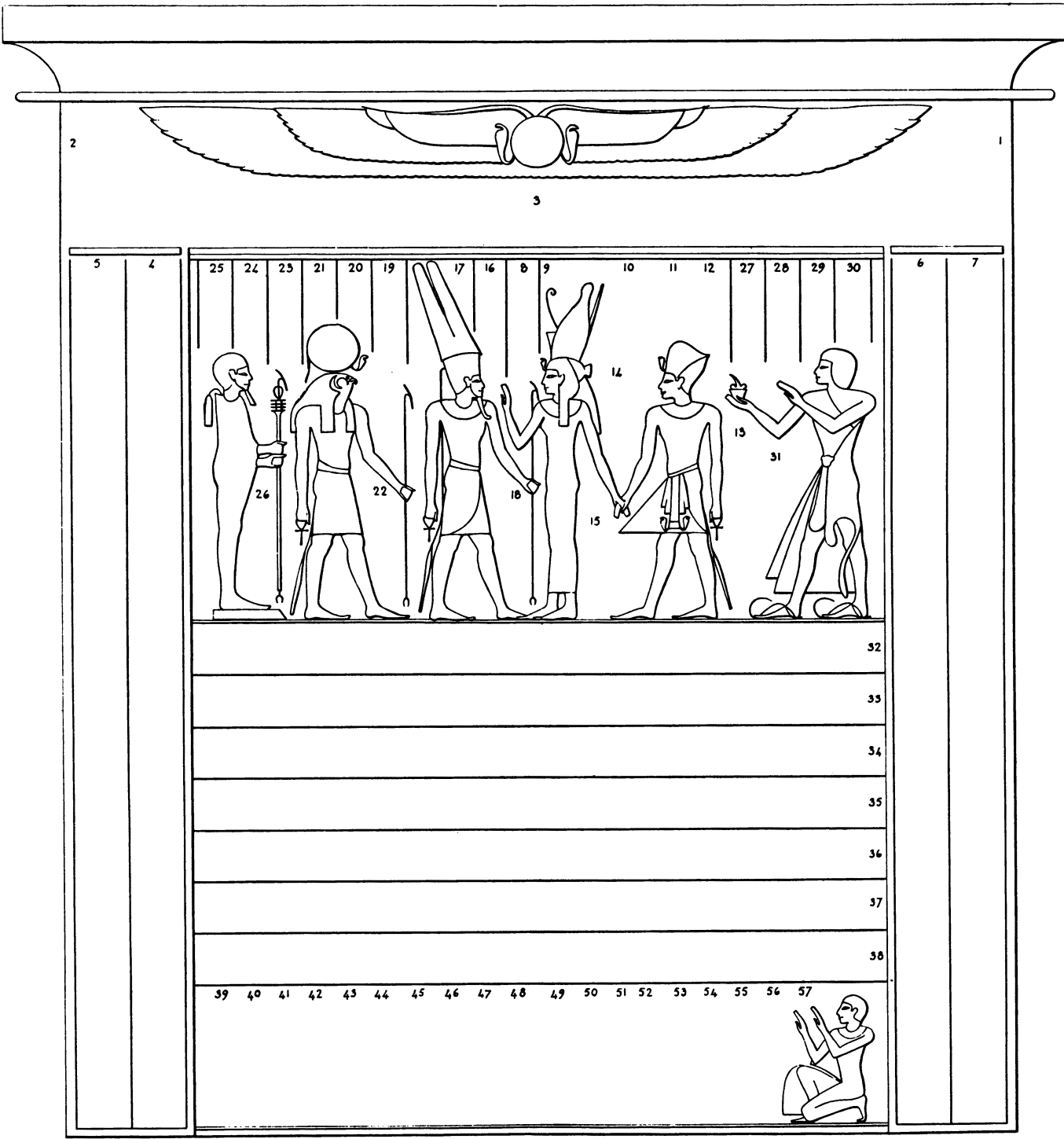
By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

IN these difficult post-war days of expensive printing and rigid economy I feel that the issuing of yet another copy and version of a monument known to our science since the time of Champollion imperiously demands a prefatory word of vindication. The unfortunate fact is, however, that the hitherto available copies of the monument in question (a stately and not altogether unimportant commemorative stela of the Twenty-second Dynasty) are all highly defective, and all current translations of it incomplete, antiquated, and wholly void of philological notes. The present paper aims at bringing to those shortcomings some alleviation.

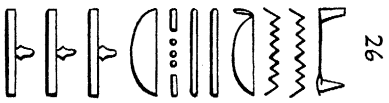
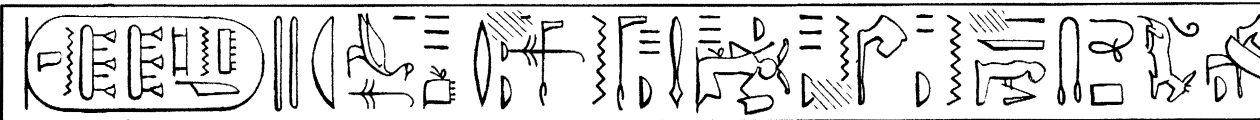
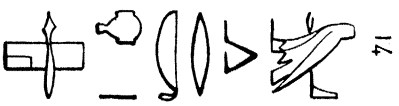
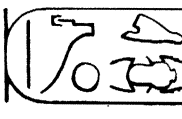
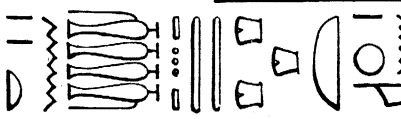
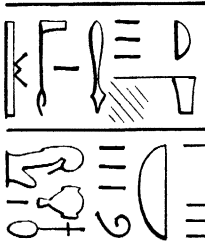
I hope students will find my copy a trustworthy one. A running text in simplified conventional characters would perhaps have sufficed for general purposes; nevertheless, I have unhesitatingly resorted to a much more exacting mode of presentation as I thought that a careful reproduction of the admirable Twenty-second Dynasty hieroglyphs which the stela bears might prove of some use to at least those interested in palaeographical matters. I have therefore endeavoured to produce as exact a facsimile of the hieroglyphs as lay in my power. Though indeed based on a detailed sketch done *in situ*, the diagram on pl. X is not a facsimile.

All known previous copies of the stela are listed in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 213, to which one could add for the sake of fastidious completeness Bankes MSS. iv, A, 9, on loan at the Griffith Institute. This rather inconsequential record gives details of the cornice and reproduces the left half of the horizontal line immediately below the winged disk. For translations see Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, I (1859), 223 f.; *Geschichte Aegyptens* (1877), 664 ff. (= II, 210 ff. of the 1879 English edition); Maspero, *Momies Royales* (1887), 731 ff.; and Breasted, *AJSL* 21 (1904), 24 f.; *Ancient Records*, IV (1906), §§ 701 ff. I have carefully collated all published and unpublished records of these texts in the British Museum and the Griffith Institute and have utilized my predecessor's translations.

It has been my privilege to read these texts throughout with my Oxford supervisor, Sir Alan Gardiner, and he has made, needless to say, many a vital suggestion. Mr. R. O. Faulkner has likewise furnished me with valuable criticisms. Miss Rosalind L. B. Moss has been indefatigable in supplying bibliographical information; her unrivalled files yielded, *inter alia*, the Bankes reference. Monsieur Henri Chevrier gave me invaluable advice on matters pertaining to the temple of Karnak. My friend and colleague Monsieur Paul Barguet of the Institut Français verified for me on the spot all such readings as were deemed unusual or in any wise doubtful. My trusty assistant Selīm Abu'l-Ḥaggāg helped me in the most effective manner with ladders, mirrors, brushes, and other items of the epigraphist's cumbersome outfit. To all of them I here express my heartfelt thanks.



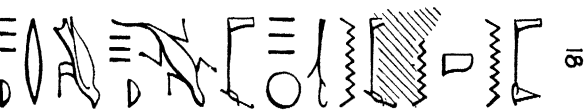
PLAN OF STELA OF SHOSHENQ I AT GEBEL ES-SILSILAH



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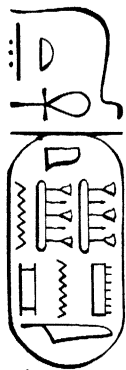
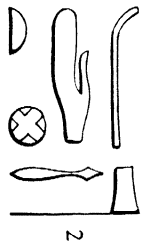
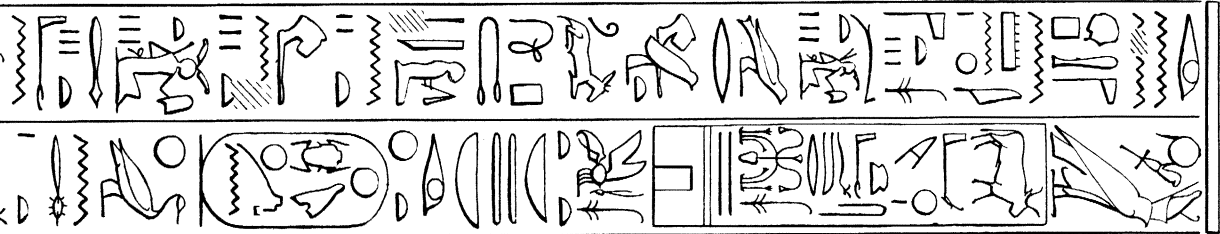
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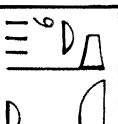
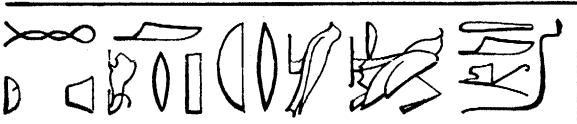
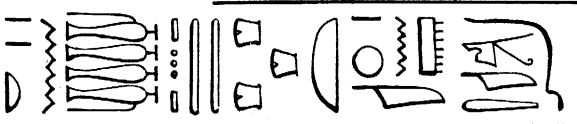
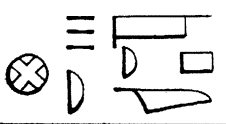
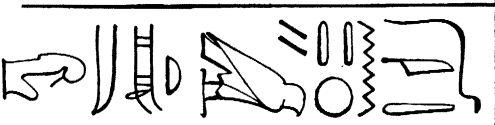
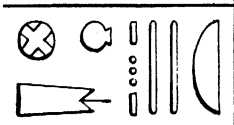
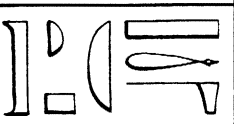
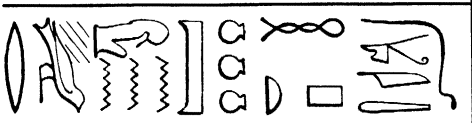
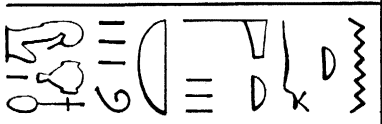
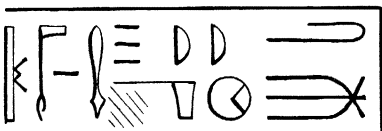
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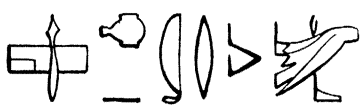
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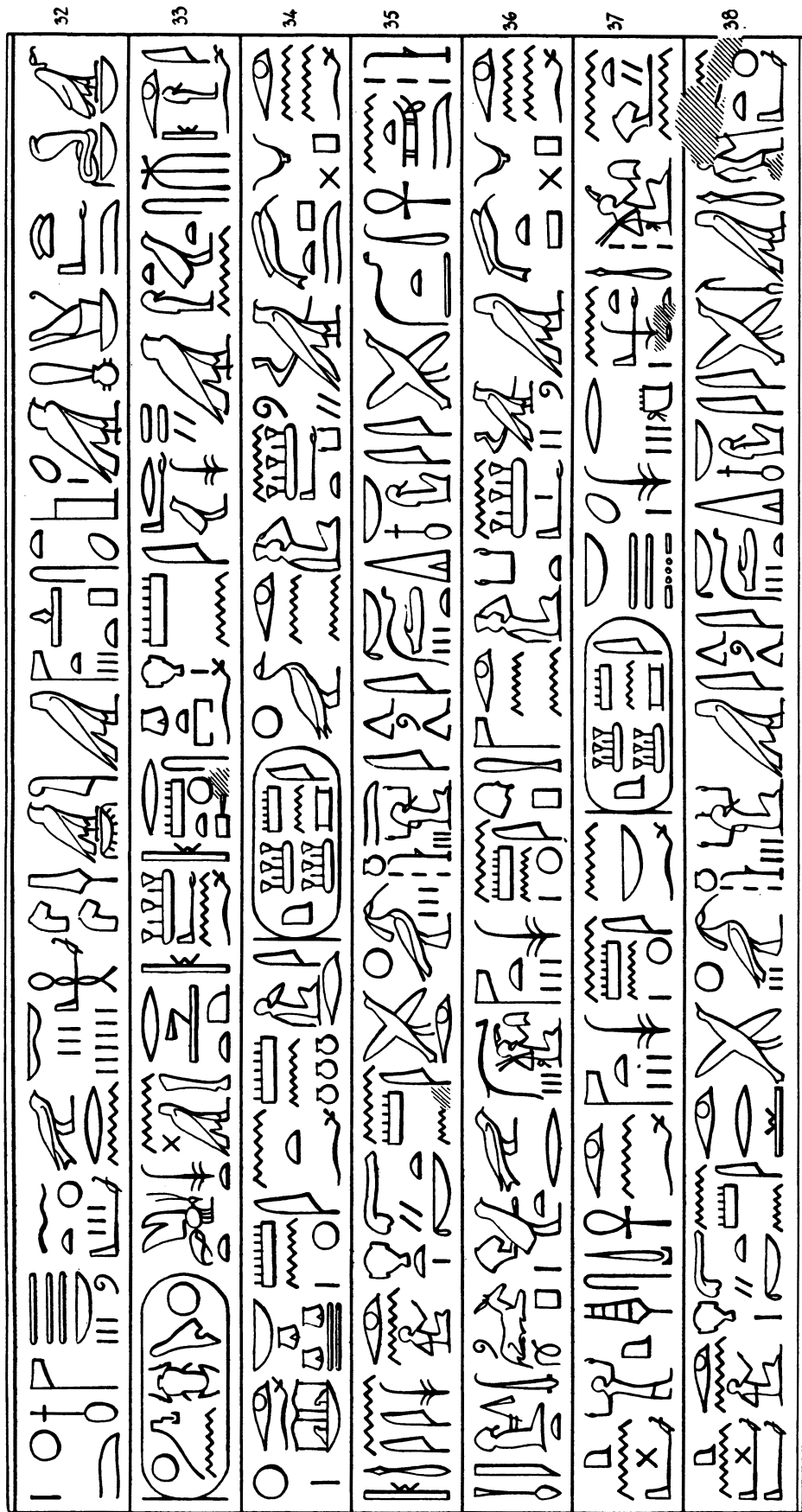
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STELA OF SHOSHENK I AT GEBEL ES-SILSILAH, MIDDLE PORTION

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STELA OF SHOSHENK I AT GEBEL ES-SILSILAH, BOTTOM PORTION

## External features of the monument

The stela, which dates from the reign of Shoshenḳ I, lies at a distance of about a hundred metres to the south of the speos of Haremḥab on the west bank of the Nile at Gebel es-Silsilah in the heart of that once busy quarrying district, and is carved facing the river upon the dressed surface of the sandstone hill which at this point overhangs the water's edge. From February until the end of May, when the Nile is at its lowest, but a few feet of steep sand intervene here between the shrunken river and the barren fawn-brown cliff, but in high flood the swelling waters lave the rocky wall and even at times almost reach the bottom of the monument. This, like the earlier and cruder stelae of Ramesses IX and Ramesses III that flank it right and left respectively, and like many other local memorials, was meant to be read, or rather seen, principally by Nile-farers.

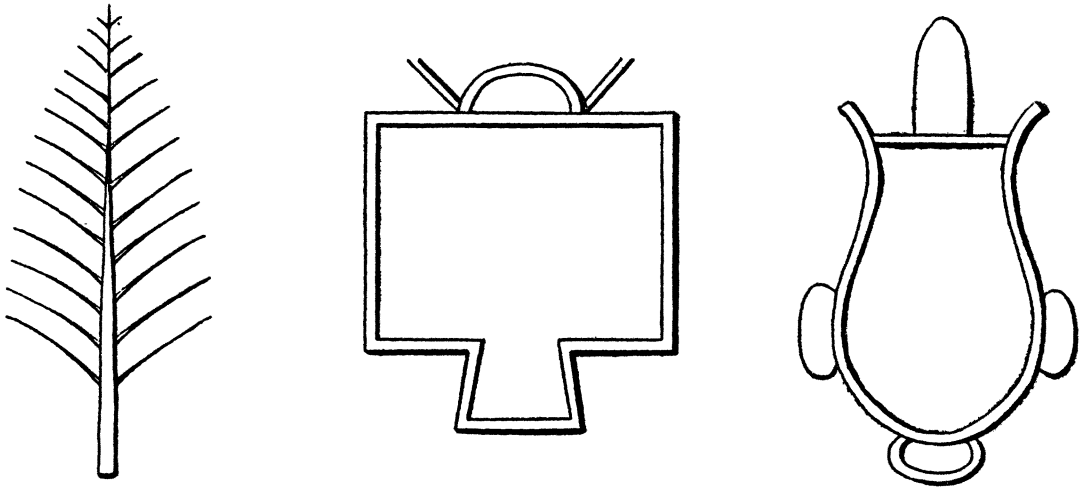


FIG. 1. Ancient quarry-marks at Gebel es-Silsilah.

Our stela is 2.93 m. high by 2.53 m. wide. For further dimensional details the reader is referred to the diagram on pl. X, which will also help him to visualize the exact arrangement of scene, texts, and framing-lines. The monument is on the whole very well preserved, as the scanty hatching on the plates shows. The largest break of all occurs at the lower right-hand corner and affects the text near the end of cols. (6) and (7), but fortunately the damage is not irretrievable: the few signs missing in the two stereotyped passages are readily supplied not only by the undoubtedly duplicate text, wholly preserved, of cols. (4) and (5), but also by the Wilkinson and Lepsius copies, both of which give cols. (6) and (7) *in toto*, thus showing the lacuna to be a relatively recent mishap. The one really serious break is the lower one in col. (46), for it renders doubtful what might have proved a key-sign in a word which is a *crux*. The carving is all in sunk relief, and remarkably well done: indeed, for a minor monument in a distant quarry our stela is, despite a few and not-too-glaring blemishes, not at all unworthy of that highly accomplished technique exhibited by some of the very admirable, if somewhat cold, major pieces of architectural relief produced under Shoshenḳ I, such as the El-Hībah temple scenes, his Karnak *Siegesdenkmal*, and the architrave and

panels of the Bubastite gate. Though there is not the slightest trace of colour left anywhere, I shall give the ancient craftsman the benefit of the doubt and assume that certain details, normally carved, in some of the hieroglyphs which now look oddly incomplete without them, were done in paint: the shoots of  $\curvearrowright$  (32), the side projections of  $\triangleleft$  (33), the pupil of  $\curvearrowleft$  (34), the crocodile's legs of  $\text{𓆎}$  (43), the tie of  $\text{𓆏}$  (51), and the tie of  $\text{𓆑}$  (21). The palaeographer will likewise remark the amazing thickness of this last sign, the curiously bulging shaft of  $\text{𓆑}$  (21), the reversed  $\text{𓆏}$  (47), and the occasional use of  $\text{—}$  for  $\text{𓆑}$  (10, 11, 49, 50).

Fig. 1 reproduces the three quarry marks of ancient Silsilis, a tree, an offering table, and a situla, as incised on the rock directly below the bottom of the stela. They measure 36.5 cm., 31.5 cm., and 36 cm. in height respectively.

### The contents of the stela

Beneath the carefully executed cavetto cornice the solar disk, decked with averted uraei, spans with its long outstretched wings all but the full width of the stela, and is labelled by the double legend (1, 2) *the Behdetite, the great god*, symmetrically written on either side of it and facing outwards. The winged disk is further and more specifically described by the horizontal inscription immediately below it, which inscription reads in both directions from the centre, the middle  $\text{𓆑}$  being common to both sides: (3) *Life to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Hedjekheperre-setpenre, Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Shoshenq-miamun, may he live eternally!* Thus the written word elucidates the time-honoured emblem of the winged disk, which we now know symbolizes the actual reigning monarch as immanent in the visible sun.<sup>1</sup>

The whole inscribed field is flanked by double columns of large-sized hieroglyphs turned inwards. The thick bars that surmount them fail to show the down-pointed ends of the sign for heaven  $\text{𓆑}$ . In strict adherence to canon we read the royal titulary first: (4) *Life to the Horus 'Strong bull beloved of Re—he arises as king in order to unite the Two Lands,' the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Ritual Hedjekheperre-setpenre, beloved bodily son of Re Shoshenq-miamun, given life like Re eternally.* Although these words place the whole monument under the sovereign's high auspices, we are next explicitly and very significantly told that it was his son Aupweth who actually inspired it: (5) *Made by the first prophet of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the generalissimo and leader Aupweth, triumphant, who is at the head of the great army of the whole of the Southern Region, the son of the King and Lord of the Two Lands Shoshenq-miamun.*

Cols. (6) and (7) merely duplicate the text of (4) and (5) with only some minor orthographic variants.

The scene shows a not uncommon episode. The goddess Müt, clad in her usual tight-fitting dress and bearing the *shmty* or double crown, is accompanied by the king, who wears the *hprš* or blue crown and a tailed kilt with an elaborate plaited fall in front. She blesses the king and, taking him by the hand, bids him follow her into the temple: (8) *Utterance by Müt the great, lady of Ashru, mistress (9) of all the gods: (10) 'King of*

<sup>1</sup> On the symbolism of the winged disk see Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 46 ff.

*Upper and Lower Egypt Hedjekheperrē-setpenrē, (11) Son of Rē Shoshenḳ-miamūn, (12) herewith I grant <thee> all life, stability and dominion and all health. (13) May there be round thee magical protection with all life, stability and dominion, all health and all happiness, all foreign countries being beneath thy sandals. (14) Come thou to the temple!*

Now they are both in the presence of the supreme god. Mūt raises her hand towards him in a gesture of adoration, and introduces the king. She now says: (15) *'Herewith I cause thee to behold thy father Amūn.'* Her formal presentation speech would seem to be recorded farther down; we shall turn to it presently. Upon being acquainted with the work done by the king on his behalf the god blesses him by way of acknowledgement: (16) *Utterance by Amen-Rē, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in (17) Karnak: (18) 'Herewith I grant <thee> might and very many victories'.*

The god wears the characteristic crown with lofty šwty or double plumes, a necklace, and a knee-long loin-cloth with a plain girdle and a tail. He holds the sign of life and the uas-sceptre. Not behind him but rather on either side of him as shown by representations of divine triads in the round, stand Rē-Ḥarakhti-Atum and Ptaḥ-Nūn. The former is simply clothed in a tailed loin-cloth and bears upon his hawk's-head the sun disk with uraeus. The latter holds himself very erect upon a small dais and is in his customary mummy attire grasping with both hands the thick sceptre of life, stability, and dominion. Each of them graces Shoshenḳ with a boon:

(19) *Utterance by Rē-Ḥarakhti-Atum, (20) Lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, (21) the great god, Lord of heaven: (22) 'Herewith I grant <thee> millions of jubilees, hundred-thousands of years.'*

(23) *Utterance by Ptaḥ-Nūn the great—(24) he is the father of all the gods, kindly of face, (25) who fashioned the Great Ennead: (26) 'Herewith I grant thee all the Two Lands in peace.'*

The personage on the right-hand end of the scene is identified by the inscription above him as being (27) *the first prophet of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, the generalissimo (28) and leader Aupweth, triumphant, (29) the son of the King and Lord of the Two Lands Shoshenḳ-miamūn, (30) may he live, be prosperous and healthy, in might and victory.* Dressed in a long-skirted garment and a leopard-skin mantle, shod with coil-pointed, presumably papyrus, sandals, he holds out a smoking cup in his right hand and lifts up the other in a reverential gesture. He is fittingly said to be (31) *burning incense to his lord*; nevertheless, it would not be quite correct to view him merely as a high priest in attendance. His role, we shall soon discover, is a more important one.

We pass now to the text in heroic-sized hieroglyphs ranged in seven horizontal lines directly under the scene. This text complements the tableau inasmuch as it records what might conceivably have been Mūt's address to introduce the king to Amūn, and it certainly reports verbatim Pharaoh's words to the god on the occasion as well as Aupweth's. At all events, the text begins by giving the king's names and stating briefly what he has done for his divine father, which is precisely what one would expect to have been the gist of Mūt's speech of presentation.

(32) *Two Ladies: Arising in the double crown like Horus son of Isis, propitiating the gods with justice. Horus of gold: Powerful of strength, striking the Nine Bows, great of*

victory in all lands, the good god, Rēc in (33) his nature, descendant of Ḥarakhti—Amūn set him upon his throne to advance what he had commenced and to establish Egypt over again. King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ḥedjekheperre-setpenre. (34) He executed the opening of the quarry anew as the beginning of the work which the Son of Rēc Shoshenq-miamūn, who makes monuments for his father Amen-Rēc, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, did that he might gain the jubilees of Rēc (35) and the years of Atum, may he live eternally!

His meritorious action having thus been made known to Amūn, the king beseeches the favour of the god: 'My good lord, mayest thou cause them that are to come for millions of years to say: "To serve Amūn is profitable." Mayest thou be pleased to accord me a great reign.'

The following lines reveal the important part played by Aupweth in the event which the stele purports to commemorate. Pharaoh has just been credited with the re-opening of the quarry. Now the same undertaking is ascribed to his son Aupweth in precisely the same words: (36) *He executed the opening of the quarry anew as the beginning of the work which the first prophet of Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, the generalissimo and leader Aupweth, triumphant, (37) who is at the head of the great army of the entire Southern Region, the son of the King and Lord of the Two Lands Shoshenq-miamūn, did for his lord and for Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, who assures him life, prosperity and health, a prolonged span of life, might, (38) victory and an advanced old age in dominion.* And just as the sovereign after the proclamation of his good work besought the god's grace, so too Aupweth now asks of Amūn to be rewarded according to his deserts: 'My good lord, mayest thou cause them that are to come for millions of years to say: "To serve Amūn is profitable." Mayest thou be pleased to accord me might and victory.'

It will be noticed that Shoshenq I's and Aupweth's addresses would be exactly identical but for one point, the boon requested. Naturally, not being himself a king and presumably not even a crown prince, Aupweth could not very well have aspired to be granted 'a great reign'; none the less he did voice his desire for 'might and victory', which, though regarded in ancient Egypt as almost strictly kingly attributes, the powerful high priests of the time were not at all loth to claim on occasions for themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The lower section of the stela, written in short columns of comparatively small hieroglyphs, furnishes valuable data regarding Shoshenq I's ambitious building scheme in which the exploitation of the Silsilis quarry was but the first step. The Silsilis sandstone was to be used to enlarge the already much-added-to temple of Amūn at Karnak with further annexes.

(39) *Regnal year 21, second month of Shōmu. On this day His Majesty was in the residence of (40) Pi-Ēse, 'The Great Soul of Rēc-Ḥarakhti.'* His Majesty decreed to (41) *charge the god's father of Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, in command of the secrets of (42) the House of Rēc-Ḥarakhti and overseer of works in the monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ḥaremsaf, (43) triumphant, to reserve and protect any work—and it was to be above Suchus—belonging to the (44) choicest quarry in Silsilis, in order to make very great monuments for the House of his (45) august father Amen-Rēc, Lord of the thrones of*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Leps., *Auswahl*, pl. 15 a, b, f, h; *Bub. Gate*, 356, 18.

the Two Lands. It was His Majesty who gave directions to (46) build a very great pylon \_\_\_\_\_, to illumine Nē (47) by erecting its doors of millions of cubits, to make a festival hall (48) for the House of his father Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, and to surround it with statues and a colonnade.

The sandstone blocks quarried at Silsilis must have been transported to Karnak and put to use according to plan without delay, for now we see the architect Haremsaf travelling from Thebes to the court, there to report on the progress of those 'works of eternity' being erected at Karnak, which occupied his men night and day.

(49) A welcome coming from the Southern City to the place where His Majesty was by the god's father of Amen-Rē, (50) King of the Gods, in command of the secrets of the House of Rē-Harakhti and overseer of works in the Mansion of Hedjekheperrē-setpenrē in Thebes, (51) great of love before his lord, the performer of the ritual and Lord of the Two Lands, even Haremsaf, (52) triumphant. He said: 'All that thou hast said is being accomplished. O (53) good lord, there is neither sleeping by night nor (54) indeed slumbering by day, but they build the everlasting works (55) unflinchingly.' The king's favour caused him to be rewarded with chattels of (56) silver and gold.

The closing paragraph identifies the kneeling figure in the lower right corner as Haremsaf's son: His clever son, the prophet Phekanūfe, who makes monuments for Amūn as his father; (57) may he equal him. The hope that he may emulate his father's successful career is thus pregnantly expressed. As a builder Phekanūfe may have had a share in carrying the king's project into effect, which would account for his inclusion in this record. He may also have been personally concerned with the execution of the stela upon which he left his name, titles, and likeness in the manner of an artist's signature.<sup>1</sup>

#### Textual commentary

(3) *ꜥnh n-sw-bit*: 'life to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt', cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 30, 51.

For the spelling of the king's name cf. Meyer, *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1928, 513, n. 4. See also Simons, *Egypt. Topogr. Lists*, 89, n. 1; Macadam, *Kawa*, 1, text, 74, n. f; 124, n. 1.

(4) That *shꜥ* had by this time lost its causative force is shown by Naville, *Inscr. historique*, pl. opp. p. 20, ll. 12 vert. and 14 horiz.; note also headings of Khons's and Mūt's processions (upper left), and ll. 8, 12, 13-14 horiz. Some Dyn. XXII exx.: Leps., *Denkm.* III, 256 a, 16; 257 a, 11. But the difference between simplex *hꜥ* and causative *shꜥ* was at least occasionally felt at this period, see Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pl. 4, 2-4, unless this be a mechanical reproduction of an old *cliché*, cf. Nelson, *Med. Habu*, II, 123 B.

*Irt ht*: see note to col. (6) below.






(5) The *šdmw-n.f* relative form of *iri* with two *n*'s is extremely common at and about this period, e.g. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 257 a, 1; *Auswahl*, pl. 15 a, b, d; Mariette, *Mon. divers*, pl. 63 a; Cairo 559, 3 and bottom; 42189, back, 1; 42211, base; 42213, front and base; 42214, naos r.; 42221, left, 8; 42223, front (2 exx.); 42224, left foot; 42228, base;

<sup>1</sup> I am thinking of course of the draughtsman Paḥeri in the tomb of his grandfather 'Aḥmosē at El-Kāb (Leps., *Denkm.* III, 12 d), and of Senenmūt's portraits in the chapels of the temple of Ḥashepsōwe at Dēr el-Baḥri (cf. Winlock, *Bull. MMA* 21, part II, 12 f.).

42229, back; 42230, front; *Torso Simu*, 1; Birch, *Alnwick Castle*, 33; Loat, *Gurob*, pl. 19; Walters Art Gall. 166, top r.; 173 (2 exx.); Nelson, *Med. Habu*, IV, 247 D 2, I 2. The doubling of the *n* is to be taken as an illustration of the weakening of that consonant in Late Egyptian discussed by Sethe, *Verbum*, I, §§ 225, 226, and Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 29, 6; cf. also Clère, *C.-R. Groupe Ling. d'Ét. Ch.-Sémitiques*, II, 66 ff. The repetition of the consonant would be an expedient to indicate its retention. Sethe quotes the doubling of the *n* in a number of verb-stems and the demonstrative *pn*. It occurs also in the 1st and 2nd pers. pl. suffixes (Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, §§ 75, 76), and in such words as *hpn*, *kn* and *tnn*, cf. *Wb.* III, 366; V, 41, 381. Note also *ir n*, 'amounting to', with double *n*: Cairo, *J. d'E.* 66285, 12-15 (4 exx.); *Kawa Inscr.* VI, 6. Doubling of the formative *n* of the *šdm.n.f* form, see note on line (34) below.

On Aupweth cf. Wreszinski, *Hohenpriester*, 28 f.; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III, 321 f. On the military titles here see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 21\*; Hayes, *JEA* 34, 49.

Here and below (7) and (37) the reading *rsy* (not *šmꜣw*) is clinched by Met. Mus. 47123 A, 5.

*Hꜣt* is followed by  here, by  in col. (7) and line (37), by  in Apanage Stela, 1, and by  in Met. Mus. 47123 A, 5. A close var. of this title in *Rec. trav.* 30, 160, and Leps., *Auswahl*, pl. 15 a, 2, shows . The genitival exponent must be meant.

(6) *Irt ht*: since this tag is written in exactly the same way in col. (4) where the text reads in the normal right-to-left direction, it seems difficult to assume here a mistaken transposition of *h* and *t* due to the abnormal direction of the writing (cf. Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cemeteries*, I, 147, n. 1). It is rather a calligraphic device so that one *t* should serve for both *irt* and *ht*, cf. Leps., *Auswahl*, pl. 15 a, 2; Montet, *Ann. Serv.* 50, 35, fig. 1, and particularly Nelson, *Med. Habu*, I, 44 (top centre).

(9) The *t* of *nbw* is spurious, cf. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 127 b; 151 a; 246 a; Nelson, *Med. Habu*, II, 119 C 8; IV, 244 E 6; Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, I, 13 F; 37 A 4; 50, 3; and so often.

(12) An intrusive *t* with finite forms of (*r*)*dī* is not unparalleled: Nelson, *Med. Habu*, IV, 229, 49; *Bub. Gate*, 341, 6; 346, 5; 348 b, 8; Nitocris Stela, 2, 4, 6; Louvre A 90, 1, 4, 5. Note also Posener, *Première domination*, 57, n. b.

On omission of *n.k* cf. below (18), (22). Note ¶ for ordinary ¶, on the meaning of which see Gardiner, *JEA* 36, 12.

(14) *Hr* is here for *r*, which is the preposition consistently used in this rather trite phrase, cf. *Urk.* IV, 568, 14, 17; 575, 8; Champollion, *Not. Descr.* I, 885, 898; Leps., *Denkm.* III, 14; 151 a (2 exx.); Capart, *Temple de Sêti Ier*, pl. 5, centre; Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, III, 38; Nelson, *Med. Habu*, IV, 235, 22, 23; 246 C 3.

(15) For exx. of *mꜣꜣ* construed with *n* see the Belegs. to *Wb.* II, 9, 1 ff.; also Cairo 625, 4; Berlin 2316, 7; Leyden D 38, base; *Urk.* IV, 445, 16; P. Louvre 3230, a, 5; P. Ebers, 36, 15; P. Bremner-Rhind, 10, 22; Rochemonteix and Chassinat, *Edfou*, I, 174; V, 330.

(18) On omission of *n.k* cf. (12), (22).

(19) The present text, clinched by the depiction below, unmistakably shows the



singleness of Rĕc-Ḥarakhti-Atum and bears out Sir Alan Gardiner's remarks in *Onomastica*, II, 145\*; cf. also his *P. Ch. Beatty No. 1*, 11. If further proof be required see Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 51 G 1, and particularly Cairo 20075, top line.

(22) Note omission of *n·k*, also above (12), (18).

There is no reason to suppose that the exceedingly frequent combination of  $\text{𓆎}$  (*hfn*, 100,000) and  $\text{𓆏}$  (*šn* is variously used for a high round number, cf. Brugsch, *Thes.* 200 ff.) should have had a different numerical value from the tadpole sign by itself. The numeral owes here the feminine termination to the gender of the thing numbered, cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 244; Sethe, *Zahlworten*, 19, 51 ff. To the exx. there cited one could add Dakhleh Stela, 11; P. Brit. Mus. 10052, 3, 7; 16672, rt. 16; Turaev, *Several Egyp. Inscriptions*, pl. 1 (1); *Bub. Gate*, 353, 9; Leps., *Denkm.* III, 254 a; P. Anast. II, 7, 7; P. Abbott, 6, 12; P. Léopold II, 2, 19; Müller, *Egypt. Researches*, I, pl. 88, 1; *Urk.* VI, 55, 17; 63, 8.

(23) Ptaḥ-Nun already in the Shabaka Stone, 50 a; cf. Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 48; Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 115 ff.

(24) On the meaning of *nfr hr* cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53, 115; Stock, *Ntr nfr*, 4.

(31) The infinitive of *iri* must be meant, the two *n*'s after the eye sign being doubtless an error easier to emend than to account for. Cf. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 253 b; Ranke, *Koptische Friedhöfe*, pl. 19, 2; 21, 3. These three exx. date from the reign of Shoshenḳ I. Instances of this tag could be produced *ad nauseam* from other periods.

(32) Cf. Shoshenḳ I's titulary on the Bubastite gate architrave at Karnak, unfortunately very damaged and hitherto but unsatisfactorily published; refs. in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 13 (4), and rather poor photographs in Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, Blatt 1, Abb. 4; Abdallah, *Ann. Serv.* 40, pl. 152.

*Nḥtw (m) tꜣw nbw*: the preposition is written out in the titulary on the Karnak architrave.

On the meaning of *ntr nfr* see now Gardiner, *Miscell. Acad. Berolinensia*, II, 2nd part, 50; and Stock's monograph quoted above (24), particularly pp. 10 ff.

(33) *Rdī sw Ḳmn hr nst·f r smnh šꜣ·n·f*: same expression in Cairo 1182, 1. The parallel was aptly pointed out by Golénischeff, *Rec. trav.* 13, 107, whose view on *mstiwty* in the present passage, though supported by Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.*, II, 2<sup>ème</sup> partie, 33, n. 2, is, however, no longer tenable. For *smnh šꜣ·f* cf. also Vienna 200, A.

*N whm*, with *n* for *m*, an extremely common substitution. Ramesses I, Ramesses II, and Ḥeriḥor were, even as Shoshenḳ I, credited with having re-established the land according to Gardiner and Peet, *Inscr. of Sinai*, I, pl. 68, 244; Petrie, *Tanis*, I, pl. 9, 51; Cairo 552, back, 2; and an unpublished architrave in the temple of Khons, Karnak, which I quote from my own copy.

(34) The doubling of the formative *n* of the *šdm·n·f* is another instance of the phenomenon discussed above (5). It occurs again with *iri* in line (36), and with *dī* in Munich Glyptothek 35, 6, cf. Gardiner, *Rec. trav.* 19, 84.

Compare the wording of *Urk.* IV, 25, 8, stating the re-opening of the El-Ma'šara quarries. Note also Griffith, *El Bersheh*, II, 24, recording the opening (*wpt*) of a quarry at Dēr el-Bershah. The Sinaitic texts use *nḥb* as a rule and exceptionally *wn* to denote

the opening of the local mines, cf. Gardiner and Peet, *Inscr. of Sinai*, I, pl. 16, 47 and 48; pl. 17, 53, ll 1, 8; pl. 18, 51 and 56. 'To open' a quarry is *wn* in demotic, cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 51, 72 (17).

*N šrc*: prep. *n* for *m*, as again below (36) and so often in this inscription and elsewhere.

I have taken the second  $\overline{\text{nm}}$  in this line as *šdmw·n·f* relative form, cf. note to col. (5) above. To regard it as *šdm·n·f* with doubling of the *n* is a possible, though less satisfactory, alternative.

(35) For  $\text{ḥ}$  as old perfective ending of the 3rd pers. sing. masc. cf. Berlin 1191, C<sup>1</sup>, 3 (*temp.* MK.); Cairo 38269, top right (Dyn. XXV); otherwise written  $\text{=}$  (Louvre A 93, 11; Dyn. XXVI) or  $\text{=}$  (*Ann. Serv.* 5, 85, line 7; Dyn. XXVI). *T* becomes a common old perfective termination for all persons in Ptolemaic, cf. Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* 44, 123 b; 157 i.

The same writing of the *šdm·f* form  $\text{dd}$  is found again in line (38) below; cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 275.

Note here and below (38) the curious writing of *iūw*, meant no doubt for  $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$ . It shows the calligraphic arrangement usually met with in vertical inscriptions, the symmetry of the group being further enhanced by the breaking up of the initial  $\text{ḥ}$  into  $\text{ḥ}$  and  $\text{ḥ}$ . For a like dichotomy cf. De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, III, 326 h.

*Mty·k hr ir(t) n·i n nsy(?) r*, lit. 'mayest thou agree upon making for me a great reign.' The meaning of *mty* here and below line (38) is hesitatingly suggested by Sir Alan Gardiner in the light of demotic *mti*, 'to be pleased', often construed with *r* or *n* for 'to agree to, in;' cf. Griffith, *Rylands*, III, 227, n. 17; 359 s.v.; Sethe and Partsch, *Demot. Bürgerschaftsurkunden*, 109 f., 262. Preposition *n* is for *m* introducing the object of *ir(t)*. This usage is anticipatory of Coptic  $\overline{\text{nr}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{nr}}$ , cf. Gardiner, *P. Ch. Beatty No. 1*, 39, n. 1, quoting Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 26, 34 f.

(36) Here as in line (34) above, I take the first  $\overline{\text{nm}}$  as *šdm·n·f* form and the second as *šdmw·n·f* relative form. Here again the possibility of the second  $\overline{\text{nm}}$  being a *šdm·n·f* form cannot be altogether ruled out. It is not quite safe at this late period to rely unreservedly on the lack of *t* in  $\overline{\text{nm}}$  to determine the antecedent of this relative form. However, since the 'work' (*kt*) of which the re-opening of the quarry marks the beginning can only be the vast quarrying and building scheme dealt with in detail in cols. (39) ff., it seems better not to regard *kt* as the antecedent of  $\overline{\text{nm}}$  here. That 'which the first prophet . . . Aupweth . . . did for his lord and for Amen-Rē' was in all probability the re-opening of the quarry, just the beginning of the work decreed by the king.

(39) *Hst-sp*: the mistaken transposition of  $\text{=}$  and  $\text{=}$  is not wholly unparalleled, cf. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 71 d; Gardiner and Peet, *Inscr. of Sinai*, I, pl. 66, 212 face.

Shoshenq I's twenty-first year mentioned here is his latest known date and corresponds to c. 925 B.C. In Manetho, frags. 60–61, Shoshenq I is credited with a twenty-one years' reign, which will of course assign the event recorded by our text to the very last year of his rule. The evidence available at present would appear to afford no serious ground for calling in question Manetho's testimony on this score, in spite of the thirty-four years ascribed to  $\Sigma\upsilon\sigma\alpha\kappa\epsilon\mu$  (presumably Shoshenq I) by the pseudo-Manetho, *Book of Sothis*, 62.

Dates by no means always give the day of the month. Here, however, it is urgently demanded by *hrw pn*, and its omission must therefore be regarded as an oversight. So too in Louvre C 124, 1 and Ostr. Cairo 25553, rt. 1. A somewhat analogous omission would seem to occur in P. Anast. III, vs. 1, 5; but here an unwelcome break impairs the reading, cf. Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Misc.* 30 a, n. 8 a.

*Hm:f* with otiose *t* curiously recurs in the next line.

Preposition *m* left out after *f*. The omission occurs at various places in this text, and is not uncommon elsewhere, cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 607.

(40) The royal residence mentioned here is unknown elsewhere (cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 41; III, 148), and its precise location cannot be ascertained. One can only surmise that it was at some place in Lower Egypt where Shoshenq I and his dynastic successors seem to have regularly resided, though hardly at Bubastis. Cf. 'The Great Soul of Prē-Ḥarakhti' often found as an epithet of Pi-Ra'messe-miamūn, the Delta residence of the Ramessides, probably Tanis, cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 171\* ff., 278\* f.; for the significance of the epithet see Gardiner, *JEA* 5, 136 f.

(41) On the priestly title *it-ntr* cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 47\* ff. Borchardt, *Berich. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. Leipzig*, 57, 268, n. 3, quotes this particular god's father after Lieblein, *Dict. des noms hiér.*, 342, No. 1042.

The sequence of titles here and in col. (50) shows that  $\overline{\text{sm}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}$  is to be taken as a garbled writing of *sšt*, two 'god's fathers in command of the secrets of the House of Rē-Ḥarakhti' being mentioned (with the title *hry sšt* in normal orthography) on the fragmentary tablet Turin 2682 found within the temple area at Heliopolis by Schiaparelli and published by Ricke, *ZÄS* 71, 111 ff. One cannot help surmising that Ḥaremsaf was attached to that temple.<sup>1</sup> *Hry sšt* is also defectively written without *t* or *t* in P. Vienna 29, 3, and P. Berlin 3044, 42. The determinative  $\Delta$  in our text is no doubt borrowed from *sš*, 'to spread out'. Some remarks on the significance of the title, Gauthier, *Personnel*, 27 f. The view here adopted is at variance with *Wb.* III, 483, 10, which reads *hry sš*, cites our stela as only source, and offers no translation. The other two references given by *Wb.* under the same entry *sš* lend no support to the Dictionary reading. In fact, *Wb.* III, 483, 9, quotes *sš n nb tswy* from the ushebti Leyden P 66; but this is surely the common 'scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands' as pointed out long ago by Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, Text, 70 n. 7; 95. For this title cf. Berlin 7315, F 11; 7272, A 11; Hanover, *Inv.* 2942 (31); Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. 26, 1; Vienna 24. For *sš*, 'scribe', fully spelt out, *Urk.* IV, 1040, 10; Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē*, II, pl. 27, 26-27; pl. 69, 2; and perhaps also Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pl. 15, 3rd reg., cf. p. 65. For the determinative in the Leyden ushebti cf. *sš*, 'to write', in P. Ch. Beatty III, rt. 6, 10. As for *Wb.* III, 483, 11, this is an erroneous transcription of P. Hood 2, 4, cf. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie*, 216, 41; for the correct reading see Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, II, 45 (with n. 3) ff., and Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 32\*. Whatever the interpretation of the Hood title the Dictionary reading *sš* is quite definitely at fault.

<sup>1</sup> The main Heliopolitan temple, also mentioned in P. Harris I, 37, b, 2; P. Wilbour, A, 55, 10; 67, 16.

(42) Prep. *m* should be supplied in thought after *kꜣwt* as shown by full writings of the title, e.g. Cairo 1105, back; 42225, back, 3; Nelson, *Med. Habu*, IV, 247 D 2; Berlin 2089, 1; Leps., *Denkm.* III, 200 *a*; Ny Carlsb., *Inv.* 662, back; Mariette, *Mon. divers.*, pls. 58, 78 *b*. Cf. also Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. 10, left end.

The theophorous name *Hr-m-sꜣf*, 'Horus is his protection', is found from the Old Kingdom down to the Ptolemaic period (cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 248, 12), and belongs to a not unusual name-type, cf. Hoffmann, *Personennamen*, 43. It is just possible that our personage may be mentioned in a Wādi Ḥammāmāt genealogical inscription of the time of Darius I, cf. Posener, *Première domination*, 103 (*f*), with refs.

(43) *Mꜣr-hrw*: note ← carved in error for —.

The technical phrase *hwi mki* denotes protection against external interference and is often met with in decretal documents. To the textual references conveniently collected by Kuentz, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 28, 105, with retrospective bibliography, *ibid.* n. 2, add Kuentz, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 34, 162 f.; Gardiner, *JEA* 22, 178; De Buck, *JEA* 23, 160; Bennett, *JEA* 25, 13 (43); Korostovtsev, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 45, 169 (36); Berlin 6768, left; Brit. Mus. 211, 8; Nauri, 41; *Bub. Gate*, 356, 41. Note also P. Ch. Beatty VIII, vs. 10, 7; 11, 3. There is no more doubt that  $\overline{\text{m}}$  after *hwi* is a summary writing of *mki* than that  $\overline{\text{m}}$  after *kn(t)* reads *nht(w)* at the very end of line (38).

For — as a var. of the 3rd pers. sing. fem. pronominal compound, cf. *Urk.* IV, 181, 2.

The parenthetic proviso explicitly places the work to be done in the best quarry at Silsilis beyond the jurisdiction of Suchus, the chief local god, forestalling thereby what might have been thought a potential source of difficulty. The undertaking was a top-priority one not to be interfered with on any account.

(44) Preposition of place, very likely *m*, left out after the relative adjective as in P. Anast. III, vs. 6, 5; VI, 55.57.61; P. Sall. IV, vs. 2, 1.

On Silsilis, modern Gebel es-Silsilah, cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 6\*, with references. For an excellent description of the site see Baikie, *Egyptian Antiquities*, 670 ff. See also Janssen, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, 3, 337 f., with good photographs of the quarries.

(46) Despite clear plural strokes I have translated 'pylon' in order not to be misleadingly overliteral. It will be pointed out below that just one pylon is in all probability meant here. Certainly the text reads *bhnwt ꜣwt*, but the use of the plural to denote a single pylon is neither faulty nor unparalleled. The one pylon of the Khons temple at Karnak is referred to both in the singular (Leps., *Denkm.* III, 251 *b*) and in the plural (*ibid.* 248 *i, h*; 251 *a*) in the texts carved upon it to record its erection, or rather completion, by Pnūdjem son of Payꜣonkh. The plural is indubitably meant for the rarer dual form, the *raison d'être* of which being the duality inherent in a two-towered structure. Thus the dual *bhnty ꜣty* in *Urk.* IV, 940, 12, most likely refers to one pylon at Karnak, viz. the sixth. And the now destroyed pylon built by Amenophis III by the Memnon colossi is significantly described in Cairo 34025, rt. 9, as *bhn(t)y ꜣw(t) wrt*, 'a very great pylon', with dual substantive and plural adjective.

I fail to read the word after *nty*. Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.*, 664, renders it by 'Werkstücken von Stein'; Maspero, *Mom. Royales*, 731, by 'pierres de taille', but what word they had

in mind I do not know. Traces beneath  $\Rightarrow$  would suit  $\Rightarrow$ , if wanted, and a word denoting some sort of building material, rather perhaps than a building technique or style, would indeed suit the context very well. But it does not seem possible to read here either the generic term *inr* or the specific *rwdt*; in fact one can read none of the various names of building stones listed in *Wb.* VI, 147 c f., and discussed by Sethe, *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1933, 866 ff. Even if Shoshenq I had planned to build a pylon of brick (cf. *Urk.* II, 68, 7, 13) with cedar doors forming the façade of a colonnaded hall of Silsilis sandstone, *dbt* would likewise be an untenable reading. I have no suggestions.

*Shd*: note  $\downarrow$  in error for  $\uparrow$  due to the similarity of the signs in hieratic. Philadelphia Univ. Mus. 42.9.1, 26–27, supplies another instance of *shd* so misspelt, cf. Ranke, *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 12, 131 with n. 4.

*Niwt* is of course ‘the City’ par excellence, Wēse, the city of Amūn, capital of the Theban nome, on which see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 24\* ff.

(47) Suffix *f* refers back to Nē, syntactically treated as a masculine, cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 34, 20, n. 1. But of course the doors are strictly those of the pylon (*bhnwt*, fem. plural), and are thought of as belonging to Thebes.

The genitival *n* shows an abusive *t*.

On *wsht* see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 208\* f., where the Steindorff reference should read *ZÄS* 34, 107 ff.

(48) The pronominal object *st* shows that the absence of fem. *t* in *wsht* is merely graphic. The following *n* stands for *m*.

(49) The *n* after *htp* is for *m* in the common *ii m*, ‘come from’, exactly as in Geb. Barkal Stela 2, 34; Metternich Stela, VII right; 220; Dümichen, *Resultate*, I, pl. 43, 16; Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 131, 4.

For *niwt rst*, a well-known appellation of Thebes, see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 80, which should be consulted with caution, for Legrain is there misquoted without a reference; cf. Legrain, *Rec. trav.* 26, 84 ff.; 27, 183 ff.

The king was presumably still at the residence mentioned in col. (40) above.

*N* after *hm:f* is for agential *in*. Some exx., Černý and Peet, *JEA* 13, 35 (20); Louvre Stela 364, 9; Gardiner, *ZÄS* 43, 33 (13); Lange, *Der magische Pap. Harris*, 90 (24); Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 163 (I a 3), 186 (II δ 2).

(50) For the last title in the column I have no exact parallel, but an analogous one is that of ‘Overseer of works in the Mansion of Ramesses II in the House of Amūn,’ see Cairo 1146; Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 19 (top), I, 17–18. The ‘Mansion’ mentioned in our stela is named nowhere else, cf. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 116, where reference is made to the statement in Breasted, *Anc. Records*, IV, 347, n. e, that that was the name of the temple of Karnak at the time of Shoshenq I. Now Černý, *JEA* 26, 127, has shown that *hwet* plus the king’s *prenomen* designated only royal mortuary temples in the New Kingdom, and though this practice might not have survived the Ramesside period and of course no mortuary temple of Shoshenq I is known to have existed, one should not hastily disregard the use of his *prenomen* in the name of the building. Breasted’s statement ought to be double-queried, to say the least of it. Nor is the adjunct ‘in Thebes’

altogether beyond doubt, 'Ḥedjekheperrē-setpenrē' is in (or 'has') dominion' being a possible alternative for the name of the Mansion. The retrograde writing within the *ḥwt* is noticeable. Cf. the *ḥwt*-name in the bronze fragment discussed by Nash, *PSBA* 29, 175 with pl. 2, fig. 1.

(52) The strokes between *k* and *nb* and the one to the right of *nb* are ancient mistakes undoubtedly now disclosed by the falling off of the plaster with which they had been blotted out.

(53) The det. of *sdr* shows a summary form of the falcon image upon a couch. This hieroglyph gradually supersedes  $\text{𓆏}$  in the late period. See the photograph published by Fairman, *JEA* 20, pl. 1, 2, horiz. l. 6 from bottom; hand facsimile in Macadam, *Kawa*, 1, pl. 10, 2. A long-beaked bird, presumably an ibis, replaces the falcon in *Bub. Gate*, 352, 3 (Dyn. XXII). The present passage is quoted by Vikentiev, *Haute crue du Nil*, 20, with a parallel from P. Lansing, 11, 2-3 = P. Anast. IV, 8, 8.

(54) *Sw* for enclitic *swt* is not unparalleled, cf. Griffith, *Antiq. of Tell el Yahûdiyeh*, pl. 24, 23; Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. 29, 7; Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, 122, 6; Leyden V 1, 20; *Bub. Gate*, 356, 26, 34; *Petosiris*, 81, 27. In P. Turin 1882, vs. 4, 1, *sw* for *swt* would appear to be marked as defective.

The right hand end of  $\text{𓆏}$  is unmistakably preserved beneath *hrw*.

(55) On royal rewards to officials engaged in quarrying and building cf. lines 5-8 of the inscription of Ḥumen published by Habachi, *JEA* 36, pl. 3. On the subject of rewards Habachi, *ibid.*, 17, n. 6, gives some useful references, to which one could add the material discussed by Gabra, *Conseils de Fonct.* 41 ff.; further refs. in Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, 1, 21, n. 10; add Leyden V 1, 19. Note the royal presents found in the tomb of the overseer of works Kha' at Dēr el-Medīnah and published by Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della Miss. Arch. Italiana*, 11, 168 ff. See also Erman and Ranke, *Aegypten*, 132 ff.

(56) *P3-ḥk3-nfr*, 'The ruler is good', is unrecorded in Ranke, *Personennamen*, but names of like formation can be quoted, *ibid.*, 1, 116, 3, 4; 419, 15.

Ḥaremsaf's role as a builder calls for some remarks. Faulkner points out that since Ḥaremsaf receives the epithet *m3c-hrw*, it would seem that he was already dead by the time the cutting of the inscription was finished; in the present passage Ḥaremsaf would be announcing himself as his father's successor in the Karnak work, the following *whm:f sw* expressing his intention to maintain Ḥaremsaf's high level of achievement, 'may he (P.) repeat him (H.)'. Faulkner's attractive suggestion is however subject to exception. Firstly, although *m3c-hrw* is indeed in most cases equivalent to 'deceased', its use as a laudatory epithet of a living person is by no means rare, in which usage it is possibly anticipatory of the post-mortem status of the individual concerned, as suggested by Devéria, *Rec. trav.* 1, 10. See also Maspero, *Ét. de Mythologie*, 1, 106 ff.; Naville, *Bubastis*, 43; Sethe, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1912, 715; Winlock, *JEA* 10, 269, n. 4; Anthes, *Felseninschr. von Hatnub*, 86, n. 1; Erichsen, *Acta Or.* 6, 278; *Wb.* 11, 18, 10-11, with refs.; add Apanage Stela, *passim* (cf. Erman, *ZÄS* 35, 19, n. 2), and a clear ex. in *Bub. Gate*, 351, 9. Secondly, in the phrase *m(i)t:f* the preposition may have not the meaning 'in the capacity or position of', but perhaps a nuance of comparison, cf.

Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 490, 4; Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 621. For Dyn. XXII–XXIII exx. of *m* used as a preposition of resemblance for *mī*, cf. *Bub. Gate*, 356, 28; Luxor flood inscription, 4. In other words, Pḥeknūfe might have built monuments for Amūn just as his father did, but not necessarily *in the position of* his father. Still, Faulkner's suggestion is quite plausible and worth putting on record.

(57) The top of *ε* is distinctly visible under *f*. Lepsius gives the sign complete and unhatched. I owe the interpretation of this sentence to Faulkner. Cf. the expression *m whm (i)t·k*, lit. 'in repeating thy father', discussed by Hayes, *JEA* 32, 17 (9). Sir Alan Gardiner has also called my attention to the phrase *nn whm·ty·fy* 'there will be none to equal him' (lit. 'none who shall repeat'); cf. the Belegstellen to *Wb.* I, 341, 1 and add *Urk.* IV, 199, 17; *Ann. Serv.* 51, 200; Sphinx Stela of Amenophis II, 11; Mariette, *Mon. divers*, pl. 25 c, 3; Lepsius, *Denkm.* IV, 53 b; Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 114, 548.

### Conclusion

Since this paper merely aims at presenting a fresh copy of the stela and an annotated translation of the texts it bears, I shall not attempt here to do more than to touch lightly upon the main historical and archaeological problems raised by the Silsilis monument. These problems concern the scope of Shoshenḳ I's building scheme, the extent to which it was carried out, and the identification of the pertinent constructions. In this connexion it will be well to summarize the relevant data furnished by our record.

In the twenty-first year of his reign Shoshenḳ I commissioned the architect Ḥaremsaf to exploit a picked quarry at Silsilis with a view to obtaining sandstone for the erection of two main structures in the great temple of Amūn at Karnak. It was proposed to build there a pylon and a hall. The former was to be provided with stately doors and the latter was to be surrounded by statues and a colonnade. Ground was broken at Silsilis, and Aupweth, the king's son, who in his capacity of first prophet of Amūn must have been particularly interested in the enterprise, played on the occasion a role of consequence. The text lends no slender support to the conjecture that he may have gone personally to Silsilis to deputise for Pharaoh at the ceremony which marked the opening of the quarry. Work having been commenced at Karnak in due course, Ḥaremsaf went to the court at Pi-Ēse, presumably somewhere in the north, to inform the sovereign that all his behests were being attended to with a will. Pharaoh showed his appreciation by giving his worthy architect presents of silver and gold. Here the record ends.

It has long been recognized that the task conceived by Shoshenḳ I was the building of the whole of the first court at Karnak, on the south-east corner of which a gate bears his name and proclaims that he gave directions to enlarge the temple and that he aggrandized it more than his predecessors had ever done.<sup>1</sup> On six of the panels that flank the portal Shoshenḳ I is shown being greeted by various gods and always accompanied by his son Aupweth. There are there some later memorials left by descendants of his; and just outside the gate, to the left of it as one leaves the court, an enormous unfinished relief commemorates his victories abroad.<sup>2</sup> These records afforded a clue, and he who

<sup>1</sup> Architrave inscription, for which see note to line (32) above.

<sup>2</sup> Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 13 f.

first grasped it and associated the gate with the building scheme set forth in the Silsilis stela was Champollion, whose pertinent remark deserves full quotation, all the more so as it appears heretofore never to have been pointed out, in print at least: 'Il est certain qu'après la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie, ces carrières [at Silsilis] ont toujours fourni des matériaux pour la construction des monuments de la Thébaïde. La stèle de Sésonchis I<sup>er</sup> le prouve; on y parle en effet d'exploitations de l'an XXII [*sic*] du règne de ce prince, destinées à des constructions faites dans la *grande demeure d'Ammon*: ce sont celles qui forment le côté droit de la première cour de Karnak, près du second pylone, monument du règne de Sésonchis et des rois Bubastites, ses descendants et ses successeurs.'<sup>1</sup>

Actually the Bubastite gate is only a part of the total work carried out by Shoshenḫ I at Karnak, but it was not before de Rougé and Mariette had recognized the unfinished uninscribed colonnades of the first court as contemporaneous with the gate<sup>2</sup> that Maspero could interpret, quite correctly to my mind, the contents of the Silsilis record regarding Shoshenḫ I's architectural achievements at Karnak. In Section IV of his admirable memoir on *Les Momies royales de Dêir el-Baharî* published in 1887 Maspero, among other matters, translated the building portion of the stela and inferred therefrom that Shoshenḫ I's project had envisaged the construction of the entire first court of Karnak, including the first pylon. As patently shown by the archaeological evidence, however, the grandiose scheme was but partially accomplished: the colonnaded walls that form the north and south sides of the court were erected, and of these only the south gateway between the temple of Ramesses III and the second pylon was duly dressed and adorned with the customary scenes and texts—the rest Shoshenḫ I left unfinished, and so it has remained to date. Even the triumphal relief by the gate was never completed. It can accordingly be assumed that the Pharaoh did not live or did not reign long enough to see that his plan was fulfilled throughout, and that the works were abandoned when he was no more. This assumption receives support from the fact that in the light of Manetho's testimony as to the length of Shoshenḫ I's rule, the vast scheme would appear to have been launched in the last year of the reign.

The 'very great pylon' of the Silsilis text was indubitably meant to close the west side of the court and serve as the main access to the whole temple. Such being the function of the present first pylon, the question arises as to whether it too should be ascribed to Shoshenḫ I. A detailed discussion of the vexed question is beyond the scope of this paper and clearly out of my ken. Since the first pylon is uninscribed, its attribution can only be arrived at through a thorough investigation of the monument from the architectural standpoint. The most recent treatments of the subject are by Legrain in the third chapter of his work on *Les Temples de Karnak*, posthumously published in 1929, and by Hölscher in a 1943 article in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, 12, 139 ff. They do not agree. A technical survey led Legrain to regard the pylon as contemporaneous with the colonnaded walls of the front court, and he attributed the whole to Shoshenḫ I, his conclusion being thus at variance with the generally accepted view that the pylon

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*, 190 f. (letter dated from Bibān el-Molük, Mar. 25, 1829).

<sup>2</sup> De Rougé, *Mél. d'Archéologie*, 1, 67; Mariette, *Karnak*, text, 18, 38.



was built at a later date. Hölscher differs from Legrain and regards the pylon as Ptolemaic. Whilst at Karnak I examined the walls with Legrain's book in my hand and found his argumentation, in fact, unconvincing. However, being myself incompetent to pass judgement on archaeological technicalities, I sought the advice of Monsieur Henri Chevrier, the foremost authority on the constructional problems of the Karnak complex. Monsieur Chevrier, who has obligingly authorized me to quote his opinion, believes that the first pylon is a later structure. He points out that the Twenty-second Dynasty colonnades of the first court carry on the traditional building technique of the New Kingdom, with irregular courses of blocks of uneven height within each course and from one course to the other; whereas the pylon exhibits a clearly distinct, later, and more rational technique characterized by the regularity of the courses, which are all of equal height. I am firmly convinced of the soundness of Monsieur Chevrier's view. Others may not concur. The attribution of the uninscribed pylon thus remains an open question.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES ON THE DEMOTIC OF PAPYRUS INSINGER

By RONALD J. WILLIAMS

PAPYRUS INSINGER,<sup>1</sup> a document of the early first century A.D., presents several linguistic features of great interest to the grammarian of the Demotic of the Roman period. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to some of these.

We begin with the vetitive use of the infinitive of the negative verb *tm* which in PIns. alone replaces the regular negative imperative *m-ir*. This fact was recognized by Spiegelberg in his grammar.<sup>2</sup> There is a single doubtful Coptic example in the Sahidic version of Mat. v. 39, ⲧⲏⲁⲅⲉⲣⲁⲧⲏⲛ, which renders the Greek μὴ ἀντιστῆναι, but the Coptic text is too fragmentary for certainty.<sup>3</sup> However, Spiegelberg does not mention the fact that *tm sdm* is sometimes expanded into *tm ir sdm* with no change of meaning. Indeed, each verb so used is also found without *ir*, e.g. *tm hn*<sup>4</sup> and *tm ir hn*,<sup>5</sup> 'do not approach'; *tm gl*<sup>6</sup> and *tm ir gl*,<sup>7</sup> 'do not deceive'; *tm cf*<sup>8</sup> and *tm ir cf*,<sup>9</sup> 'do not be greedy'. The question arises whether the form following *tm ir* is an infinitive or a substantive (cf. *cf* 'greed'); the latter is certainly the case in such a locution as *tm ir wpy*, 'do not judge',<sup>10</sup> but is hardly likely to be true of the first example cited.

The reason for such an expansion is not apparent. The rules governing the use of the auxiliary verb *ir* in the familiar construction *ir:f sdm* (viz., with verbs of more than three radicals, compound verbs or verbs of foreign origin) do not apply here, for the simple form is employed with quadriconsonantals, e.g. *tm tktk*, 'do not hasten',<sup>11</sup> *tm ksks*, 'do not whisper',<sup>12</sup> as well as with a compound verb, i.e. *tm n-smy*, 'do not report'.<sup>13</sup>

We note next that in a number of cases in PIns. a form resembling the adjective-verb *n3-nfr* has been employed as an attributive adjective, e.g. *st-hmt n3-nfrt*, 'a good woman'.<sup>14</sup> The writing *n3-nfr*, of course, belongs to the verbal form used in the *sdm:f* when an adjectival predicate is required. This form developed very early in Demotic, the prefix, according to Sethe, being derived from the verb *wn*, 'to be'.<sup>15</sup> The only examples outside PIns. of *n3-nfr* so used which have been noted by Spiegelberg in his MS. Demotic dictionary<sup>16</sup> occur in a fragment of the Parthenios stela (also of the first century A.D.)

<sup>1</sup> F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger* (Paris, 1926); cf. also P. A. A. Boeser, *Transkription und Übersetzung des Papyrus Insinger, Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit 's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Nieuwe Reeks, 3, 1 (Leyden, 1922); A. Volten, *Analecta Aegyptiaca*, vol. 11: *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch* (Copenhagen, 1941).

<sup>2</sup> *Dem. Gramm.* § 478.

<sup>3</sup> A similar anomaly is the strange form *bn* used in a like fashion in Mag. 20/12, 21/22 f., which is probably identical with Akhmimic ⲁⲛⲓ (cf. Till, *Akh.-Kopt. Gramm.* § 118 a).

<sup>4</sup> PIns. 26/12.

<sup>5</sup> PIns. 10/12.

<sup>6</sup> PIns. 26/18.

<sup>7</sup> PIns. 27/1.

<sup>8</sup> PIns. 15/7.

<sup>9</sup> PIns. 4/8.

<sup>10</sup> PIns. 27/11.

<sup>11</sup> PIns. 4/2.

<sup>12</sup> PIns. 25/20.

<sup>13</sup> PIns. 11/2.

<sup>14</sup> PIns. 18/22; cf. 2/1 f., 5/1, 8/5, 10/9, &c.

<sup>15</sup> *ZÄS* 64, 63 f.

<sup>16</sup> The writer is indebted to Professor W. F. Edgerton of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, for putting this valuable document at his disposal.

in Strasbourg,<sup>1</sup> lines 26 f. However, there is a strange use of the form in the Satirical Poem,<sup>2</sup> likewise of the Roman period, viz., the adverbial phrase in the clause *iw bn iw:f rh wšb r n3-nfr*, 'not being able to reply properly',<sup>3</sup> where *r nfr* would be normal.

Professor W. F. Edgerton has suggested to the writer in conversation that perhaps *n3-nfr*, together with the Coptic form  $\text{ne}\overline{\text{np}}$ -,<sup>4</sup> is no more than an archaic survival of the adjective in the predicate position (cf. below) with the Demotic orthography influenced by the adjective-verbs which resembled it in pronunciation. It should be noted that Sethe's derivation of  $\text{ne}\overline{\text{np}}$ - from *\*nenfēr*<sup>5</sup> presupposes an assimilation of *n* which is unparalleled in Egyptian. It may be, according to Dr. Edgerton, that this writing of the predicate adjective was then employed even when *nfr* was attributive, and hence pronounced differently (cf. Coptic  $\text{no}\overline{\text{p}}\text{e}$ ). This reconstruction of the situation is admittedly hypothetical, but so far no other explanation offers itself to the writer. It is indeed strange that only the word *nfr* is so treated, unless we are to take seriously the writing *n3-ꜥ3*,<sup>6</sup> where the probability of a scribal error is very high.

A further significant feature of PIns. is the locution *i-ir n3-nfr*, found elsewhere only in Myth, as a 'second' tense of the adjective-verb. The writer has discussed this elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

We now turn our attention to three types of non-verbal sentences to be found in PIns.:

(i) With substantival subject and adjectival predicate. In this type the adjectival predicate precedes the subject. According to Sethe<sup>8</sup> and Spiegelberg,<sup>9</sup> this construction, common in earlier periods of the Egyptian language, is confined in Demotic to sporadic occurrences in the Persian period, after which time it is replaced by the *sdm-f* form of the adjective-verb. PIns., however, apparently preserves two examples, both with the word *ꜥ3*, 'great', e.g. *ꜥ3 p3 btw n n3 i-ir h3ꜥ p3 myt*, 'great is the evil of those who have abandoned the path'.<sup>10</sup> The form *ꜥ3* is written  $\text{ꜥ3}$  in both cases, although this adjective when used attributively is always written  $\overline{\text{G}}_2$  in PIns. It may be that the scribe purposely employed this special orthography to distinguish the predicate adjective. However, the possibility of a scribal error for the normal form  $\text{ꜥ3}$  *n3-ꜥ3* cannot be disregarded.

(ii) With demonstrative as copula between predicate and subject. Sethe,<sup>11</sup> followed by Spiegelberg,<sup>12</sup> lists this type of sentence as appearing first in Mag. (third century A.D.). Nevertheless, PIns. presents us with two earlier examples, e.g. *t3 rhnwot n p3 rmt ntr hn sdb p3y p3 ntr*, 'the refuge of the godly man in misfortune is the god'.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, other early examples are to be found in PSpieg.<sup>14</sup> 11/15 (early first century A.D.) and Fam. Ar.<sup>15</sup> B ii, 12 (173-170 B.C.). In this construction the demonstrative agrees in gender with the subject, with which it is in apposition.

(iii) With relative subject. This type of sentence is noted neither by Sethe nor

<sup>1</sup> Published in *ZÄS* 54, 123.

<sup>2</sup> E. Révillout, *Un Poème satyrique* (Paris, 1885); cf. also H. Sottas, *Rev. ég.*, N.S. 1 (1919), 129-47.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. 3/12.      <sup>4</sup> Luke v. 39 (Sahidic version).      <sup>5</sup> Cf. *ZÄS* 64, 64; cf. also Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.* 37, 22.

<sup>6</sup> PIns. 5/20.

<sup>7</sup> *JNES* 7, 226.

<sup>8</sup> *Nominalsatz*, § 36.

<sup>9</sup> *Dem. Gramm.* § 445.

<sup>10</sup> PIns. 18/17; cf. 33/5.

<sup>11</sup> *Nominalsatz*, § 118.

<sup>12</sup> *Dem. Gramm.* § 459.

<sup>13</sup> PIns. 19/12; cf. 30/19.

<sup>14</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (Leipzig, 1910).

<sup>15</sup> H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut* (Oxford, 1934).

by Spiegelberg. In PIns. the predicate may be an infinitive, e.g. *pʒ nty nʒ-nfr:f n rmt tm kby iw pʒ šy nht*, 'what is good for a man is not to take vengeance when destiny is strong',<sup>1</sup> or, very commonly, another relative, e.g. *pʒ nty st:f hn nʒy:f hʒrw pʒ nty wy r nʒ hʒrw n pʒ ntr*, 'he who turns himself away from his anger is the one who is far from the anger of the god'.<sup>2</sup> Note that the relative subject precedes the predicate.

When this construction is put in the negative, however, the relative subject follows: (1) with substantival predicate, e.g. *bn iw st-hmt cnt in tʒ nty hsy n hʒt ky*, 'she is not (necessarily) a good woman who is praised in another man's heart';<sup>3</sup> (2) with substantival predicate preceded by *n* of predication, e.g. *bn iw n rmt-rh in pʒ nty čy myt n ky*, 'he is not (necessarily) a wise man who guides<sup>4</sup> another';<sup>5</sup> (3) with a relative predicate, e.g. *bn iw pʒ nty cf in pʒ nty rwš r-dbʒ tʒy:f hrʒt rsyt*, 'he is not (necessarily) greedy who is concerned for his next day's food'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PIns. 19/22.

<sup>2</sup> PIns. 21/17; cf. 4/3, 5/2, 6/12 f., 9/3 f., &c.

<sup>3</sup> PIns. 8/15; cf. 2/16 f., 5/19, 7/15, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Coptic (Boh.) Ⲫⲓ ⲁⲁⲱⲓⲧ ⲏⲧ.

<sup>5</sup> PIns. 14/1; cf. 5/5 f., 8/17, 9/18, 13/2, &c.

<sup>6</sup> PIns. 19/4; cf. 7/16, 11/19, 13/23 (with *n* of predication!), &c.

## TWO PTOLEMAIC DEDICATIONS

By P. M. FRASER AND A. RUMPF<sup>1</sup>

THE two stones which are the subject of this article were bought by the British Museum in 1926, and are now published by kind permission of the Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Pl. XIV). They were purchased from two different Cairene dealers, and no information survives as to their provenance. The stone indicated as (B) below was published with a line-reproduction in the *British Museum Guide to Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1929), and the relief was briefly mentioned by A. Rumpf in his *Die Meerwesen auf den Antiken Sarkophagenreliefs* (1939), 116; the inscription was, however, not included in *SEG VIII*, nor has it appeared in *Sammelbuch*. (A) is wholly unpublished.

## I. The Inscriptions

Both stones are of limestone. The back of (A) is smooth, that of (B) has been covered with a composition board, and cannot be examined. There is no trace on the back of (A) of any marks for fixing it to a wall or other suitable place. Both stones are mounted, and it cannot be decided whether or not there were tangs in the bottom for fixing them to a pillar.

Traces of colouring are, as not uncommonly in Graeco-Roman inscriptions from Egypt, still apparent in the letters of both: red in (A), black in (B).<sup>2</sup> Guiding-lines, a very common feature of inscriptions from Egypt in this period, are clear on both stones, particularly (A).<sup>3</sup> The central portion of inscription (B) has been restored on the stone.

*Measurements* (A) 0.235 high, 0.368 m. wide, 0.044 thick.

(B) 0.489 high, 0.508 m. wide, 0.054 thick. The relief on (B) occupies 0.191 m. of the height.

(A) Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας  
Θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ Εὐχαρίστων  
Ποσειδῶνι Ἰππίωι,

5. τὸ τέμενος καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ  
ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ προσκύροντα  
Χάρης Ἀπολλωνίδου ὁ ἱερεὺς.

(B) Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως [Π]τολεμαίου  
καὶ βασιλίσσης [Κ]λεοπάτρας  
Θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶ[ν καὶ] Εὐχαρίστων  
Ποσει[δῶνι] Ἰππίωι,

5. τὸ τέμενος κ[αὶ τὸν] ναὸν καὶ  
τὰ ἀγάλματ[α καὶ τὰ πρ]οσκύροντα  
Χάρης Ἀπ[ολλωνίδου] ὁ ἱερεὺς.

The wording of both inscriptions is identical and presents no difficulties. The style and lettering of both are however of interest. It can hardly be doubted that the two texts are strictly contemporary, and belong to the period between 193, the date of the marriage of Epiphanes and Cleopatra I,<sup>4</sup> and at the latest 180 B.C., the year of the

<sup>1</sup> Part I is by Mr. Fraser, Part II by Professor Rumpf.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, Breccia, *Inscr. gr. e lat.* (hereinafter quoted as Breccia), 7, 37 (red); *SB*, 7224-7232, a collection of tombstones in some of which the lettering bears traces of red paint, in others of black.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for example, Breccia, pl. 1, 3; 10, 28; 41, 98; 51, 123; *BMI*, 1084 (photogr. in Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien.* 224 (1), 1946, pl. 3); Wilhelm, *ibid.*, pls. 4-5; Cumont, *Catal. des Sculptures et inscrs. des musées du cinquantenaire*<sup>2</sup>, 1913, 175 ff., no. 146 (with photogr.).

<sup>4</sup> Liv. xxxv. 13, 4.

death of Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup> The difference in two such contemporary hands from the same place is very striking, and it will be noticed that these two hands add yet more variants to the very numerous letter-forms already testified to have been used in the short span of Epiphanes's reign.<sup>2</sup>

The variations in (A), particularly in the form of the *pi* and in the position and size of the *omicron*, are easily recognizable in the photographs. They are partly due no doubt to the influence of the cursive hand. Such an influence inevitably makes itself more evident in a soft surface such as that of these two stones. At the same time it is clear that (A) is not the work of a skilled or very careful craftsman; this supports the impression gained from the quality of the stone itself, that (A) is a private monument in which an effort was made to spare expense.

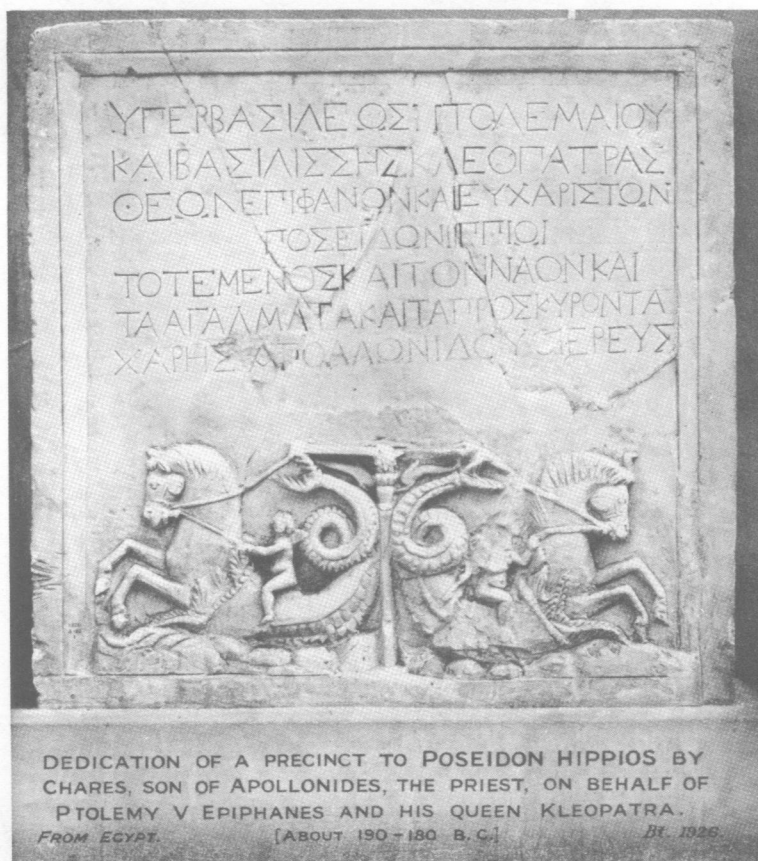
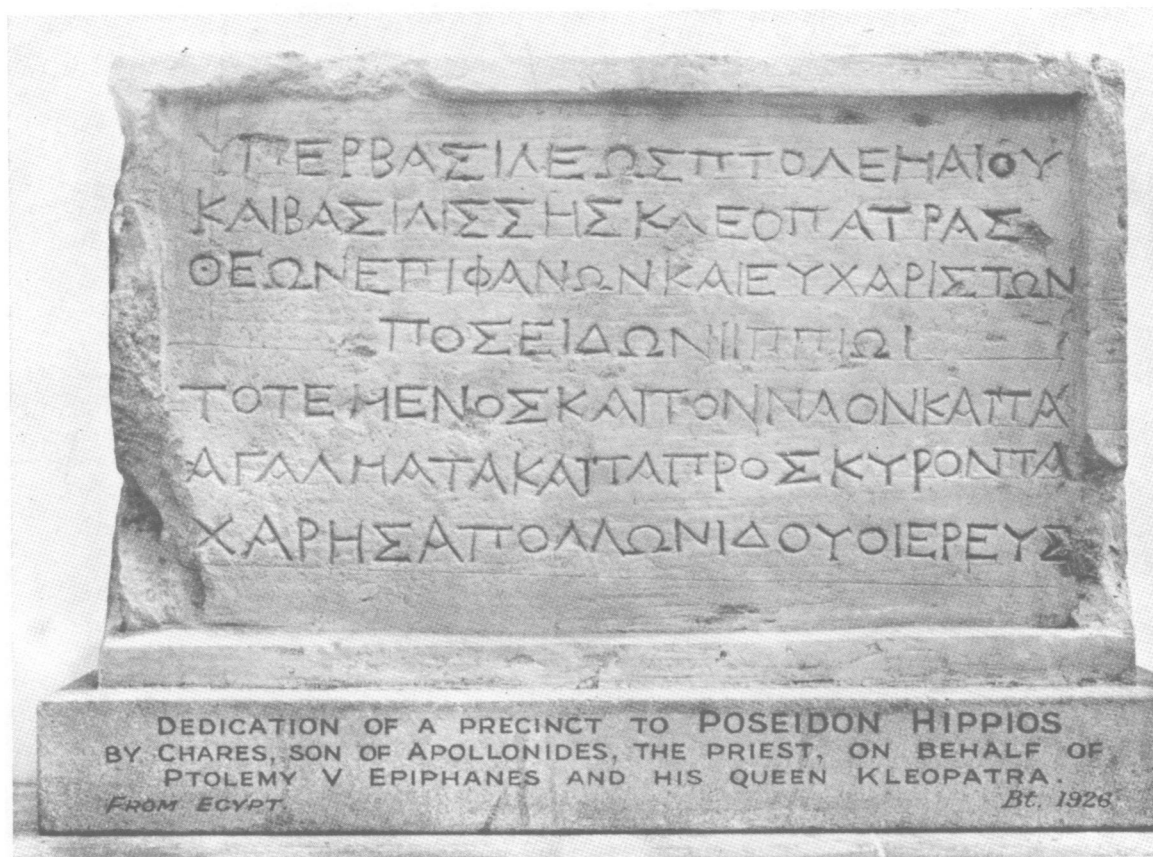
(B) belongs to a different category. The stone is larger and more carefully prepared: the inscription is framed within a bevelled edge, and the lower portion of the plaque bears a relief of elegant subject though rough composition. The letter forms are wholly regular, and bear little resemblance to those of (A). Letters formed with the compass, O Θ Ω, are unusually full.

It is evident that (B) represents an official record of a foundation, placed in a prominent position, just as (A) is no less clearly a private record of the same foundation.

How the dedications were exposed is not certain on account of the modern mountings. Several possibilities present themselves. Plaques of this type with raised surrounds

<sup>1</sup> The absence of any reference to the children of Epiphanes and Cleopatra, commonly mentioned in inscriptions after their birth (*vide* *OGIS*, 98–101), suggests that no children had yet been born (cf. *OGIS*, 97, another dedication in which only Epiphanes and Cleopatra are mentioned, with Dittenberger's comment, note 1: 'inter nunc annum—i.e. 193 a. C. n.—et regis mortem utique titulus incisus est, sed quia liberorum nulla fit mentio, maxime probabile est per proximos post nuptias annos monumentum dedicatum esse'). The latest document dated by Epiphanes is, according to Skeat, *Mizraim*, 6, 33 (9), *Bodleian Ostraca*, 96, of Yr. 25, Pharmouthi 16 = 20 May, 180 B.C. The date of the birth of Philometor, the eldest child of the marriage (Philometor was certainly older than Euergetes II, and it is further clear from *OGIS* 733 that he was also older than his sister Cleopatra II, subsequently his wife: *vide* Strack, *Archiv.* II (1903), 547, and Otto, *Zeit des 6 Ptol.* 7–8; *OGIS*, 98, a formal dedication by the Royal Family mentioning only Epiphanes, Cleopatra and Philometor is perhaps not decisive, since the king and queen may have chosen only to associate the crown prince with them in the dedication), is uncertain: Strack, *Dynastie*, 197, n. 19, on the basis of an hieroglyphic inscription in which he thought that Philometor was called 'ein Zwillingsbruder des Apis, des Lebenden, wegen ihrer Wiege', dated his birth to the same day or month as that of the Apis bull, Taranni II, born Jan. 186 B.C. (or Otto, *Zeit des 6 Ptol.* 4). Otto, loc. cit., has, however, shown that the hieroglyphic inscription does not bear this interpretation in this instance and also in general that exact dates cannot be inferred from equations with events in the lives of Apis bulls. The evidence that Philometor was still a child (*μειράκιον, παιδισκος*) at the time of the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes (170 B.C.) is overwhelming, and his birth can therefore hardly have occurred before c. 184 B.C.; no more precise date is possible. If, therefore, the argument from the absence of reference to children or a child be regarded as decisive, our dedications lie between 193 and c. 184 B.C.; if this argument be rejected, between 193 and 180, the date of the death of Epiphanes. It is noteworthy, since Epiphanes was fourteen or fifteen at the time of his marriage, that his wife bore him no children of which any trace survives until he was in the middle twenties.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast the hands of *OGIS*, 92 (copy by Strack, *Ath. Mitt.* 19, 220); *ibid.* 94 (copy by Leps., *Denkm.* XII, 75, n. 23); *ibid.* 90 (Rosettana: numerous reproductions); *ibid.* 100 (copy by Naville, *Bubastis*, 49 F); *ibid.* 732 (photogr. in V. Schmidt, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Æg. Samling*<sup>2</sup>, 449); *ibid.* 733 (photogr. in Breccia, pl. 6, 19); *SB* 2138 (copy by Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, p. 68, fig. 6); *ibid.* 2637 (copy by Naville, loc. cit. 49 E); *ibid.* 5800 (copy by Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv.* 13, 100).



TWO PTOLEMAIC DEDICATIONS

could undoubtedly be affixed to walls,<sup>1</sup> but probably they were attached most frequently by a tang to a pillar.<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that such was the case here.

Dedication-plaques of the type of (A) with raised surrounds and bearing no relief are particularly common in Ptolemaic Egypt,<sup>3</sup> though few are as well preserved as (A).

In the Roman period this type of monument largely, but not entirely, disappeared,<sup>4</sup> the place of the raised surround being taken in many instances by lines drawn on the stone to represent a rectangular framework—in its turn a device which is rarely found on stones of the Ptolemaic period.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the practice of containing a votive-relief within an undecorated raised surround is familiar from other parts of the Greek world.<sup>6</sup> The inscription is commonly engraved on the top or bottom edge, but, particularly at a later date, is also found within the field. (B) clearly belongs to this tradition and is an elegant example of it.

The relation of the relief to the inscription in (B) is of some interest, as contrasting with the common Greek dedications with relief of the Ptolemaic period, consisting of a stela of which the upper part contains a representation of the Egyptian deity or deities to whom the dedication is made, and the lower part the dedication in Greek.<sup>7</sup> These dedications, which are naturally almost always made to Egyptian deities,<sup>8</sup> are stylistically a continuation of the characteristic Pharaonic stelae, consisting for the most part of tombstones.<sup>9</sup> Tombstones of the Graeco-Roman period with epitaphs in Greek<sup>10</sup> continue the same Pharaonic tradition.<sup>11</sup> The custom of placing the relief above the

<sup>1</sup> Breccia, pl. 26, 66; cf. further, A. WILHELM in *Festschrift für O. Benndorf*, pp. 245–6.

<sup>2</sup> As represented in Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, pls. 37–40, 46–8; Svoronos, *Das Athener National-Museum*, pl. 38, 4; 29, 2; Rumpf, in Haas's *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, Lief. 13/14, fig. 139; Blümel, *Staatliche Museen*, Kat. III, K 80, pl. 69 and pp. 57 f. For actual surviving instances v. Svoronos, op. cit., nos. 1783 and 2756, pl. 182, pp. 493 ff. (I owe these references and other assistance in this section to Miss T. Rönne).

<sup>3</sup> I note the following: Breccia, pl. 1, 2–4; 3, 7, 10 (which appears to have a double bevel on its longitudinal side); 4, 11; 5, 16; 6, 19; 8, 21 (Breccia's argument against the authenticity of this stone, based on the fact that the stone was inscribed after the deterioration of the surface, is not conclusive); 10, 27, 28; 26, 66; *SB*, 6664 (drawing in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 19, 119); *SB*, 7787 (drawing in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 26, 281). Instances of Hellenistic date from outside Egypt are: Robert, *Hellenica* VII, pl. 5; id. *Istros* II, pp. 18–19.

<sup>4</sup> Instances from the Roman period are Breccia, pl. 48, 115; 55, 132 (a late tombstone).

<sup>5</sup> A Ptolemaic instance is Breccia, pl. 51, 124; v. also the epigram in a cut square frame published by Segre, *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 31, p. 28, fig. 1, and regarded by him as Ptolemaic.

<sup>6</sup> A distinction must be made between the simple non-architectural surround with which we are here concerned and the antae, found on the *vaῖσκος*-type of surround. Instances of the former are e.g.: Blümel, op. cit. K. 92, pl. 77 and p. 65; K. 103, pl. 82 and p. 71; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 304, fig. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide*, for example, Milne, *Inscr. Cairo*, pl. i, no. 9201 (*OGIS*, 178); *ibid.* ii, 9286 (*Archiv.* II (1903), 431, no. 10 of A.D. 21–22); *Ann. Serv.* 20, pls. 1–2 (*SB*, 6309–6310); *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Æg. Samling*<sup>2</sup>, 452 ff., no. E 507; *ibid.* 460, no. E 509.

<sup>8</sup> An exception is *SB*, 6309–6310, to the Thracian Rider-God, Heron; but, even so, he appears under Egyptian influence; *vide* Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv.* 20, 238–49.

<sup>9</sup> For these Pharaonic tombstones see the collections published in *B.M. Hieroglyphic Texts*, VIII (1939), pls. 28, 30, 33; Lacau, *Stèles du nouv. Emp. (CCG)*, I, 1, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> For such tombstones *vide* Milne, op. cit. pl. 10, 9213; 9234; and the Abydos stelae given on pls. 10–11, nos. 9208–47.

<sup>11</sup> For Ptolemaic stelae of this type with hieroglyphic inscriptions *vide* Kamal, *Stèles ptolém. et romain: (CCG)* II, *passim*. Dr. Jacobsthal draws my attention to the suggestion of B. Schweitzer, 'Urkundenreliefs' (*Festgabe zur Winckelmannsfeier des arch. Sem. der Univ. Leipzig*, 1943) that the Attic 'Urkundenreliefs' of the fifth century (from c. 450–449 B.C.), may owe their stylistic origin to Egyptian stelae, in which the text is preceded by a relief, which possibly became familiar to Athenians through the contact at the time of the Egyptian Expedition.



hieroglyphic or Greek text in fact seems to be characteristic of Egyptian art. In (B) in contrast to this the relief is placed below the inscription. The absence of Egyptian influence in this respect corresponds with the fact that the dedication is evidently made by a pure Greek.

The language and form of the dedication are in a style familiar in Ptolemaic Egypt. The *τέμενος*, *ναός*, *ἀγάλματα* are sometimes referred to collectively as *τὸ ἱερόν*, the *προσκύροντα* (or *συνκύροντα*), a general term for 'attachments', often referring to land, sometimes, as in our inscription, being mentioned separately (v. *Eranos*, 49, 102–108).

It may be useful here to reprint dedications of this type, since I am not aware that they are to be found collected elsewhere.

OGIS 28: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης Μόσχος ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος Ἀγδίσι ἐπηκόωι ἰδρύσατο

OGIS 52: [- - - - -] ἐν τῇ Ἑπτακωμίαι τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰ σ[υν]κύρον[τα πά]ν[τ]α (Breccia 48) καὶ τὸ προσόν Ἰσιεῖον καὶ τοὺς προσόντας ψιλοὺς τόπους καὶ τ[ὸν] ἐκτὸς τείχους τῆς πόλεως βωμὸν Ἀρβάκτει καὶ Ἱεράκι θε[οῖς μεγάλοις καὶ] Ἰσι[κ]αὶ τοῖς συννάοις Ἐλγ; Φαμενώθ γ̄.

OGIS 65: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν (Breccia 10) καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν: καὶ θεοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι καὶ Διὶ Συνωμοσίωι τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὴν συνκύρουσαν αὐτοῖς γῆν Κλέων καὶ Ἀντίπατρος οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Διός.

OGIS 92: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ Εὐχαρίστου (Milne 9232) τοῦ Ἰσιδι θεᾶ μεγάλης τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰ προσόντα αὐτῶι ταμειᾶ καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα πάντα Θεῶν Ἡρακλείδου Μαρωνεύς.

OGIS 182: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ [β]ασιλίσσης [Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Τρυφαινας (SB 4206: θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ Φιλαδέλφων, οἱ παρεφ[εδρ]ε[ύοντ]ες [ἐν Ἐρμού πόλει cf. also SB ξένοι Ἀπολλωνιάται καὶ οἱ συμπολιτ]εῦόμενοι κτίσται, ὧν τὰ ὀνό[ματα ὑπό]δο66)<sup>1</sup> κείται, Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς συνεστίοις θεοῖς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν περίβολον καὶ τὰ συ[γκύροντα πάντα]

OGIS 732: βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι θεῶι Ἐπιφανεῖ καὶ Εὐχαρίστωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀντίπατρον γραμματεὺς Ὀρνημένους, ὁ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ προσκύροντα τῶι ἱερωῖ ἰδρῦμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

Breccia 25: [Ὑπὲρ βα]σιλέως Πτολεμαίου [καὶ βασιλί]σσης Ἀρσινόη[ς τὸ τέμε]νος καὶ τὸν βωμὸν [τῶν] πανθέων καὶ εὐσεβῶν [θεῶν βα]σιλέως Πτολεμαίου [καὶ βα]σιλίσσης Βερενίκης [θεῶν] Εὐεργετῶν (καὶ) (?) τὸ τέμενος [καὶ τὸν βω]μὸν Ἡστ[ί]ας Πανθέου . . . . . s Ἀριστομονους (sic) . . . . ΕΥ

SB 589: [. . . θε]ῶι ὑψίστωι [ἐπηκόωι τ]ὸν ἱερόν [περίβολον καὶ] τὴν προσ[ευχὴν καὶ τὰ συν]κύροντα.

SB 1164: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαί[ο]υ καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς θεῶν Φιλομητόρων καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν Ἄρειος τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸν Φαρβαίτιου τὸ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὸν θρόνον Ἐρμεῖ Ἡρακλεῖ

<sup>1</sup> These two texts, and the inscr. ap. *PGiess.* 99, ll. 20–28, all from Hermoupolis have the same dedication: v. ZUCKER, *Abh. Berlin*, 1937 (6), pp. 13 ff., 24 ff., who establishes their identity.

- SB 1567: Ὑπὲρ βασιλ[έως] Πτολεμαίου κα[ὶ] βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης γυναικὸς καὶ ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων Θυήρι τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰ προσκύροντα Εἰρήνη [κ]αὶ Θεοξένα Δημητηρίου Κυρηναῖαι ἐκ Θάσιτος, αἷς καὶ Αἰγύπτια ὀνόματά ἐστιν Νεφερσοῦχος καὶ Θανῆς.
- SB 4963: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολ[εμαίου καὶ] βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας [τῆς καὶ Τρυφαίν]ης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρ[ων καὶ Φιλαδέλφων] καὶ τῶν τέκνων Δι[ὶ Ἡλίω Σαράπιδι με]γάλῳ Ξ[ε]νοκλῆς Νι[. . . . . στρατηγ]ὸς τὸ ὑπάρχον μ[. . . . . ἱερόν σὺν τῷ πε[ριβόλῳ ] ἡς μοι καὶ τοῖς π[ ]ῆας τοῦ ἱεροῦ κ[ ]ερων ως ἐξα
- SB 6309: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Φιλαδέλφου Πετοσίρις Ἡρακλήους καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὸ πρόπυλον Ἡρωνι θεῶι μεγάλῳι μεγάλῳι Λιε, Θῶυθ ἰθ̄.
- SB 6310: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν, Φνεβσῆς Ψεναμούνιος καὶ Τνεφερώς ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ τέκνα τὸ πρόπυλον καὶ τὸν περίβολον Ἡρωνι θεῶι μεγάλῳι μεγάλῳι εὐχῆν.
- SB 7454: Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς, Εὐεργετῶν, οἱ ἐν Νιτρῖαις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν προσευχὴν καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα
- JHS 65, 109, n. 16: Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι τῷ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ βασιλίσσηι Βερενίκηι τῆι ἀδελφῆι αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικί, θεοῖς Εὐεργεταῖς, καὶ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ Ἀρσινόηι, θεοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς, τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένου καὶ τὴν στο[ά]ν οἱ τασσόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἐρμοπολίτῃ νομῶι κάτοικοι ἵππε[ῖ]ς εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτούς.

While dedications of sacred precincts to deities by private individuals are of course common at all periods,<sup>1</sup> the dedication of a temple and territory to a deity for (ὕπερ) the reigning monarch, though evidently a common phenomenon in Ptolemaic Egypt, seems to have been unusual elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

The main interest of the inscriptions undoubtedly lies in the fact that the temple is to be built for a purely Greek god. This, whether the stone comes from Alexandria or elsewhere in Egypt, is noteworthy. The evidence for the survival of pure Greek cults in Ptolemaic Egypt is slight,<sup>3</sup> while the cult of Poseidon in particular is not hitherto attested in any but the most general terms,<sup>4</sup> and Poseidon Hippios is certainly not known.

<sup>1</sup> Vide, for example, Syll.<sup>3</sup> 214; I.G.<sup>2</sup> II, 2948: τόνδε νεώ σοι, ἀναξ, Διονύσιος εἶσατο τῆδε | καὶ τέμενος θυοέν καὶ ξόαν' εἵκελά σοι; I.G.<sup>2</sup> II, 1325 (= Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1100); Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1106, &c.; near parallels in language to our dedication are provided by the Delian dedications, *Inscr. Délos*, 2226–7, 2237, 2247.

<sup>2</sup> Very similar is OGIS, 342 = Durrbach, *Choix*, 102 = *Inscr. Délos*, 2038. Compare the common usage in Imperial times (ὕπερ αὐτοκρατόρων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ αἰωνίας διαμονῆς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> For Greek cults in Egypt vide Otto, *Priester und Tempeln*, index III, under the various deities; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 96–101; Nilsson, *Gesch. gr. Rel.* II, 32–33, esp. 33, n. 2; Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte*, 70–73, and for the festivals, Bilabel, *Neue Heid. Jahrb.* 1929, 28 ff.; most of the evidence (and sometimes what is not evidence) is given by E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte in ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, Amsterdam, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> The reference in Strab. 794 C to a neighbourhood called Poseidion with a temple of Poseidon, in Alexandria (εἶτα τὸ Ποσειδῖον, ἀγκῶν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐμπορίου καλουμένου προπεπτωκῶς, ἔχων ἱερόν Ποσειδῶνος), is the only direct evidence for the worship of the god within the city; references to it have been seen in the two

The evidence for pure Greek cults in Egypt indicates that some deities, particularly goddesses, fell almost wholly out of favour. There is no really abundant evidence for the worship of any of the old deities, and in some instances cults which are unrepresented in Alexandria are known to have survived in the Fayyūm and elsewhere. Of the most important gods and goddesses, evidence for the worship of Zeus, Apollo, and, in particular, Dionysus, is considerable; for that of Hera, Aphrodite and Artemis, very slight; while for Athena there is almost no evidence, and what there is appears to be pre-Ptolemaic; and of the goddesses only for Demeter is the evidence considerable.<sup>1</sup>

Poseidon has hitherto shared with Athena the distinction of being unrepresented in Ptolemaic inscriptions and of being virtually unknown in literature relating to the Ptolemaic period. The present inscriptions indicate the existence of the cult with full apparatus somewhere in Egypt. Moreover, it seems unlikely that this represents the introduction of the cult to Ptolemaic Egypt. It is more natural to suppose that this had occurred either in the early Ptolemaic period, or in the fourth century. Cult, moreover, implies shrine, and it is unlikely that Poseidon Hippios had to wait until the reign of Epiphanes for his first *τέμενος*. Nevertheless, although it would clearly be unwise to regard the *τέμενος* dedicated by Chares the priest as the first, and, by the same token, to regard Chares as the first priest, the dedication of a new *τέμενος* is no less significant as testifying to the abiding vigour of unadulterated Greek religion among the pure Greek population of Egypt in the early second century B.C.

The cult of Poseidon Hippios was widely practised in northern and central Greece and in Peloponnesus from an early date,<sup>2</sup> and it would be of interest to know if the cult had been introduced into Egypt by settlers or mercenaries from one of these two regions.<sup>3</sup> The cult is, however, found nearer Egypt, in Rhodes (from which an inscription now lost, contains a list of priests of Poseidon Hippios at Lindos covering, probably,

Alexandrian demotics, *Ἰσθμιαίος* and *Σουνιαίος*, but these names may not, indeed probably do not, refer to a cult of Poseidon Isthmios and Sounieus in Alexandria, but are rather recollections of the cults in the motherland. Outside Alexandria there is the shrine of Poseidon in the neighbourhood of Taphosiris, referred to by Synesius, *Ep.* IV, 640 Hercher. As Fr. H. Musurillo points out to me, there is a reference to Poseidon (apparently) in the fragment of the Pagan Acta published by Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1932, 664 = Neppi-Modona, *Aegyptus*, 12, 18, col. 1, l. 17: Π]οσειδῶνι.

Poseidon occurs along with the other old Greek gods in the Alexandrian oath preserved in *Dikaiomata* (*vide* n. 29), but this hardly constitutes proof of cult.

<sup>1</sup> For convenience I give here the main references (mainly from Visser, *op. cit.* 65 ff.): Zeus: *PHal.* 1 (the Alexandrian oath), ll. 216–17: ὁμνύτω δὲ Δία Ἡραν Πο[σει]δῶ; *OGIS*, 65; 733; Breccia, 83 = *SB*, 4275; Breccia, 143 = *SB*, 681; *SB* 2262; 6664 (357: Ζεὺς Ἀμάριος, the God of the Achaean League); Athen. 202 a; *I.G.*<sup>2</sup> II, 3779 (*Βασιλεία ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι* mentioned in an Athenian inscription).

Apollo: *OGIS*, 53; 737; Breccia, 83; 132 = *SB*, 312; 143; *SB*, 1530; 2238; *PSI*, 634; below, p. 120, no. 23. Dionysus: *OGIS*, 82 and *SB*, 7306; *SB*, 5863; 7266; Athen. 197 e–201 b; *ibid.* 276 b, ff.

Hera: *PHal.* 1, ll. 216–17.

Aphrodite: *SB*, 4321; (5863, where she is identified with Isis); 6669.

Artemis: *OGIS*, 18; 53; *SB*, 604; *Isid. Pelus. Ep.* IV, 208 (*PG*, LXXVIII, 1301).

Athena: *SB*, 2262–3 (fourth century B.C.).

Demeter: *OGIS*, 83; *SB*, 2674; 5799; *PCZ*, 59028; 59350; *PPetr.* III, 97, 5; *Callim. Hymn. Dem.*; *Polyb.* xv, 29, 8; 33, 8 (Thesmophoria).

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Farnell, *Greek Cults*, IV, 14 ff.; Nilsson, *Gesch. griech. Rel.* I, 416 ff.; Schachermeyr, *Poseidon*, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For Boeotians as mercenaries of Ptolemaic Egypt *vide* Launey, *Recherches sur les arm. hellén.* I, 153 ff.

the period from the synoecism (408–407 B.C.) to the middle of the third century<sup>1</sup> and perhaps in Cyrene.<sup>2</sup> The cult may thus have reached Egypt as a result of the very close contacts between Egypt and either of these two cities and, more probably, Rhodes. We are accustomed to regard Ptolemaic Egypt as exporting the worship of her own peculiar deities, but there seems no reason why the worship of others may not have been imported.<sup>3</sup>

## II. The Relief of (B)<sup>4</sup>

At the request of Mr. Fraser, I am glad to contribute a few remarks here on the relief of Chares. Even if this is not an artistic masterpiece, it nevertheless is of considerable interest.

On a dedication to Poseidon Hippios one would expect in advance a reference to the Epiklesis of the God. We may, therefore, look briefly at the representations of Poseidon with horses. In so doing we leave on one side the suggestion of Schweitzer<sup>5</sup> that horses on geometric vases represent the form of Poseidon, since this is nothing but a pure conjecture.

We are better informed for the archaic period. At this time we see Poseidon as a rider, either on an ordinary horse,<sup>6</sup> or on a winged horse.<sup>7</sup> On other vases he drives a yoke of horses, which may be either with<sup>8</sup> or without<sup>9</sup> wings.

In the late archaic period he appears first as rider on a hippocamp,<sup>10</sup> as he does on classical monuments.<sup>11</sup> Hippocamps as yoke-animals in front of the chariot of Poseidon

<sup>1</sup> The last and best publication of this inscription is that by Blinkenberg, *Les Prêtres de Poseidon Hippios*, 1937 (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, *Archaeol.-Kunsthist. Meddelelser*, 11, 2). Other references to Poseidon Hippios from Rhodes are: *IG XII*, 1, 809; 835, l. 12; 926 (all Lindos); *ibid.* 786, l. 11 (Rhodos); *Cl. Rh.* VIII, p. 229 (dedication by 'Ποδίου'); *ibid.* VI-VII, p. 402, no. 30, l. 21; p. 414, no. 39, l. 19; p. 420, no. 42, l. 27 (Camiros). The origin of the cult at Rhodes is discussed by Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–8.

There is no indication that the cult of Poseidon at Cos, attested by Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. Cos.* 43 b = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1021, l. 24, and *ibid.* 401, l. 14, and closely connected with Rhodes (*vide Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1000), was a cult of Poseidon Hippios.

<sup>2</sup> The only indication—scarcely a decisive one—of the cult of Poseidon Hippios in Cyrene resides in the words of the scholiast on Pind. *Pyth.* IV, 1: τὴν δὲ Κυρήνην εὐίππων εἶπεν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατύχουτος, ἀλλ' ὅτι Ποσειδῶν τοὺς Λιβύας διδάξει τὴν τῶν ἀρμάτων κατὰξεν. Picard, *CRAI*, 1940, 172, identified the anonymous figure standing next to Poseidon on the north frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon (*vide* the photograph in Kähler, *op. cit.*, *infra*, pl. 17) as the nymph Cyrene, and if this were so it might support the claim for a cult of Poseidon at Cyrene; but the figure has been variously identified, as Gorgo (Puchstein, *Beschreibung aus Skulpt. aus Pergamon*, 1st ed. 1895, 36), Medusa (*ibid.* 2nd ed. 1902, 36), Demeter (*Alt. v. Perg.* III, 2, 146), Alpheius (!) (von Lücken, *JDAI*, 1939, 102); while Kähler, *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon*, 1948, 46–47, more cautiously calls it a 'Löwengöttin'. The identification with Cyrene is accepted by Hansen, *Attalids*, 301–2.

<sup>3</sup> I am greatly indebted to Professor Rumpf for consenting to discuss the Relief of (B), and also to Dr. Jacobsthal for his opinion on several points.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Rumpf's contribution is translated by Mr. Fraser. <sup>5</sup> Schweitzer, *Herakles* (Tübingen, 1922), 93.

<sup>6</sup> Furtwängler, *Vasensammlung Berlin*, I, nos. 539 and 630; *JDAI* 12 (1897), 23, fig. 14; Coins of Potidaia: Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, III, Münztafel, VI, 23; *Hirsch Catalogue*, XIII (Rhoussopoulos, 15, v, 1905), pl. 13, 949–55.

<sup>7</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 329, nr. 1459; *AA*, 1926, 147, fig. 26; *CVA*, *Bibl. Nat. Par.* I, pl. 45 (Fr. 329), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenb.* pl. 10; *CVA*, Compiègne, pl. 7 (Fr. 105), 5; pl. 9 (Fr. 107), 2.

<sup>9</sup> Neugebauer, *Führer Vasen Berlin*, 25, pl. 15; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* III, 2877, fig. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Brit. Mus.* B 428; *CVA*, 2; III, H. c., pl. 20 (Gr. Br. 78) 1.

<sup>11</sup> Coins of Cyzicus, Overbeck, *op. cit.* III, Münztafel, VI, 22; Regling, *Münze als Kunstwerk*, pl. 30, 627; jug in New York: Richter-Hall, *Athenian r. f. Vases*, no. 167; Richter, *Attic r. f. Vases*, fig. 121.

are extremely common in later representations, the majority of which—mosaics and sarcophagi<sup>1</sup>—belong to the Roman Imperial age; a few Hellenistic gems<sup>2</sup> may be earlier.

It is therefore in no way surprising to find hippocamps used to characterize Poseidon Hippios on our relief. The absence of the god himself is less easy to understand, though even so analogy is not lacking. On the coins of Rhaucus,<sup>3</sup> Poseidon stands beside a horse, while in an exactly similar manner a coin of Crannon<sup>4</sup> portrays the horse alone beside the trident.

Our relief, however, has no trident. The object which rises from the waves in the middle cannot be explained as such. Not one hippocamp, but two are portrayed. Each is, in addition, fixed, on either side, with a bridle to the horizontal bar which lies over the vertical support, itself ornamented with a blossom.<sup>5</sup> The presence of the two sea-monsters and the harness permits in the first place the supposition that we have here a yoked team, and that the mysterious object in the middle is a carriage-pole with a yoke.<sup>6</sup> It would, however, be surprising for the yoke to be straight and not curved. Eugen von Mercklin, whose advice I sought, informed me, however, that such yokes are found.<sup>7</sup> Since our work is by no means a careful masterpiece, such a carriage-pole would certainly be possible. In archaic monuments a pole which stretches vertically upwards is found in the fittings of a chariot in the *Tomba delle bighe* in Tarquinia,<sup>8</sup> and again in the Roman period in the mosaic with the Chariot of the Sun from Münster-bei-Bingen.<sup>9</sup> The fact that on the relief the reins at the moment lie on the same side of the neck, instead of being shown on left and right, need cause no surprise in view of the clumsiness of the artist. It is of more importance that the chariot is not portrayed, and must be understood as being lost to sight under the waves.

If, for these reasons, the identification as a carriage-pole is not accepted, I can only explain the strange object in the middle as a *stylis* (stern-mast). On the Weapon-Frieze on the temple of Athena at Pergamum the *stylides* are even more richly decorated.<sup>10</sup> The only ground for suspicion here would be that—so far as I can see—the *stylis* occurs as an attribute of Nike<sup>11</sup> and of Athena,<sup>12</sup> but not of Poseidon. Nevertheless, the *stylis*

<sup>1</sup> Mosaics: Reinach, *Répertoire Peinture*, 35; sarcophagi: Rumpf, *Meerwesen (Antike Sarkophagenreliefs)*, herausgeg. von Robert und Rodenwaldt, v, 1), 45-48, and 125.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, op. cit. Gemmentafel, II, 13 and 14; Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, pl. 37, 3; Beazley, *Lewes Gems*, pl. 10, 105.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, op. cit. Münztafel, VI, 24; *Hirsch Catalogue*, XIII (Rhoussopoulos, 15, v, 1905), pl. 34, 3089; xxv (Philipsen, 29, XI, 1909), pl. 19, 1549.

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck, op. cit. Münztafel, VI, 25.

<sup>5</sup> Analogy is provided by the similarly formed pillar of the lectern on the Menander-relief in the Lateran: Helbig-Amelung, no. 1183; Schreiber, *Hellen. Reliefbilder*, 84; Brunn-Arndt, *Denkm. griech. röm. Sculpt.* 626; Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, II, pl. 15; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, 108; Winter, *Kunstg. in Bild.*<sup>2</sup> 367, 1; Rodenwaldt, *Relief*, 121; Bieber, *Denkm. Theaterwesen*, pl. 88, *Hist. Gr. Rom. Theater*, 166, fig. 223.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the mosaic in the Roman Baths, *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, II, pl. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Von Mercklin refers me to Hafner *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht*, pl. 2 (*Bull. Napol. N.S.* I (1853), pl. 6, *Arch. Ztg.* 1856, pl. 88; *Wien. Vorl. Bl.* III, pl. 4), and the Mosaic from Münster-bei-Bingen, *Westdeutsche Ztschr.* 20 (1901), pl. 3 (*Katalog Bingen*, p. 233, fig. 108, Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 25, 1).

<sup>8</sup> *JDAI*, 31, pl. 8; Weege, *Etr. Malerei*, Beilage 2, Swindler, *Anc. Painting*, fig. 404 b.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. note 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Altert. von Pergamon*, II, pl. 44, 1; Baumeister, *Denkm.* II, 1282-3, fig. 1433-4.

<sup>11</sup> *Brit. Mus.* B 608; Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zchg.* fig. 309; Studniczka, *Artemis und Iphigenie (Abh. Sächs. xxxvii, 5, 1926)*, 93, fig. 76; Gold Staters of Alexander the Great: Regling, *Münze als Kunstwerk*, pl. 39, 814; *JDAI*, 42, 181.

<sup>12</sup> *Brit. Mus.* B 607; Pfuhl, op. cit. fig. 308; Studniczka, op. cit. 93, fig. 75.

is part of a ship's equipment, so that its connexion with Poseidon would not be meaningless. An analogy would be provided by the representations on Roman monuments<sup>1</sup> in which the trident growing out of the waves occurs as the central motif.

More important is the figure-decoration. The relief belongs to the same generation as the frieze of the great Zeus-Altar of Pergamum. It is therefore natural to compare the sea-creatures on both monuments. The first impression is of a vast diversity. The hippocamps on the chariot of Poseidon<sup>2</sup> from Pergamum are distinguished from those of our limestone relief, not only by the size and quality, but also by the whole conception of the figures. Only one detail exists in common: the calyx of acanthus-leaves between the horse-trunk and the fish-tail. But here, too, there is a difference. In Pergamum the acanthus leaves grow backwards in the same way as they do on many Etruscan<sup>3</sup> and innumerable Roman<sup>4</sup> monuments. On the Poseidon Hippios relief the calyx opens towards the front, so that one almost gets the impression that the horses are growing out of a cornucopia. This is wholly remarkable and an obvious misunderstanding on the part of the sculptor of the then still new design.

That the sculptor in fact intended to portray fish-bodies is expressed beyond a shadow of doubt by the characteristic tail-fins and the wide scales on the abdomen. Both these features are commonly found on related monuments, e.g. on the pebble-mosaic in the temple of Zeus at Olympia<sup>5</sup> which is as early as the fourth century B.C.

We shall not forget this relationship with the Olympia mosaic if we consider the hippocamps in greater detail. Their equine protomoi do not seem at all Hellenistic. Necks and heads recall archaic horses in a striking manner; similarly, the front legs, which are set rather woodenly without regard for dimensional depth.<sup>6</sup> If we remind ourselves now—as Friedrich von Lorentz has shown in detail<sup>7</sup>—that the pebble-mosaics derive from coloured textiles, it becomes clear where the sculptor has sought and found his model. Sea-monsters are not confined to the pebble-mosaics from Olympia and Olynthus:<sup>8</sup> they also occur as inwoven designs on the borders of garments in representations, from the end of the fifth century B.C. On red-figure vases they are normally only sketchily drawn, but they are clearly visible on a cup in Jena,<sup>9</sup> and on the Io-krater of the Jatta collection.<sup>10</sup>

That such fabrics with sea-monsters were still common in the fourth century is indicated by the mosaics in Olympia and Olynthus. The familiar example from the

<sup>1</sup> Rumpf, *op. cit.* 98 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Altert. von Pergam.* III, 2, pl. 20; Kähler, *Der gr. Fries von Pergam.* pl. 23; Bruns, *Der gr. Altar v. Pergam.* 37; Kähler, *Pergamon*, pl. 27; Winter, *Kunstg. in Bild.*<sup>2</sup> 355, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Brunn-Körte, *Urne Etr.* III, pl. 21-27.

<sup>4</sup> Rumpf, *op. cit.* 104.

<sup>5</sup> Blouet, *Expédition de Morée*, I, pl. 64; Baumeister, *Denkm.* II, 927, figs. 998-9; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* v, 1174, fig. 12; Reinach, *Rép. Peint.* 44, 10-12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for example, Mingazzini, *Collezione Castellani*, nos. 413-14, pls. 38-39.

<sup>7</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* 52, 165 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Robinson, *Olynthus*, II, pl. 2; *AJA*, 33, 65, fig. 3; *ibid.* 38, pl. 28; *AA*, 1934, 499, fig. 1; *JHS* 54, 195, fig. 6; Rumpf, *Meerw.* 115, fig. 159, 120, fig. 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Arch. Ztg.* 1857, pl. 108, 2; Hahland, *Vas. um Meidias*, pl. 22 a; Beazley, *Att. Red Fig. Vase Paint.* 883, 71.

<sup>10</sup> *Mon. Inst.* II, 59; *Élite céram.* III, 101; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* II, 274; *Wien. Vorl. Bl.* 1890-1, pl. 12, 2; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth. Atlas*, pl. 7, 16; *Ausonia*, III (1908), 266, fig. 6; Beazley, *op. cit.* 870, 3.

Hellenistic age is the garment from Lycosura.<sup>1</sup> We find imitations of the coloured fabrics, in mosaic-work, in the early pebble-mosaics from Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> The unassuming stone-mason in Alexandria, Naucratis or Ptolemais, or elsewhere in Egypt where Greek cults existed, had the task of decorating a dedication to Poseidon Hippios with a relief. For this he chose hippocamps, the model for which was provided by the common manufactured coloured fabrics. This technique, which is more conservative than any other, explains the archaic traits which are so out of accord with contemporary art on a large scale, but which are also found on the above-mentioned pebble-mosaics from Alexandria. The leaping dolphins under the horizontal beams of the central emblem are similarly popular from the archaic period down to the Hellenistic age as edging for garments.<sup>3</sup>

So far we have adduced no parallel for the Erotes on the backs of the hippocamps. The rider in the pattern of the garment worn by the performer to the left of Dionysus on the Satyr-play vase is sitting not so much on a sea-beast as on an ordinary horse.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, a child rides on the fish-body of one of the tritons on the pebble-mosaic at Olympia, and children ride on hippocamps on Etruscan urns approximately contemporary with our relief.<sup>5</sup> For these two widely dispersed instances we must find a common model—coloured fabrics. Their home lay naturally not in the West but in the East. Today oriental carpets are still famous and popular. As regards antiquity, apart from many other testimonies we may adduce Plautus, a contemporary of our relief, who speaks (*Pseud.* 147) of *Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia*. An idea as to the motives of these decorations can be gained from the relief of Chares, and for this reason it has exceptional value. In the limestone relief, which is of importance by reason of its being datable to a decade, we have indeed no representative of Hellenistic art of the grand style, but a reflection of that industrial art of Ptolemaic Egypt which was no less popular with its contemporaries.

ANDREAS RUMPF

<sup>1</sup> *BSA* 13, pl. 14; E. A. Gardner, *Handb. Gr. Sculpt.* II, 402, fig. 2; *JHS* 31, 311, fig. 2; Winter, *Kunstg. in Bild.*<sup>2</sup> 373, 4; Reinach, *Rép. Rel.* II, 424; Lawrence, *Later Gr. Sculpture*, pl. 55; Rumpf, *Relig. d. Gr.* fig. 39; *AJA* 38, pl. 10; Hamann, *Gr. Kunst*, 431, fig. 396.

<sup>2</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* 52, 166, no. II, pl. 46. The Hadra urn from Alexandria in Brussels (Buschor, *Gr. Vasen*, 259, fig. 275, *CVA* 3; I B pl. 3 (Belg. 141) 2, a) shows a purple taenia with inwoven hippocamps and dolphins in painting.

<sup>3</sup> Rumpf, *Meerw.* 99; *Röm. Mitt.* 52, 173, 215.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Inst.* III, 31; Baumeister, *Denkm.* I, pl. 5, fig. 422; Bieber, *Denkm. Theaterw.* pl. 48; Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zchg.* fig. 575; Nicole, *Peint. vases gr.* pl. 49; Licht, *Sitteng.* III, 137; Buschor, *Gr. Vasen*, 239, fig. 257; Furtwängler-Reichold, pls. 143-5; Bethe, *Griech. Dichtung*, pl. 4; Scheurleer, *Gr. Ceramiek*, pl. 37, 105; Bieber, *Hist. Gr. Rom. Theater*, 14, fig. 20; Beazley, *Att. Red Fig. Vase Paint.* 849, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Brunn-Körte, *Urne Etr.* III, pl. 32, 8-9. The dating of Etruscan urns to the Roman Imperial age by Ragnar Engking (*AA*, 1948-9, 183-237) is not worthy of contradiction.

## THE DATE OF THE RISE OF MEROË

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

IN *JEA* 9, 75 Reisner dated the rise of the Meroitic kingdom to 308 B.C. Ever since then it has been a mystery how Herodotus could have failed to have heard of the old-established capital, Napata, but have been told instead of 'a great city called Meroë which is said to be the capital of the other Ethiopians' (II, 29), i.e. not the nomad but the settled Ethiopians.

But some years ago now Dows Dunham made a comparative study of the royal cemeteries of the two cities, and concluded that Meroë must have become the seat of the kings by about 538 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> though Napata continued for some time to be the sacred city where they returned to be buried. This new date for the rise of Meroë as the royal residence about 538 B.C. is more than 200 years earlier than Reisner had calculated.

Herodotus was making his inquiries concerning Ethiopia about 450 B.C. Hence it is now seen that in his time Napata had ceased to be the capital for some eighty years or so, and that Meroë was well-established in its place. Thus Herodotus supports Dunham's archaeological findings against Reisner's, and they in their turn prove once more that Herodotus's information is trustworthy.

More than this, this new date for the rise of Meroë helps to explain some of the remarkable stories told about the city by the classical authors. They connect the city with Cambyses who was reigning 529–522 B.C., and it now appears that it became the capital just about the time that he sent an army up into Ethiopia. There need be no doubt that Cambyses really did invade the country, for he was definitely established in Upper Egypt. It was in his sixth year that a Persian official, by the name of Atiyawahy son of Artames, left a record of himself in the Wādi Hammāmāt.<sup>2</sup> Then again, it was only about seventy-five years afterwards that Herodotus gives many details of Cambyses' activities in Ethiopia. He tells of his having sent spies up there (III, 17–24), of his having set out on a campaign in that country but had to turn back (III, 25), and finally of his having conquered at least that part of it that was nearer to Egypt (III, 97). He also says that the Ethiopians sent presents to Darius, Cambyses's successor, but not regular tribute.

In all of this Herodotus seems to be correct, for Ethiopia occupied a somewhat anomalous position in regard to Persia. At Persepolis Darius includes Ethiopia (*Kūša*) as part of 'the kingdom which I hold'<sup>3</sup> and again at Hamadan.<sup>4</sup> At Naqš-i-Rustam he

<sup>1</sup> *AJA* 50, 386, 387.

<sup>2</sup> G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, 123, Inscr. 28. Later on, in the sixth year of Xerxes, he had become Governor of Koptos (121, Inscr. 26) and still was as late as Xerxes' thirteenth year (124, Inscr. 30). His younger brother, Ariyawrata, visited the wādi as late as the seventeenth year of Artaxerxes I (128, Inscr. 33).

<sup>3</sup> Ronald G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 137. For all the references to the material in Persia I have to thank Mr. Hulin of Oxford.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 147 DH.



includes the Ethiopians as well as the Egyptians among those who 'bore tribute to me' and again at Susa.<sup>1</sup> Another inscription of his at Susa says that the ivory used in decorating the palace there 'was brought from Ethiopia' among other countries,<sup>2</sup> and the great tribute procession at Persepolis includes Ethiopians who bring a giraffe.<sup>3</sup> Herodotus says (VII, 69) that the Ethiopians sent a contingent to the armies of Xerxes, the successor of Darius, and at Persepolis Xerxes not only lists the Egyptians but also the Ethiopians among 'the countries of which I was king'.<sup>4</sup> Thus, we have evidence of Ethiopian subservience to Persia during some forty-five years which would not have been the case if at least some part of the country had not been conquered. Even as late as Artaxerxes II or III the throne-bearers include figures labelled 'Ethiopian' and 'Egyptian'.<sup>5</sup> The Ethiopian no doubt represents a stretch of the imagination, but, on the other hand, the Egyptian represents a certain amount of reality. Both these kings invaded the Delta, and Nectanebo is said to have fled to Ethiopia but more probably it was only to Upper Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

So far Ethiopia has figured as a tributary, yet other inscriptions omit it though mentioning Egypt. Such are that of Darius at Behistūn where Egypt is one of those countries 'which came unto me' and later 'which became rebellious from me'.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, another inscription of his, at Persepolis, names Egypt but not Ethiopia as one of the countries which 'bore me tribute'.<sup>8</sup>

By the first century B.C. Cambyses had become so intimately connected with Meroë that Diodorus (I, 33) says that he founded the city and called it after his mother, while Strabo (XVII, 1, 5) merely says that it was he who gave it its name. Strabo, however, adds that he did this because his sister Meroë or as some say, his wife, died there. Later again, about A.D. 90, Josephus says that Cambyses changed the name of the city from Saba to Meroë after the name of his own sister.<sup>9</sup>

This idea of the founding or naming of the city by Cambyses seems clearly to have grown out of the knowledge that Meroë rose to power at about the time of the Persian invasion. In putting two and two together tradition made the proverbial five.

According to Pliny (VI, xxix (xxxv), 181) Petronius captured a place Forum Cambusis on his expedition up to Napata in 23 B.C. He lists this before the last place, Stadissis, which was at a cataract and presumably at the Fourth.<sup>10</sup> In the middle of the second century A.D. Ptolemy also records this place under the name *καμβύσου ταμεία* 'The Storehouse of Cambyses'.<sup>11</sup> He gives it latitude 18° N., which is about the position of old Dongola and before one comes to Napata and the Fourth Cataract. However

<sup>1</sup> Kent, op. cit. 138, 142. On one of the fragments of Darius's stela of Kabret (Shaluf) Ethiopia appears as *ἡ ἡθίοπη* 'The Land of the Sudan' (Posener, op. cit. 70, Inscr. 9, no. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Kent, op. cit. 144.

<sup>3</sup> E. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. 81. The building was begun under Darius, continued under Xerxes, and the Hall of a Hundred Columns was finished by Artaxerxes I, *ibid.* 222.

<sup>4</sup> Kent, op. cit. 151.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 156. Cf. Herzfeld, op. cit., pl. 74, where the scene is ascribed to Artaxerxes II, and Davis in *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, 376, and pl. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 581, 584.

<sup>7</sup> Kent, op. cit. 119, § 6; 123, § 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 136.

<sup>9</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, II, 10.

<sup>10</sup> He says: 'Stadissis, where the Nile casting itself down takes away with its crashing the hearing of the neighbouring people.'

<sup>11</sup> C. Müller, *Cl. Ptolemaei Geographia*, 770, bk. IV, 7, § 5.

it may perhaps be questioned whether this name had really persisted for some 500 years or whether it was not rather the strength of the tradition which had caused travellers from the classical world to look for a likely place to which to attach such a name. Anyhow, the existence of the name, whether real or fictitious, strengthens the probability that Cambyses really did invade Ethiopia.

Since Schäfer published the inscription of Nastaseñ where he mentions his conquest of a certain Kambusuden, it has often been supposed that this must be a form of Cambyses. In fact Schäfer himself thought so and dated Nastaseñ accordingly.<sup>1</sup> But Nastaseñ cannot be as early as that, but on archaeological grounds must be placed some 200 years later, about 308 B.C.

Thus not only Herodotus's mention of Meroë but his information about the relationships between Persia and Ethiopia, the Persian records themselves, and later the strongly held belief in a connexion between Cambyses and Meroë are all in agreement. They all go to show that Cambyses really did invade Ethiopia and that in his time Meroë was already the capital. Hence they all support the archaeological evidence adduced by Dunham for putting the rise of Meroë as the capital back to about 538 B.C.

#### Postscript

Though referring to a time later than Herodotus, Macadam's information about Aman-nēte-yerike and Harsiotef has a bearing on the question, and is worth adding here.

Thus, Aman-nēte-yerike states that he was residing 'in his palace of Meroë' when his predecessor died,<sup>2</sup> and that in due time he proceeded to 'the royal palace' of 'the Sacred Hill', i.e. Napata, where he was crowned, and then to the temple of Amen-Rē in the same city.<sup>3</sup>

Hence in his time the king's residence was already at Meroë, and Napata had become merely the sacred city. Macadam has collected much evidence to show that the coronation must almost certainly have been in one of the years 426, 415, or 412 B.C., and most probably in 415 B.C.<sup>4</sup> This is not very long after about 450 B.C. when Herodotus had heard of Meroë as the capital of Ethiopia, and there is now no reason to doubt that it had already become so by his time, just as Dunham concludes must have been the case.

Moreover, Macadam further points out that it was only about a score of years after Aman-nēte-yerike's inscription that Harsiotef records that the royal palace of Napata was already so ruined or sanded up that none could enter there.<sup>5</sup> Evidently, therefore, the palace could hardly have been habitable even at the time of Aman-nēte-yerike's coronation and his visit there could only have been to present himself at the traditional site in order to receive the royal insignia. Indeed, it must have been long before Harsiotef's time that the palace at Napata was deserted and that city had ceased to be the capital.

<sup>1</sup> H. Schäfer, *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums Regierungsbericht des Königs Nastesen des Ggners des Kambyses*, 45, § 14; p. 119, l. 39. Cf. also p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I, *Text*, p. 51, Inscr. ix, ll. 3-5.

<sup>3</sup> p. 56, ll. 35 ff.

<sup>4</sup> p. 57, note 59.

<sup>5</sup> p. 54, note 11.

## ROMAN OXYRHYNCHUS

By E. G. TURNER

THE town of Oxyrhynchus<sup>1</sup> has contributed so much to classical studies over the last fifty years that it is surprising how little has been written on it. There is no monograph from which the layman can obtain a balanced picture.<sup>2</sup> No doubt scholars have been deterred from the task of compiling one by the thought of the enormous number of papyri still awaiting publication. In 1920 B. P. Grenfell estimated that of the material in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society a little over half of the literary finds, but 'not nearly half' of the documents, had been published.<sup>3</sup> Progress made since that date scarcely alters the figures. This paper will conduct an investigation into what sort of place Oxyrhynchus was, so that its papyri may be related to their background. The layman, whose picture of the papyrologist is often that of a 'back-room' wizard producing something out of nothing, may thereby be helped to see these documents and texts as the expression of the life of a community, and as a result to understand both what is likely to be forthcoming from papyrological work, and to assess the value of published texts. There will be little administrative or political history here; and because the quantity of material is so overwhelming, I have found it essential to restrict myself to the second and third centuries after Christ.

Because the contrary is so often asserted, I begin by emphasizing that Oxyrhynchus was an important place. This importance was recognized in A.D. 272 when the phrase *λαμπρά καὶ λαμπροτάτη* 'illustrious *and* most illustrious' found a place in the town's official title.<sup>4</sup> I suggest that this epithet of honour has a direct connexion with the first occasion (namely, in the following year A.D. 273) when the world-games, the *Iso-Capitolia*, were held in Oxyrhynchus.<sup>5</sup> But the importance of Oxyrhynchus does not begin at this point. Though its history in dynastic times can be inferred only from the tombs outside the town and such survivals as the local cult of Thoeris (the hippopotamus goddess) and the sacred sharp-nosed fish which gave the town its name,<sup>6</sup> the records of the Ethiopian invader Piankhi mention the town as an important place in middle Egypt which he captured. Later it attracted all manner of foreigners: Aramaic papyri from the graves west of the town mention the Egyptian King Tearkos and the

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read to the annual meeting of the Classical Association in Liverpool in Apr. 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus*, Princeton, 1935, is one-sided and has a hobby-horse to ride. In what follows, figures in black-faced type without other distinguishing marks refer to the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 1920, 149.

<sup>4</sup> 1264 is the first occurrence of this title, henceforward very common; *λαμπρά* alone in PSI 1101, 4 (A.D. 271). From the Ptolemaic period to the end of the second century A.D. the town's title is simply 'Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις τῆς Θεβαΐδος. In the third century τῆς Θεβαΐδος is dropped. 'Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν instead of 'Ὀξυρύγχων is normal after titles of municipal officers, &c., and occurs even in the second century (e.g. 494, 38).

<sup>5</sup> BGU 1074, 10; POslo, 85; 144.

<sup>6</sup> The spelling of town and nome with a single ρ is found consistently from the very earliest recorded documents in Greek, e.g. BGU 1257, 13 (before 258 B.C.).

Saïte Necho and Psammetichus I of the seventh century B.C.<sup>1</sup> In the sixty or so Greek documents of the Ptolemaic period which I have counted from Oxyrhynchus there is a glimpse of the new Greek settlers—among whom is Satyrus, the biographer of Euripides. Nevertheless, the documents from the Roman age seem to show a rise in the place's fortunes relatively to other towns in Egypt. In A.D. 200 the emperor Septimius Severus, visiting Egypt, gave the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus second priority for admission to his assizes—after Pelusium but above Memphis.<sup>2</sup> About A.D. 312 the share of Oxyrhynchus in a levy of gold was fixed at thirty-eight pounds.<sup>3</sup> This figure can now be seen in the perspective of the totals shown in a Rylands papyrus<sup>4</sup> of the same period for nomes in the Delta, where the average of seven nomes is ten pounds. During the fourth century Ammianus<sup>5</sup> mentions Oxyrhynchus with Thmuis, Athribis, and Memphis as one of the chief towns in Egypt. It became the capital of the province of Arcadia, the seat of a bishop, and its ecclesiastical importance is attested by its forty Christian churches.<sup>6</sup> Why Oxyrhynchus increased in importance and apparently in prosperity when its neighbours suffered is a problem requiring investigation. Its solution may contribute to our understanding of the breakdown of the Roman Empire.

The map shows Oxyrhynchus about 250 miles by railway from Alexandria, on the edge of the desert to the west of the Nile. It is away from the main stream, watered by the diverging channel now known<sup>7</sup> as Joseph's Canal (Baḥr Yūsuf), on whose left bank the ancient city was placed. The military road on the left bank of the Nile ran through it,<sup>8</sup> though the road on the other bank was the shortest route to Upper Egypt.<sup>9</sup> On the west the town lies open to the desert, which forms a broad plain at this point where the Libyan hills recede: in modern times even Grenfell and Hunt had experience of Bedouin raids from this quarter. Roman Oxyrhynchus appears to have had a garrison formed of the Cohors III Ituraeorum.<sup>10</sup> Parts of the town such as the κάμπος,<sup>11</sup> the Troopers' Fodder Store,<sup>12</sup> reflect their activities. Across the desert ran the normal route to the Little Oasis, itself occupied by troops in the early fourth century,<sup>13</sup> and in the third century sharing in the municipal administration of Oxyrhynchus,<sup>14</sup> and perhaps under the same strategus.<sup>15</sup>

Desire to find a site uncumbered by later buildings and lying outside the cultivation level first led Grenfell and Hunt to Behnesa (Oxyrhynchus) in 1897. This once flourish-

<sup>1</sup> Kees in *PW*, s.v. Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>2</sup> 705, 36. It is sometimes argued from 1456 (A.D. 284–6) that Oxyrhynchus became a regular seat of the prefect's *conventus* in the late third century. But Wilcken's hypothesis of only three regular assize towns is hard to reconcile with, for example, 1117, 2, which implies a decision given in Oxyrhynchus itself, and with PRyl. 74.

<sup>3</sup> 2106.

<sup>4</sup> IV, 616.

<sup>5</sup> 22, 16, 6.

<sup>6</sup> See *POxy.* xi, 26.

<sup>7</sup> It is called *ὁ πόνταμος ὁ ἡμέτερος* in an unpublished second-century minute of legal proceedings from Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>8</sup> *Antonine Itinerary*, ed. Pindar-Parthey, 71; *τοῖς διοδεύουσι στρατιώταις*, 1543.

<sup>9</sup> 1666.

<sup>10</sup> 1022, cf. 1035 which shows this cohort in the neighbourhood of the town for a long period in the early second century.

<sup>11</sup> 247. Apparently it is an alternative name in the second century for the *ἄμφοδον Ἰππέων Παρεμβολῆς*, PMich. 177, 15 and 179.

<sup>12</sup> 330.

<sup>13</sup> 1204, A.D. 299; 1883, *κάστρον Ψάβθεως*. For *Ψάβθις* cf. 485.

<sup>14</sup> 888, PMerton, 26, joint exegetes.

<sup>15</sup> PSI 1155.

ing town had shrunk to a couple of mosques, a number of ruinous and venerated Arab tombs, and a collection of houses close to the canal; the ancient city was a waste of rubbish mounds and deep-blown sand. The mounds were rubbish heaps in the true sense of that term and their formation had begun in ancient times (in one case the excavators recovered papyrus rolls inside the basket in which they had been thrown away). Through these mounds Grenfell and Hunt ran trenches that were sometimes 25 feet deep as they followed the path-finding stratum of *afsh* down to the damp level beyond which no papyrus could survive.

Grenfell and Hunt excavated for six seasons: at first in 1896–7, and then for five seasons running from spring 1903 to 1907.<sup>1</sup> When they ceased digging the Italian *Società per la ricerca dei papiri* financed excavations conducted by Professor Pistelli in 1910<sup>2</sup> and again in the winter of 1913–14.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the inhabitants, who had begun their destruction as early as 1904, dug out the site for the sake of its *sebbakh* (fertile earth). In 1922 Petrie reported that a railway had been constructed and 100–150 tons of earth per day were being removed as fertilizer. Naturally chance finds turned up during this process and were disposed of through dealers; a few came to the Rylands Library in Manchester in 1917; B. P. Grenfell was on the site again in 1920 and bought papyri there; and Petrie himself obtained texts of interest.<sup>4</sup> In 1927–8 a new Italian expedition under Professor Breccia returned to work on the site,<sup>5</sup> and the same experienced excavator has since led two further expeditions, in 1932,<sup>6</sup> and in 1934, when the mound of Abu Teyr<sup>7</sup> was examined. It will be clear, therefore, that texts obtained in Oxyrhynchus are not confined to the publications of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, and that one of the tasks confronting the papyrologist is to reunite texts which have found their way into different collections.

None of the excavators had any other aim than to find papyri. Indeed, on the pillaged and wrecked site, where buildings had been quarried for stone down to their foundations and their position was marked, if at all, by no more than lines of chips in the sand, any attempt to trace the plan of the Roman city was unlikely to be rewarding. The opportunity of examination on the ground has now passed for ever, so criss-crossed is the site by the aimless workings of the *sebbakh*-diggers. They did, however, lay bare some features apparently not visible in 1906—the theatre, carefully examined by Petrie in 1922, and traces of two colonnades, neither of which are mentioned anywhere by Grenfell.<sup>8</sup> On this site the ground plan usually contributed by the archaeologist is not

<sup>1</sup> See the *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Reports* for these years.

<sup>2</sup> *PSI*, I, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *PSI*, III, p. v; cf. IV, p. v.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek texts he found went to St. Louis, U.S.A., where they are now to be published by Prof. V. B. Schuman.

<sup>5</sup> Vitelli in *Bull. Soc. Archeol. Alexandrie*, 24 (1929), 1–16; cf. *PSI*, IX and X, introd.

<sup>6</sup> *PSI*, XI, 56.

<sup>7</sup> *PSI*, XII, pp. iv, 72, 75.

<sup>8</sup> Not in his published excavation reports nor in his surviving miscellaneous papers through which I have searched. The site plan (on which Grenfell was engaged in 1908, but never finished owing to illness) still exists, together with a small black notebook containing miscellaneous memoranda on which it was based. The notebook makes it clear that in the productive mound named after Shêkh Gaman (scene of the so-called second and third literary finds of 1906) the trench had to be stopped just north of the Shêkh's tomb, and it seems certain that the area unexcavated was the spot in which in 1932 Prof. Breccia retrieved the fine texts

available. Interrogation of mother earth must be replaced by the evidence of documents, and an archaeologist is bound to read with mixed feelings lists which describe in detail ex-votos made in the temples<sup>1</sup> or schedules of the principal buildings in the town supervised by night-watchmen.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth while attempting to elicit the physical appearance of the town from the documents, helping imagination by the descriptions and drawings of Hermoupolis and Antinoupolis made by the Napoleonic commission of investigation in 1809.<sup>3</sup> The great portico in Hermoupolis is a visual reminder that the temple architecture was Egyptian, the plan of Antinoupolis may give some idea of size. Its walls—and Oxyrhynchus too was a walled city with at least five gates<sup>4</sup>—are stated by Jomard to be 5,298 metres round (i.e. more than 3 miles). What, indeed, was the size and population of Oxyrhynchus? Grenfell computes the dimensions of the site<sup>5</sup> at about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles long and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile broad Petrie estimated that the theatre of Oxyrhynchus would hold 11,200 spectators. The size of a single village in the Arsinoite nome is now known from *PRyl.* IV, 594 to have been about 5,000–6,000 persons in the middle of the second century and a metropolis must have been considerably larger than that. These indications are all we have to go on. Jomard's plate of Antinoupolis gives a vivid idea of the great colonnaded streets. There was no doubt a general similarity in the new street of Oxyrhynchus built at the city's cost in A.D. 283, for which  $4\frac{2}{3}$  talents were paid to joiners working on the woodwork of the roof,<sup>6</sup> or to the 'Eastern Stoa' mentioned in A.D. 261.<sup>7</sup> Probably the pathetic limestone pillars projecting from the sand photographed by Petrie<sup>8</sup> are part of the νότος δρόμος, or southern paved way, which gave its name to one of the regions of Oxyrhynchus. Rink<sup>9</sup> has collected the names of these regions: some are called after their inhabitants, Cretans or Jews,<sup>10</sup> others after trades—the Gooseherds, the Shepherds, the Cobblers' Market quarter, while others take their title after public buildings and temples. Houses in the city sometimes ran to three stories,<sup>11</sup> and normally

and documents published in *PSI*, XI, XII, and XIII. But after close study I am forced to admit that the memoranda are inadequate for topographical description, or even to pinpoint the spots at which Grenfell and Hunt made their major finds; and I am unwilling to take the responsibility of publishing an unfinished plan with which its author was dissatisfied. One topographical inference based on it may perhaps be allowed. West of the mound which he numbered 26, Grenfell noted 'ground strewn with chips and remains of brick walls. Some large building stood here.' I suspect this was the theatre examined by Petrie (see *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchus*). If so, the fragments of colonnade described and photographed by Petrie are probably part of the νότος δρόμος of Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>1</sup> 1449.

<sup>2</sup> 43V = Wilcken, Chr.474, late third century. The list works round the city from north through west and south to east. Cf. the fifty night-watchmen for whom pay was asked in the second century, 2128.

<sup>3</sup> See the magnificent plates drawn by Jomard in *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris 1817), *Antiquités, Planches*, Tome IV, plates 50–54. This party found nothing worth drawing at Behnesa, and the only ruin they comment on (*ibid.*, *Antiquités, Descriptions*, Tome II (Paris 1818), chap. xvi, 3) is the complete Corinthian column 8 metres high with entablature still in position. It is probably the one marked by Grenfell to SE. of the tomb of Dahhuri on the west of the site.

<sup>4</sup> 43V. Work on the north gate in A.D. 338 is mentioned in 892.

<sup>5</sup> *EEF Archaeological Report*, 1896–7.

<sup>6</sup> 55.

<sup>7</sup> 2109.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 35.

<sup>9</sup> H. Rink, *Strassen und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* (Giessen 1924). To his list should be added the ἀμφοδον Αναμφοδάρχων, 2186, 6; 257, 22.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *infra*; also 335, A.D. 85.

<sup>11</sup> Three stories: 75, 99, 1105. Two stories: 243, 247.

were built with a cellar and a small courtyard (about 15 square yards) containing a well. The better class houses are built of stone,<sup>1</sup> the cheaper ones of sun-dried bricks that sometimes collapse on their occupants.<sup>2</sup> The centre of business life is the great temple of Sarapis, so often chosen as a landmark in the descriptions of property. Here the bankers had their premises<sup>3</sup> and agreements of all kinds are drawn up at the public notary's office, ἐν ἀγυιᾷ, as the contracts have it. Probably the temple marked on Grenfell's plan, 'in size almost equal to that of Denderah', is this Serapeum. At any rate its existence is attested as early as the third to second centuries B.C. when settlers dunned for their taxes took refuge there,<sup>4</sup> and as late as A.D. 336.<sup>5</sup> Here Menander wrote his private anxiety on a slip of papyrus and submitted it to 'Zeus Helios the great Sarapis—am I to marry?'.<sup>6</sup> The number of temples in Oxyrhynchus is difficult to count precisely because of the number of conjoint priests, e.g. 'Of Zeus, Hera and the gods who share the temple (σύνναοι)'; 'Of Zeus, Hera and Athena who is Thoeris and the σύνναοι'; 'Of Thoeris, Isis and Sarapis and the σύνναοι'. In A.D. 213 there appear to be three different temples shared between Zeus/Ammon, Hera/Isis, and the Syrian goddess Atargatis/Bethynnis.<sup>7</sup> Isis has a small temple attached to the Serapeum,<sup>8</sup> and a second called 'the great Iseum'.<sup>9</sup> Thoeris, an ἱερόδουλος of whom is mentioned in 215–214 B.C.,<sup>10</sup> and one of whose shrines is noticed as late as A.D. 342,<sup>11</sup> had four temples: the Thoereum of the 'revealing gods', ἐξαγορείων;<sup>12</sup> another of Sintano or Sintabo;<sup>13</sup> a third<sup>14</sup> described by the enigmatic term Θενέπλω, and the Θοηρείον Ὀσορφνᾶτος.<sup>15</sup> In one of these shrines the cult-image (ξίανον) is made of gold.<sup>16</sup> In these great temples, as also in the Osireion,<sup>17</sup> the ritual remains Egyptian, and image-bearers, ibis-buriers,<sup>18</sup> and hieroglyph-cutters<sup>19</sup> continue to perform their traditional rites. Also taken over from the traditional ceremony is the sacrifice to 'the most sacred Nile' on July 24, for the conduct of which the strategus was furnished with '1 calf, 2 jars of sweet wine, 16 wafers, 16 garlands, 16 pine-cones, 16 cakes, 16 green palm-branches, 16 reeds likewise, oil, honey, milk, and every spice except frankincense'.<sup>20</sup> Among shrines of Greek rite are mentioned a temple of Demeter,<sup>21</sup> of Kore,<sup>22</sup> of the so-called 'Two Brothers',<sup>23</sup> of Dionysus,<sup>24</sup> of Hermes,<sup>25</sup> of Apollo,<sup>26</sup> of Agathos Daemon and Neotera<sup>27</sup> whom Dr. Tarn<sup>28</sup> interprets as the last Cleopatra, and of Fortune.<sup>29</sup> Roman cultus is represented by Jupiter Capitolinus in the Capitolium<sup>30</sup> and by Mars;<sup>31</sup> and the worship of the emperor is no doubt celebrated in the Caesareum<sup>32</sup> or Sebasteum<sup>33</sup> and the Ἀδριανεῖον.<sup>34</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> 498; 489; 1634.<sup>2</sup> 52.<sup>3</sup> 1639 notes.<sup>4</sup> BGU 1245.<sup>5</sup> 1265.<sup>6</sup> 1213. Cf. 1148, 1149.<sup>7</sup> 1449, 5–6.<sup>8</sup> 1453, 4. Cf. the single guard in 43V, ii, 14.<sup>9</sup> 35R, 13.<sup>10</sup> BGU 1263.<sup>11</sup> 1627, 12; cf. PSI 215, 6. A.D. 339.<sup>12</sup> *JEA* 20, 20 ff.; PSI 215, 6; PMerton, 26, 4.<sup>13</sup> *JEA*, loc. cit., and PMerton, 26.<sup>14</sup> See Rink, op. cit. 32.<sup>15</sup> 1188, 3.<sup>16</sup> 1117.<sup>17</sup> 241.<sup>18</sup> PFuad, 16.<sup>19</sup> 1029.<sup>20</sup> 1211.<sup>21</sup> 1485. Possibly eponymous of the Metroum quarter.<sup>22</sup> 1449.<sup>23</sup> 254, 31. Eponymous of the Heroum quarter?<sup>24</sup> 908.<sup>25</sup> Inference from the Ἐρμαιοῦν quarter.<sup>26</sup> 984, 1449.<sup>27</sup> 1449.<sup>28</sup> *CAH* x, 38, n. 2. Cf. C. Bonner, A. D. Nock, *HTR* 41 (1948) 213–15.<sup>29</sup> 507, 6.<sup>30</sup> 43V, 2109, 2128: cf. Wilcken, *Gdz.* 116.<sup>31</sup> 984.<sup>32</sup> 1683.<sup>33</sup> 267; 2130 (a Roman officer on duty (στατίζων) at the emperor's statue).<sup>34</sup> 1113. It was being used as a prison in the fourth century, 2154. A priestess of Faustina Sebaste in A.D. 164 figures in 502.

catalogue of some twenty temples and cults may be rounded off by the two Christian churches, the north church and the south church mentioned at the close of the third century,<sup>1</sup> and the contemporary Jewish synagogue.<sup>2</sup>

On the south-western side of the town lay the theatre, the scene of festivals (*πανηγύρεις*)<sup>3</sup> attended by the epistrategus,<sup>4</sup> it may be in celebration of Hadrian's victory over the Jews, an anniversary still kept in the third century,<sup>5</sup> or to greet with garlands and sacrifice<sup>6</sup> the proclamation of a new emperor, or to watch an ephebic display.<sup>7</sup> But the theatre also served its nominal purpose, though a contemporary of Sophocles would have been unsatisfied. A second-century account records payments of 496 drachmae for a day's performance by a *mimos*, 448 drachmae to a Homeric reciter, and payments for music and to a dancer.<sup>8</sup> On the eastern side of the town, by the Joseph Canal, were two quays and a nilometer, with the Treasury Building<sup>9</sup> and the gymnasium<sup>10</sup> close by. After exercise in the ball-court there<sup>11</sup> you could bathe on the spot, or else visit either the Hadrianic<sup>12</sup> or the Antonine baths.<sup>13</sup>

For the bulk of the inhabitants, Egyptian in name and writing Greek (if they are not actually illiterate) which is a joy to the philologist, life offers a hard round of toil in order to live. The apparatus of daily life is scanty, and it is often pawned to satisfy the tax-collector. In the early second century a father leaves to his children

a coffer supplied with a false key, another out of use, a box of bronze, a plate or dish pledged by Isas during his lifetime to Panares for twenty drachmae of silver, another box pledged for ten drachmae to the same Panares, a flask of tin pledged to the same person for four drachmae, an undyed (*ἰδίω*χρωμον?) garment pledged to me for a further sum of twelve drachmae, a tunic pledged to Tnephersois for eight drachmae, a half share in three weavers' looms which belonged to his father, a pig sold by me, Theon, after the death of my brother Isas for forty drachmae, a large chest of bronze, one cup of tin and one of silver, a pillow.<sup>14</sup>

In A.D. 308 a wife is bequeathed by her mother 'a bed, two small worn cushions, two worn mattresses, a part-worn undyed wrap, a small table and a child's worn tunic'.<sup>15</sup> But there are holidays from labour—twenty days a year are specified in apprenticeship contracts<sup>16</sup>—and ill-spelled letters reveal the anticipation of family reunions on such occasions. No doubt these are the people who crowded the theatre to applaud the mime of Charition.<sup>17</sup> Its action takes place on the coast of a barbarian country where the pretty Charition is due to be sacrificed by the native king to Selene, and is rescued in the nick of time by her brother and a party of Greeks who intoxicate the jailers. The barbarians jabber double Dutch, drums beat at intervals, and coarse laughter is constantly raised by the vulgar gagging of the clown. 'It is a low sort of music hall performance', writes Professor Page, 'and indeed a far cry from Attic tragedy.' But the plot, as he goes on to point out, is taken distantly from Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, substituting Charition for Iphigenia, the barbarian king for Thoas, and the clown for Pylades.

<sup>1</sup> 43V.                    <sup>2</sup> 1205, A.D. 291.                    <sup>3</sup> 2127, 4 and 11.                    <sup>4</sup> 1411.                    <sup>5</sup> 705, 34.

<sup>6</sup> στεφανηφοροῦντας καὶ βουθυτοῦντας, 1021.                    <sup>7</sup> 42, 1050.                    <sup>8</sup> 519.                    <sup>9</sup> Ταμῆον, 241, 23.

<sup>10</sup> This is the position indicated in 43V. 1449, 6 suggests rather the SW side of the town.

<sup>11</sup> 1450.                    <sup>12</sup> 54, 896.                    <sup>13</sup> 2128.                    <sup>14</sup> 1269.                    <sup>15</sup> 1645.                    <sup>16</sup> E.g. 725.

<sup>17</sup> 413. See D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I, no. 76.



But there will have been members of the higher classes who applauded this performance, for their papers show that many persons in comfortable circumstances, including Roman citizens,<sup>1</sup> could not write. Nevertheless these upper classes were conscious of a difference between themselves and their more numerous neighbours. 'Please don't think me βάρβαρόν τινα ἢ Αἰγύπτιον ἀνάνθρωπον', writes a correspondent in the third century.<sup>2</sup> This little island of Greeks, remote from the sea,<sup>3</sup> founded their separateness in membership of the city gymnasium, the focus of Hellenic life in the city, and by its educational influence the custodian of Hellenic tradition. This distinction was recognized as useful by the Roman government which conceded a lower rate of poll-tax to the inhabitants of a metropolis,<sup>4</sup> and then refined the distinction by creating an inner elite of members of the gymnasium. To belong to it, it was necessary to prove descent on both sides from persons whose claims had been accepted in a list drawn up by the government in A.D. 4-5. It is impossible not to feel something of the pride of these Hellenic families when one reads documents<sup>5</sup> of the second half of the third century in which a Hellenic pedigree of ten generations is set out in order to prove the right to membership of this select class. The Roman government looked to them to provide reliable municipal officers and educated higher administrators (such as the nome strategus and royal scribes). But a more important effect of the distinction was to buttress a minority of Greeks against absorption by an alien and more ancient civilization.

The Greek became a member of the gymnasium, as an ephebe at the age of fourteen, and remained a member all his life, passing into the gerousia when he reached old age.<sup>6</sup> As an ephebe he practised the traditional care of the body, learned to wrestle at the palaestra, and competed for the prizes provided in A.D. 202 for the annual contest by the philanthropic Aur. Horion, citizen of Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus.<sup>7</sup> If he showed promise he would be carefully trained to challenge in games abroad—it may be in the triennial contests in honour of the deified Livia,<sup>8</sup> or the world championship in Greece. Supporters on occasion enlisted magical aid for their favourite: 'Grant victory and safety in the racecourse and the throng to Sarapammon, son of Apollonius, in the name of Sulicesus', runs one such charm.<sup>9</sup> When older (though in many cases while still under age) our Greek would take his turn as 'ruler of the gymnasium' or gymnasiarch. By way of inauguration the strategus would put the wreath on the new officer's head, and a dinner party of invited guests would celebrate the occasion.<sup>10</sup> If the new holder showed himself liberal in furnishing oil, distributing money for shows,<sup>11</sup> and in administering the baths, he might be rewarded by a written address, and the dedication

<sup>1</sup> 1201, A.D. 258; 1463, a woman acting without a guardian is illiterate, A.D. 215; 1467, a woman asking for right to dispense with a guardian stresses the fact that she is literate; 1069, the correspondent Troilos is clearly well-to-do but his Greek is excruciating. See Rita Calderini in *Aegyptus*, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> 1681.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1067, in which a father adds a postscript to his daughter's letter to her brother in Alexandria: 'buy me some sauce made from sea fish', ὀψαρίδιον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης.

<sup>4</sup> Probably 12 drachmae instead of 16 at Oxyrhynchus; see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt*, 126-7.

<sup>5</sup> Such as 2186 or PSI 457.

<sup>6</sup> *Archiv.* 12, 179 = *PRyl.* IV, 599.

<sup>7</sup> 705.

<sup>8</sup> 2105.

<sup>9</sup> 1478.

<sup>10</sup> Wilcken, *Chr.* 41 and 2147.

<sup>11</sup> θεωρικὰ χρήματα. Cf. the lead tokens found by Grenfell and Hunt at Behnesa, *EEF Archaeol. Report*, 1896-7.

of a statue, a full-length portrait, and three shields.<sup>1</sup> A gymnasiarch whose generosity took a literary turn is celebrated in hexameters (from the alterations in the papyrus it appears to be the author's own copy):

It is not lately that we knew you, first, Theon, holding high office among your youthful comrades; but from long ago, anointing ourselves from oil vessels or sharing the gifts of chaste Demeter. Those blessings of your favour you bestowed on your people: and here today you give blessings upon blessings, more precious yet to our young men. The others a rich man might provide, since vain-glorious are the gifts of vain riches; but these come from a man learned in the Muses' arts—*ταῦτα δὲ Μουσάων σοφίης δεδαημένος ἀνὴρ*.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to speculate on the nature of Theon's patronage of the Muses: was it a foundation for a musical contest, or could it have been the gift of books for a gymnasium library?

Though it was costly to act as gymnasiarch, members of this class had the money to spend. Their houses were built of stone, quarried north of the town and carried in by camel.<sup>3</sup> A house built in A.D. 186<sup>4</sup> contained a bathing establishment on a generous scale, five vaulted chambers (*θόλοι*) being mentioned. Living was ample, if not luxurious: a butcher's bill rendered at the end of the second century shows one household not short of meat, the master of the house having a weakness for trotters.<sup>5</sup> A prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in the year 276<sup>6</sup> bequeathed the following estate to his five children: his three sons were to share a vineyard, two separate parcels of corn land, and a house with furniture in Oxyrhynchus, the eldest son having in addition a further parcel of corn land and a slave for his own; two daughters were to share another piece of corn land and a vineyard, and one who was married received her dowry as an outright gift along with a slave; four further slaves were to be held in common by the children. The widow was to have the corn land which had been mortgaged against her dowry, in case repayment should be required, while a dear friend was to receive thirty jars of wine and a quantity of corn every year. When the unmarried daughter came to marry, the three sons were between them to find four minae of silver as her dowry. Again, the estate of an Oxyrhynchite who was Royal Secretary of the territory of Alexandria in the third century was certified as *ducenaria*, which probably means a capital value of 200,000 drachmae which if invested at current rates would produce 6 talents income per year.<sup>7</sup> The property of the wife of M. Aur. Saras, gymnasiarch and councillor and son of a high Alexandrian officer, was valued at the same figure in A.D. 237.<sup>8</sup>

Living standards such as these, though ample in relation to that of the mass of the population, are modest compared with contemporary expenditure in Rome or Alexandria. No doubt those Alexandrian citizens who resided at Oxyrhynchus were the wealthiest in that town. I have counted twenty-four who owned property at Oxyrhynchus in the first three centuries, and five of them, men of mark in the capital, found time to hold the chief municipal offices in Oxyrhynchus in the third century. One founded two benefactions in honour of the Severi, a trust for the ephebic games, and

<sup>1</sup> 477.

<sup>2</sup> 1015, translated by D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I, no. 130.

<sup>3</sup> 498.

<sup>4</sup> 2145.

<sup>5</sup> 108.

<sup>6</sup> 907.

<sup>7</sup> 1274. See Van Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque des métropoles*, 41.

<sup>8</sup> 1114.

a fund to help villagers to face their financial responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> It is no doubt such citizens of Alexandria who brought with them to Oxyrhynchus copies of the anti-Roman literature known as the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Roman citizens also owned property in the town and district. Antonia, the wife of Drusus, Tiberius's brother, had a large estate.<sup>2</sup> In the year A.D. 154 two Romans 'not able at the present moment to make the trip to Egypt' appointed an agent to look after property belonging to their wards.<sup>3</sup> In A.D. 248-9 an eques, Aurelius Achilleus, is found holding land in the middle toparchy.<sup>4</sup> Veterans settle in the town, such as M. Iulius Valerianus, demobilized from the fleet in the second century, who purchased uncultivated land *εἰς κολώνειαν*,<sup>5</sup> or C. Veturius Gemellus, approved as recruit for the *Cohors III Ituraeorum*<sup>6</sup> stationed near Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 103, and whose son aged twenty-one is found forty years later lending a weaving implement in Oxyrhynchus.<sup>7</sup> During the first three centuries I have counted eleven veterans such as these at Oxyrhynchus, and another seventeen Roman citizens (excluding Aurelii, but counting women), no doubt in some cases freedmen, who either owned property or engaged in various business transactions there. One of these in mid-third century perhaps owned the splendid (but atrociously mis-spelled) copy of Livy's *Epitomes*<sup>8</sup> and the copy of Gaius' *Institutiones* of the same date.<sup>9</sup>

This is an opportune moment to pause and take stock of the contacts of Oxyrhynchus with the great world outside: such a stocktaking will clear the ground for a consideration of the much more interesting question of the contacts of Oxyrhynchus with the world of literature and scholarship. As has been seen, there is a constant to and fro between Oxyrhynchus and Alexandria; if great landowners from the capital move in to visit their estates, officials to administer justice and the revenues, business men to negotiate, and discharged veterans to settle down, others go from home for the like reasons of daily life; some, like Hilarion, who bids his wife Alis 'if, as a last straw, you have a baby and it is a girl, expose it',<sup>10</sup> go there to find employment; others go to Alexandria to study—'don't be anxious, father, about our studies', writes Aur. Dius to his father, 'we persevere in them and relax'—*φιλοπονοῦμεν καὶ ἀναψύχομεν*.<sup>11</sup> Corn from Oxyrhynchus sails to Italy in the grain fleet, and Oxyrhynchite sailors go with it, writing home from Puteoli in wonder that they were not sea-sick.<sup>12</sup> Soldiers enlist and serve in the forces.<sup>13</sup> Local athletes visit the great games in Greece and the east (one of the cements of empire, as M. Méautis<sup>14</sup> calls them) to earn the title of *περιοδονίκης* and *παράδοσος*, and be given the complimentary citizenship of Athens;<sup>15</sup> and when at last in 273 the *Iso-Capitolia* are held in Oxyrhynchus itself, the town is no doubt packed with visitors from abroad.

After this digression it will be rewarding to trace the history of an upper class family in Oxyrhynchus through three generations in the second and third centuries. *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός* (No. 1), the first member of the family I select, is mentioned for the first time in A.D. 178 when his freedman Serenus reclaims payment of a debt made

<sup>1</sup> 705. For his full titles see PSI 1255.

<sup>2</sup> Rostovzeff, *Röm. Kolonat*, pp. 121, 126.

<sup>3</sup> 727.

<sup>4</sup> 1444, 15; perhaps also 1534, 21, Thmoisepho toparchy.

<sup>5</sup> 1508.

<sup>6</sup> 1022.

<sup>7</sup> 1035.

<sup>8</sup> 668.

<sup>9</sup> 2103.

<sup>10</sup> 744.

<sup>11</sup> 1296. Cf. 2190.

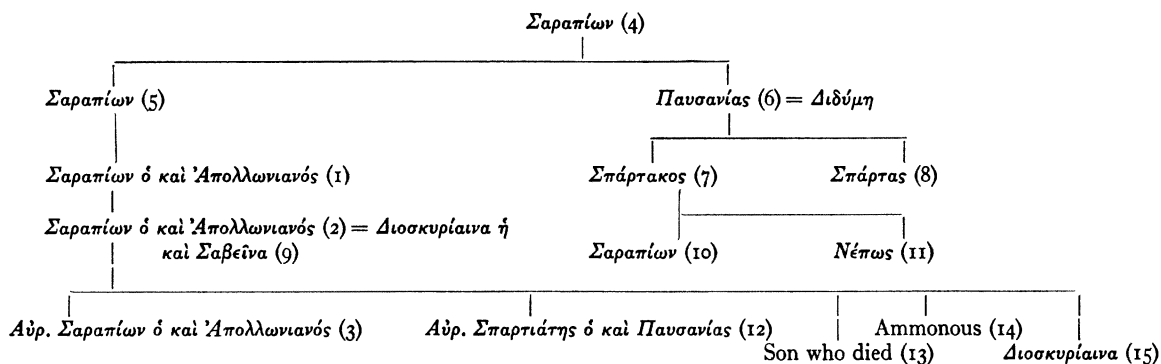
<sup>12</sup> 2193.

<sup>13</sup> 1481.

<sup>14</sup> *Hermoupole-La-Grande*, 35-36.

<sup>15</sup> 1648.

THE FAMILY OF ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ Ὁ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΝΟΣ



For (1) (2) (3) see the text. PSI 1260, 1261 which may refer to either (2) or (3) have not been utilized.

(4) (6) POxy. 2134, PSI 1253. The relation of the whole of this right-hand branch to the branch of Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός is hypothetical. The strongest argument for the connexion is the reappearance of the names Σπαρτιάτης and Πανσανίας in (12). As (1) (7) (8) appear to be of the same generation, it is impossible to equate (5) and (4).

(5) Father of Ἀπολλωνιανός, POxy. 485.

(7) POxy. 2118, A.D. 156.

(8) A.D. 170. POxy. 2134; A.D. 186, PSI 1253.

(9) Daughter of Dioscurides ἐνθηναρχήσας Ἀλεξανδρίας, PSI 1249, 1250.

(10) (11) PSI 1259, restoring Σπαρ[τάκου] in the address instead of the editor's Σπαρ[τιάτου]. But the correction remains hypothetical.

(12) PSI 1247, 1248, A.D. 265; possibly POxy. 2139 and 2107, A.D. 262 (where a son is mentioned). But the latter (and POxy. 2140?) may be of the family of Σπαρτιάτης ὁ καὶ Χαϊρήμων, decaprotus in A.D. 261 (POxy. 2126).

(13) PSI 1248.

(14) (15) PSI 1247.

to a woman in the Little Oasis; the sum involved, 900 drachmae, is not small, and suggests that the freedman is under wealthy patronage.<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 188 *Σαραπίων* is addressed as ex-gymnasiarch in a contract of indemnity.<sup>2</sup> I now proceed to make one assumption—that the adjectival form (*Ἀπολλωνιανός*) of the alternative name can sometimes be written as a substantive name (i.e. *Ἀπολλώνιος*)—an identification that certainly must be allowed in the next generation. If this is allowed, our Sarapion was in A.D. 192 strategus of the Hermopolite nome, the *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος* of *P. Ryl.* 77, 1 and 47. It was a salutary rule of the Roman administration that a man should not be strategus in a nome or district in which he himself held property.<sup>3</sup> Such an officer, the local deputy of the prefect in an area the size of a small English county, was almost always recruited from the upper Hellenized classes on whose integrity and education the government could rely.

*Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός* (No. 2), son of the first, repeated his father's career and was strategus of two districts of the Arsinoite nome from A.D. 207 to 210 at least.<sup>4</sup> Next, with the addition of the nomen Aurelius, for it is after A.D. 212, he is found as Royal Secretary representing the strategus of the Hermopolite nome, probably between 212 and 215,<sup>5</sup> and shortly afterwards he is substantive strategus of this nome<sup>6</sup> until at least the end of A.D. 221. Meantime in Oxyrhynchus itself he fulfilled the duties of gymnasiarch and councillor; in A.D. 229, when he is addressed as *ἄρξας τῆς πόλεως*, he was acting as superintendent of the alum monopoly;<sup>7</sup> between 238 and 244 he served on the committee of *εἰρηνάρχαι* (chiefs of police).<sup>8</sup> A number of private documents are addressed to him. In A.D. 220 (acting through his manager, for he is on duty in the Hermopolite nome) he let on lease 11¼ arourae to be sown with lentils;<sup>9</sup> in A.D. 226, in conjunction with another proprietor, he received an offer for a lease of 22 arourae of land additional to what the offerer had already undertaken;<sup>10</sup> and in A.D. 235 he paid rent to three persons on a holding of 700 arourae.<sup>11</sup>

This Sarapion (No. 2) married a lady with the high-sounding name of *Διοσκυρία* ἢ καὶ *Σαβεῖνα*, a daughter of a high officer of Alexandria.<sup>12</sup> Their family numbered five: the eldest son *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός* (No. 3), is mentioned in 265 as gymnasiarch

<sup>1</sup> 485. He is referred to only as *Ἀπολλωνιανός Σαραπίωνος* but the father's name makes the identity reasonably certain.

<sup>2</sup> 2135, 1, 11.

<sup>3</sup> See J. G. Tait, *JEA* 8, 166 ff.

<sup>4</sup> PSI 1245, 7, 35, (207); PSI 1243 (15/3/208); PSI 1244, 1245; PFlor. 317 (31/7/210); prob. 2121 (209/10). In 2184 (215) he is addressed as *στρατηγῆσ[αντι Ἄρ]σινοεῖτου*.

<sup>5</sup> *PLond.* 934, III, p. xlvii, *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος*. In view of his tenure of the office of strategus immediately afterwards, the equation of *Ἀπολλώνιος* and *Ἀπολλωνιανός* is inevitable.

<sup>6</sup> From some date in 215–16, 2227; then 2119, 2138 (219); 2120 (25/8/221). Cf. PSI 734, 1, 13 (between 218 and 222). In PSI 1246 (undated) he is addressed as *στρατηγῶ Ἐρμοπολίτου*, and in PSI 1245 (235) as *γυμνασιαρχ(ήσαντι) στρατηγῆ(σαντι) νομῶν*. To this evidence 61 is to be added. Line 28 there can be read *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλων[ν]ιαν[ὸ]ς* as I have confirmed; and lines 1–3 restored [*Ἀυρήλιος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνια[ν]ι[ὸ]ς*] *χρησ[τ]ο[μ]ε[ν]ος [στρα(τηγός) Ἄρσινοίτου]* | *νυνὶ στρα[τ]ηγός Ἐρμοπολίτου*. This restoration of line 3 was previously suggested by J. G. Tait, *JEA* 8, 167.

<sup>7</sup> 2116.

<sup>8</sup> 80.

<sup>9</sup> 2189.

<sup>10</sup> 2137.

<sup>11</sup> SB 5806, but one cannot but wonder whether the figure 700 is correctly read. Other family property is concerned in PSI 1249, 1250. PSI 1260, 1261 may apply to either No. 2 or No. 3.

<sup>12</sup> PSI 1249, 1250 *εὐθημιάρχης* Ἀλεξ.

and councillor<sup>1</sup> (I have not been able to trace that he followed his father and grandfather's footsteps as strategus, but our documentation from other nomes is not complete); a second son is *Σπαρτιάτης ὁ καὶ Πανσανίας*;<sup>2</sup> a third son died young; and there are two daughters, Ammonous and *Διοσκυρίαινα*.<sup>3</sup> The son who died is mentioned in a letter from a friend to the father in an evocative phrase that rings through the curtain of the centuries:

The gods are my witness that when I heard of my master, our son, I was as distressed and mourned as if he were my own child—yes, for he was winsome (*καὶ γὰρ ἀξιοφίλητον ἦν*). When I was eager to rush to you, Pinoution held me back, saying that you, my lord Apollonianus, had instructed him I was not to come up since you were gone to the Arsinoite nome. But bear it nobly. This, too, is what the gods have in store.<sup>4</sup>

The further ramification of this family may be traced in the attached plan. Enough has been said in the text to demonstrate the devotion to public service which led two generations to important and exacting office, while three generations did their duty by the city of Oxyrhynchus; and also to suggest, from the tone of letters written in the family circle, that its members were not strangers to good writing and the Muses. This, one cannot but feel, is the sort of family which might have owned a library of the classics such as have been found in Oxyrhynchus. The Italian papyrologists who found some of these family papers under the tomb of Shēkh Gamman together with fifty very interesting literary texts<sup>5</sup> jumped to the conclusion that the latter were part of a family library, but were later forced to admit that there was no definite piece of evidence in the documents to prove it. I would like to suggest that there is an important factor to take into account which tends to support the theory.

It is clear that *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός* (No. 2) retained among his private papers a number of official documents from the period of service in other nomes as strategus—they are there for us to see. He was in fact specifically reminded in A.D. 215 to register his papers with the revenue office.<sup>6</sup> He seems not to have heeded the reminder—61 shows him in A.D. 221 paying a fine of over 2,000 drachmae, *ὑπερ ἐπιτίμου βιβλίων αἰ- (τηθέντων) ἐνπροθέσμως μὴ καταχωρισθ(έντων)*—and we note that his daughter later used the verso of a piece of chancery hand in order to write a letter to him.<sup>7</sup> Now this amiable salvage of official documents for use as scrap paper should be put in conjunction with the fact that some of the more interesting literary texts from Oxyrhynchus are copied on the back of tax rolls compiled in other nomes: to cite two instances, 841, the Oxyrhynchus historian, is written on the back of a land survey of the Arsinoite nome (918); 853, the long commentary on Thucydides, is on the verso of a roll made up of a number of different administrative documents, all again from the Arsinoite nome (986). How did these pieces find their way to Oxyrhynchus? The accepted view, which is to the best of my knowledge entirely guesswork, is that after a time the keepers of the records in Alexandria sold their documents as scrap-paper to the bookshops in Alexandria, who then turned out cheap copies on the verso.<sup>8</sup> But the natural explanation is that the

<sup>1</sup> PSI 1249, 1250.

<sup>2</sup> PSI 1247, 1248.

<sup>3</sup> PSI 1247.

<sup>4</sup> PSI 1248.

<sup>5</sup> Published in *PSI* XI, XII and XIII.

<sup>6</sup> *καταχωρίζεω* 2184.

<sup>7</sup> PSI 1247.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Schubart, *Das Buch*, 163.

officials in whose offices these documents were compiled—persons like *Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός*, *strategi* in other nomes than their own—retained possession of them, and reused them for copying texts in which they were interested. There is no case for thinking that the fate of documents which contain literary works on the verso is different from that of those which were reused for other documents, private letters and accounts, &c.<sup>1</sup> If the view suggested is correct, it will follow<sup>2</sup> that there was a good deal of actual copying of classical texts, perhaps in a scriptorium or a library, at Oxyrhynchus itself. This conclusion is, in fact, supported by certain other indications. Papyrus, of course, was on sale in the town.<sup>3</sup> There are shorthand writers there, witness an interesting contract of A.D. 155 in which a slave is bound apprentice *πρὸς μάθησιν σημείων*, the last payment of three to be made at the end of two years when the slave reads and writes ‘any prose work’.<sup>4</sup> Closer to the present purpose, PLond. Inv. 2110<sup>5</sup> of the second century appears to concern payments made in connexion with a bookshop or scriptorium. A subordinate presents to his superior a statement of fees for writing (*γράπτρα*), the rate being 28 drachmae for 10,000 lines. In col. i, 19 the fee for copying ‘The *Plutus* of Aristophanes, an unknown work, and the *Third Thyestes* of Sophocles’ is stated as 12 drachmae, i.e. for about 4,300 lines. In view of this account the much discussed list of books<sup>6</sup> scribbled in a third-century hand on the verso of a property list, found at Oxyrhynchus and published by M. Norsa,<sup>7</sup> may with some confidence be considered as a list of orders—we may call them *desiderata* if by that is understood a list of what a bookseller’s different customers wanted (that is why some works occur twice over)—or else a memorandum of works to be copied for different persons by the master of a scriptorium. The titles may be supposed to be given just as the customers wrote them down.

Lack of space precludes any discussion here of the works on this list, but it may be noted that of the thirty or so items, twenty (large chunks of Plato and Xenophon) have in fact turned up at Oxyrhynchus, and the most interesting absentees from our finds are ‘The two Hippiases and Eudemus’ (i.e. Aristotle’s dialogue *Eudemus*) and ‘Anacharsis’, which appears to be Lucian’s dialogue. This last defaulter points to another feature in the character of the works recovered from Oxyrhynchus—they are predominantly classical, and contemporary prose writing is noticeably absent. No papyrus

<sup>1</sup> E.g. a few instances only: recto, 1446, list of possessors of land in Arsinoite nome, verso 1408, a copy of a prefect’s edict; recto, 1745, list of land-holders showing amount of advances for seed corn, verso, 1668, a private letter.

Documents like the following can have reached Oxyrhynchus only by the method suggested: 597, addressed to strategus of Heraclid division of Arsinoite nome; 1025, engagements of performers for Euergetis; 1443, addressed to strategus of Antaeopolite nome; 2230, to strategus of Heracleopolite nome.

<sup>2</sup> For the palaeographer a second important consequence will be that the usual assumption of a time interval of up to fifty years between texts on the verso and on the recto falls down. The verso texts may have been written quite soon after those on the recto.

<sup>3</sup> 1142, 12; 1727, apparently a shopkeeper’s account, which among miscellaneous items such as sauce, pitch, a pole, and a box includes an item for *χάρται*, another for cedar oil, *κεδρία* (a well-known preservative of books, though it has, of course, other uses, e.g. in mummification), and one for *πορφύρα*. <sup>4</sup> 724.

<sup>5</sup> Published by H. I. Bell, *Aegyptus*, 2, 281 ff. Its provenance is probably but not definitely Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion by J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, series 2, 211 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Aegyptus*, 2, 17 ff.

of Lucian, Dio Cassius, Appian, Athenaeus, or Diogenes Laertius has been found anywhere in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> But the older writers and especially the poets are well represented.

To discriminate between books written in Oxyrhynchus and outside is a task for the palaeographer, and an urgent one. Were any of the classical texts found at Oxyrhynchus, for instance, copied from others at Oxyrhynchus? I have failed as yet to find an instance. One provisional result can be stated—eight scribes are known who wrote more than one manuscript, and some of these may turn out to be Oxyrhynchites. Mr. Lobel's acute eye has established that of the ten<sup>2</sup> manuscripts of Aeschylus from Oxyrhynchus (copied in the second century, and not from the select edition) nine are written by the same hand. It looks as though someone intended to procure a set of Aeschylus—and probably procured it from Alexandria.

What is known of books from Alexandria reaching Oxyrhynchus? In a letter of the first century Apollonius writes to his son Apollonius who is at Alexandria, 'I have received through Heracles the boxes with the books, as you write'.<sup>3</sup> In another letter of the time of Hadrian<sup>4</sup> Theon writes to Heracleides (described in the address as φιλόσοφος, i.e. 'scholar'): 'As I put all my energy into procuring books which are of service and relevant above all to conduct, so I think you should not be inattentive in reading them. To those in earnest to profit by them no ordinary benefit will accrue. What I have sent by Achilles is set out in the following list. Farewell, I myself am well. Greet all whom it may concern.' Then follows the list in a second hand headed 'Written in Alexandria: Boethus *On Training* III and IV; Diogenes *On Marriage*; Diogenes *On Freedom from Pain*; Diogenes *On the Use of Parents*; Diogenes *On the Use of Slaves* I and II; Posidonius *On Exhortation* III'. As Wilcken pointed out,<sup>5</sup> 'written in Alexandria' is not part of the closing formula of the letter, but applies to the enclosed books.

Of even greater interest is a letter of the second century found at Oxyrhynchus and recently published by C. H. Roberts.<sup>6</sup> It is unfortunately mutilated so that the names of the correspondents are lost. When it becomes readable, it runs: 'I cannot, nor would I if I could, put any relation of mine in such a position, especially after what I have just learnt in such cases.' The writer then signed his closing greeting: 'I pray for your health, my lord brother', and went on to add a postscript: 'Make and send me copies of Books 6 and 7 of Hypsicrates' *Characters in Comedy*.<sup>7</sup> For Harpocration says they are among Polion's books. But it is likely that others, too, have got them. He also has his prose epitomes of Thersagoras' work *On the Myths of Tragedy*. Below this, another person has made a note: 'According to Harpocration, Demetrius the bookseller has got them. I have instructed Apollonides to send me certain of my own books which you will hear of in good time from Seleucus himself. Should you find any, apart from those which I possess, make copies and send them to me. Diodorus and his friends also have some which I haven't got.'

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lobel warns me with good reason that the argument from silence is dangerous. Many texts are still unpublished, and short passages of prose are hard to identify.

<sup>2</sup> This was written before the publication of 2245-56.

<sup>3</sup> τὰς κίστας [σὺν] τοῖς βιβλίοις, 1153.

<sup>4</sup> PPrimi, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Archiv.* 12, 80.

<sup>6</sup> 2192.

<sup>7</sup> Or, *Topics in Comedy*.



The persons in this letter can be identified. Mr. Roberts in discussion tentatively suggested that Polion might be the Valerius Pollio of Alexandria, mentioned by Suidas as author of a *Συναγωγή Ἀττικῶν λέξεων*. This suggestion can be clinched in the most satisfactory manner. Pollio is reported by Suidas<sup>1</sup> to have had a son Valerius Diodorus, author of an *Interpretation of Problems in the Ten Orators*.<sup>2</sup> This Diodorus is mentioned in our letter; and also in a document from Oxyrhynchus<sup>3</sup> dated A.D. 173 where he is described as 'Valerius Diodorus, former hypomnematographus, member of the Museum (ἀπὸ Μουσείου) and however he is styled'. The document concerns the purchase of a boat at Oxyrhynchus, from which it is a fair inference that Diodorus owned land there. This identification puts Oxyrhynchus in contact with the best Alexandrian scholarship of the second century. Diodorus is our senior colleague, a professor at the Museum. His father, who presumably also owned land at Oxyrhynchus, is himself a scholar. In such company Harpocration can hardly be other than the lexicographer whose dictionary to the Orators is still extant, and who can at last be dated firmly to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. From his knowledge of his library it would seem likely that Harpocration had himself been Pollio's guest in Oxyrhynchus. It is probable that some at any rate of the books found at Oxyrhynchus were owned by these scholars; equally, that for their work such persons would not be content with less than the best available texts of classical authors. It is tempting also to speculate on whether some of the anonymous works of scholarship found at Oxyrhynchus are theirs: one thinks, for instance, of **1012**, a critical miscellany dealing among other topics with the methods of Lysias, the suppression of names and facts in prose writers, the disparagement of Philip by the orators which might easily be an ἐξήγησις τῶν ζητουμένων παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν; of **1611**, which discusses the judges in Comedy, Coeneus and the various persons called Thucydides (or is this the work on the characters of comedy by the unknown Hypsicrates?); of the specimens of early alphabetical lexicography represented by **1801** or **1802**; and of the second- or third-century Rylands fragment<sup>4</sup> of Harpocration's own lexicon, which itself may have come from Oxyrhynchus.<sup>5</sup>

It is proper here to recall that the tradition of Oxyrhynchite scholarship goes back to the second century B.C. when this town was chosen as his home by Satyrus, the biographer (a copy of whose life of Euripides his adoptive city has preserved), and was the home also of Heracleides Lembos<sup>6</sup> or 'The Tender', who epitomized Satyrus and others. Satyrus, Heracleides, Valerius Pollio, Valerius Diodorus are isolated links in a chain, other portions of which may yet be revealed to us. There is, for instance, the unknown scholar who had copied for his own use and worked carefully over Pindar's *Paeans* in the unique manuscript from Oxyrhynchus (**841**), and the Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου γραμματικός who signed in the margin of the early commentary on *Iliad* 21 (**221**). Another

<sup>1</sup> S.v. Διόδωρος, and Πωλίων. Cf. Photius, *Bibl.* 149 and 150. Photius adds that Pollio's lexicon contained πλείστας ποιητικὰς λέξεις.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξήγησις τῶν ζητουμένων παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν. Photius, loc. cit., calls it a lexicon.

<sup>3</sup> PMerton, 19.

<sup>4</sup> PRyl. 532.

<sup>5</sup> Some ten of the Library's miscellaneous purchases of 1917 published in vol. III are known to be of Oxyrhynchite provenance.

<sup>6</sup> On Heracleides Lembos see H. Lucas, *Hermes*, 75, 234 ff.

Alexandrian who may one day be proved to have lived in Oxyrhynchus is the grammarian Theon, of the time of Augustus and Tiberius, who is known to have written on the *Odyssey*, on Pindar, and on the Alexandrian poets, and with whose copy of the play the Oxyrhynchus manuscript of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* had been collated. It is tempting to identify him with the Gaius Julius Theon, former high priest and hypomnematographus (and perhaps also archidicastes) of Alexandria, who was granted a large estate in the nome in c. 7 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

But this is uncertain speculation. Overwhelming testimony is borne by the papyri themselves, and it is to them that the final appeal will be made through a count of the papyri of Callimachus preserved at Oxyrhynchus, divided according to date of the handwriting. The first century B.C. provides two manuscripts, a fine copy of *Aetia* IV<sup>2</sup> from the early part of the century, the second copy belonging to the age of Augustus. In the first century A.D. there are three manuscripts, a calligraphic copy of the *Aetia*, a local (and poor) copy of the elegy on Sosibius' victory, and a well-written copy of the *Hymn to Artemis*. In the early second century the number rises to nine, three of *Aetia* I, one of book II, two of book III, one of IV, one of the *Iambi*, and one of the *Hymn to Demeter*. Four can be placed in the middle of the century, one each of *Aetia* books I and II, one of the *Iambi*, one of the *Hymn to Delos*; and five late in the second century, one of *Aetia* book I, another of scholia on this book, one of *Aetia* III, one of scholia on the *Iambi*, one of an elegiac poem (383 Pf.). Three separate manuscripts of the *Iambi* are to be assigned to the turning-point between the second and third centuries. The third century shows three papyrus codices, one of *Aetia* III, one of the *Hecala*, one which apparently contained the whole of the *Aetia* plus the *Hecala* (very probably the others contained as much). From the fourth century comes a roll of the *Hecala*, and a papyrus codex of the *Aetia* and *Iambi*, belonging to its closing years, concludes the series, bringing the total up to thirty-one.

Undoubtedly this is the greatest service which Oxyrhynchus has performed for us—the salvation of the genuine scholarship of the Roman era.

<sup>1</sup> See 1434. Archidicastes: PRyl. 257. The estate appears subsequently to have been made over to the temple of Isis at Taposiris, and this dedicated land is recorded in PSI 1036 (A.D. 192). Other portions of the estate *πρότερον Ἰουλίου Θεώνος* are perhaps alluded to in PErlangen, 17, 6 (Hadrian); POxy. 1475, 18 (A.D. 267). Possibly later descendants of the same family are Theon *archidicastes* (268, A.D. 58) and G. Julius Theon, ex-archidicastes and hypomnematographus under Hadrian (cf. editor's note on 1434, 10). If so, and if the latter maintained his Oxyrhynchite connexions, he might be the Theon who wrote PPrimi, 11.

<sup>2</sup> For purposes of this count it is assumed, probably unjustifiably, that a manuscript was not written by more than one hand. I was not able to utilize Pfeiffer's Oxyrhynchus ined. A, B, C, all papyrus codices, now published in POxy. vol. xx.

## THE ROMAN REMAINS IN THE EASTERN DESERT OF EGYPT

By DAVID MEREDITH

REFERENCE to the map given by Mr. G. W. Murray (*JEA* 11, pl. 11, and p. 139) to illustrate his article 'Roman Roads and Stations in the Eastern Desert of Egypt' will show that the four main Roman roads that cross the Eastern Desert fan out eastwards from a bend in the Nile at *Ḳena* (Kainepolis) and *Ḳift* (Koptos). The broad triangle of territory thus enclosed contains a network of main and intermediate roads, some sixty stations (of various sizes and at all stages of obliteration), many mines and quarries, and the Graeco-Roman harbours connecting Egypt with the more distant east. The Romans, during the first four centuries A.D., exploited this area's rocks and minerals, taking from its quarries various kinds of decorative building stone, but it is still difficult to decide to what extent they took from its mines (open-cast or deep) various minerals, mainly gold. Nearly all the ancient workings are in the long chain of igneous mountains that runs north to south along the Eastern Desert, forming a watershed across which all the roads had to pass.





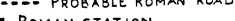


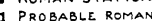


In addition to the Arabian and Indian trade, the ancient roads carried to the Nile, for export to Rome, the materials taken from the Eastern Desert itself. These Roman highways were mere 'cleared roads'—unpaved, beaten tracks from which the ancients cleared the stones and arranged them in a line on each side. Many of these have been partly or entirely washed away by the rare rain torrents that rush down from the mountains. Cleared stretches are still visible in many places, from a few yards to as much (e.g. on the Myos Hormos road, which also has milestone cairns on both sides) as several miles at a time. The watering-stations (*hydreumata*) are broadly alike in plan—a square, walled enclosure which has a single gateway flanked by twin towers with an upper room, bastions at each corner and against each side, a large excavated well depression occupying a good part of the interior space and staircases round the outer walls leading to parapet walks. Considerable differences occur, however, depending on the kind of ground a station stands on, the traffic it served, and whether or not its source of water was outside the walls.

The north part of our area contains most of the quarries, including Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus, from which huge monolith columns and blocks were hauled down to the Nile on their way to Rome. Judging by columns still lying at quarry faces and on loading ramps at Mons Claudianus, the Roman wagons sometimes carried enormous loads—one column 65 ft. long and 8 ft. 6 in. in diameter weighs 210 tons. The normal load was probably much less than this. Wagons taking such loads must avoid a soft, sandy surface if possible and need long teams of heavy draught animals, like oxen. Stations serving these convoys must provide large-scale stabling and watering of animals. This need will become less urgent farther south where lighter loads,

# EASTERN DESERT OF EGYPT

## ROMAN REMAINS IN THE NORTHERN AREA

### ON THE MYOS HORMOS, PHILOTERAS AND LEUKOS LIMEN ROADS

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
|  ABOVE 1000 METRES |  ROMAN ROAD             |  WELL PROBABLY USED |
|  500 METRES        |  PROBABLE ROMAN ROAD    |  IN ROMAN TIMES     |
|  400 METRES        |  ROMAN STATION          |  ROMAN WORKINGS     |
|   |  PROBABLE ROMAN STATION | SCALE: 1:500,000   |

0 10 20 30 40 50 MILES

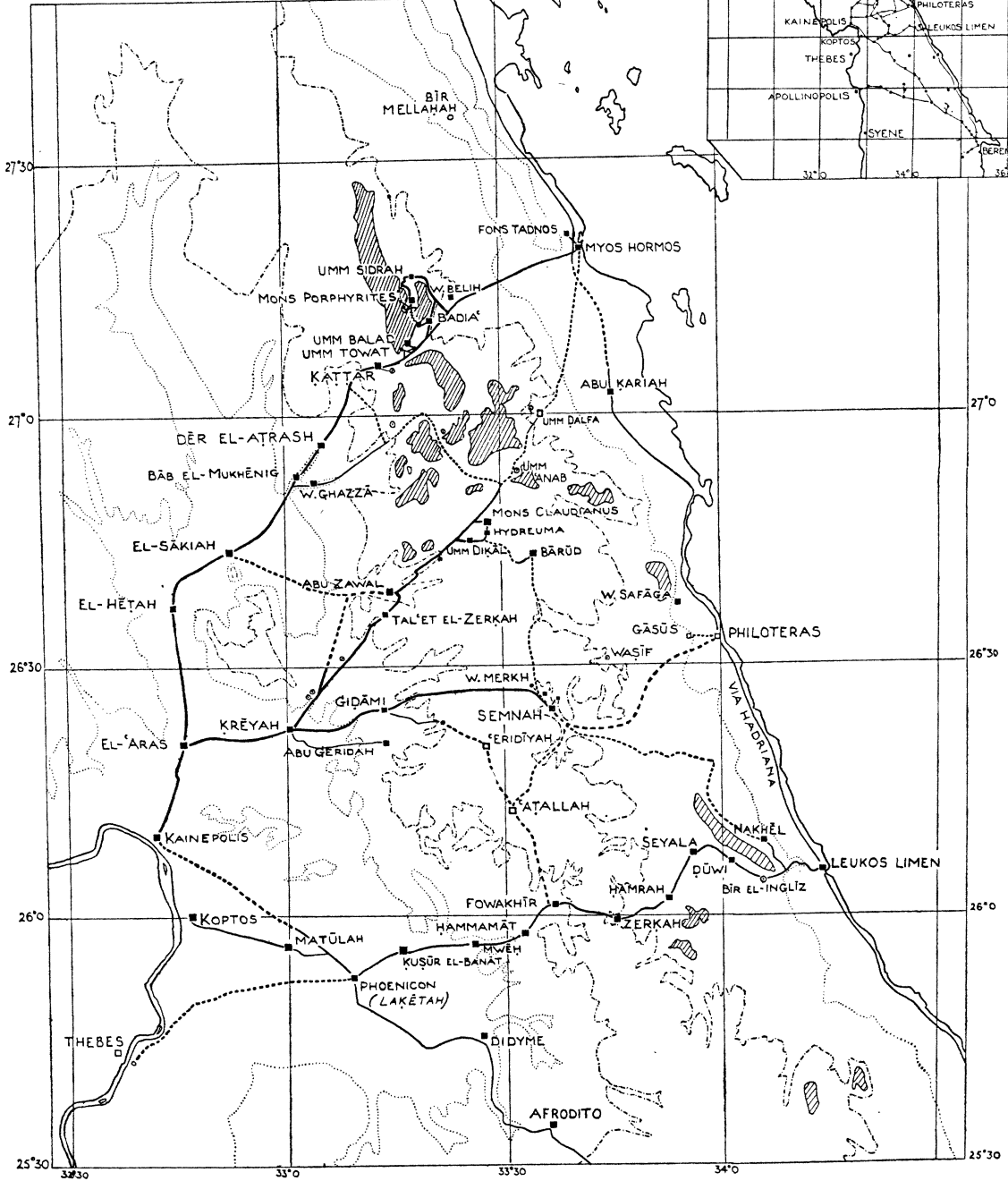
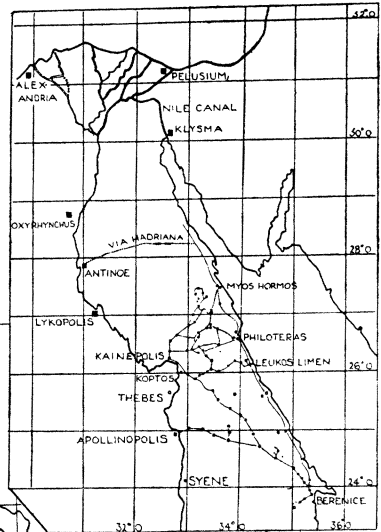


FIG. 1

probably on camels, might consist of merchandise from Red Sea ports or possibly small but valuable consignments of gold and precious stones (beryls, amethysts, etc.) from the numerous mining settlements.

The Myos Hormos road<sup>1</sup> (with its main branch past the Mons Claudianus quarry settlement) has stations which, in addition to interior well depressions connected by plastered conduits with cemented cisterns, have three features peculiar to the north area: (a) outside troughs; (b) animal lines (outside stable enclosures); (c) the use of unburnt brick.

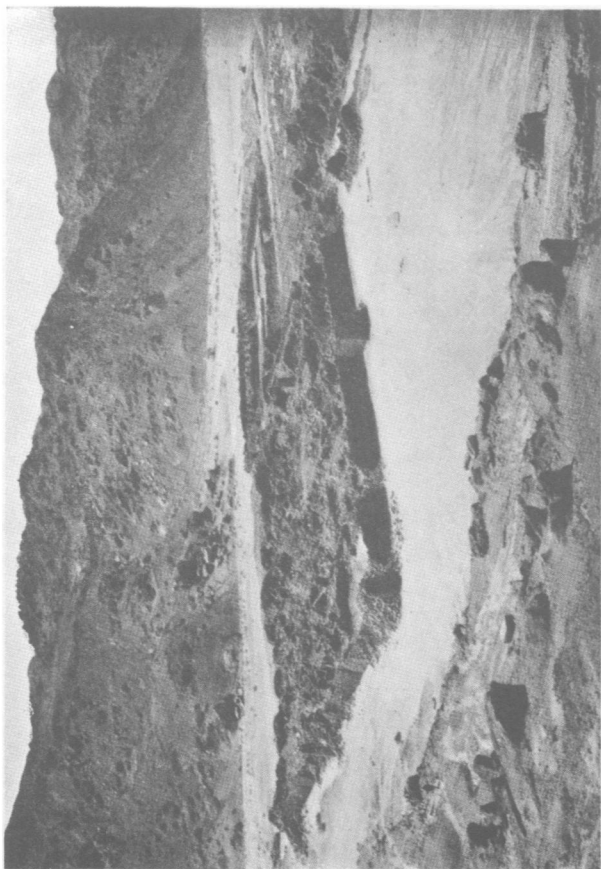
The troughs, mostly ruinous, vary in length from 8, 15, 20, and 35 yards at Bāb el-Mukhēnig, El-Hēṭah, Sākiah, and Dēr el-Aṭrash respectively to 150 yards or more at Abu Zawal. The troughs are lime-plastered and partitioned so that low plug-holes and overflow runnels could regulate the flow into sections of varying length. Troughs start from the station outer wall and were probably filled from the inside cistern, sometimes by a shādūf, standing on a solid-tower emplacement, ladling it over the wall or, in some cases (e.g. Dēr el-Aṭrash), by a conduit through the outer wall of the station.

Animal lines are square or rectangular walled enclosures as large as the main forts (some even larger) and standing alongside them. They have parallel lines of walls crossed by a central alley. They occur at all the northern main road stations except at Kaṭṭār, where Wilkinson's 1823 plan shows traces of them. Those of Mons Porphyrites have not been identified, though they must have been considerable, like the extensive, well-planned, and apparently roofed ones at Mons Claudianus.

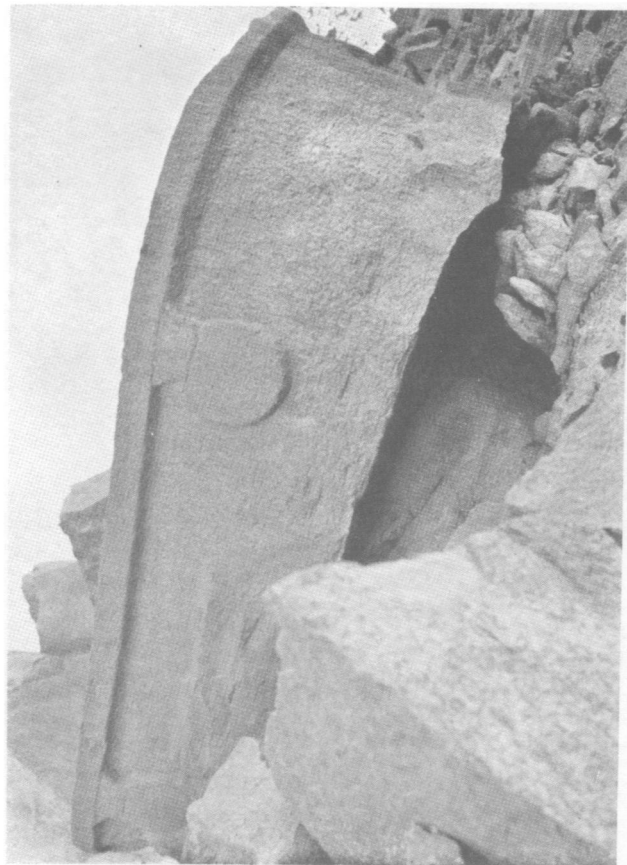
Strabo<sup>2</sup> described the road from Koptos to Myos Hormos as a journey of six or seven days, with watering-places on the route. Badīa' station (with an odd, fortified, partly hand-levelled rock acropolis overlooking it) has its well outside and is therefore completely filled with rooms, workshops, etc. Mr. L. A. Tregenza, after studying ancient wagon tracks in this area, finds that the wagons from the porphyry quarries sometimes by-passed Badīa' to join the main road traffic from Myos Hormos. Incidentally, as these tracks turn *up* the Myos Hormos road to the watershed and on to the Nile, this suggests that heavy stone was not sent by sea to Clysmā (Suez) and thence along the

<sup>1</sup> Myos Hormos road: (a) Strabo, xvii, 1, 45; this may refer to the Leucos Limen road. (b) Burton MSS. 25624, 51-54; 25625, 51-52, 133-6; 25623, old pp. 23-37, new pp. 27(a)-29; 25628 (maps, plans, etc.); 25626, 97. (c) Wilkinson MSS. (Reference to the Wilkinson MSS. is by courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, on behalf of the owner, Mrs. Godfrey Mosley, Calke Abbey, Derby): xxxvi, 51-63, 74-77; xxxv, 49-53, 67-70; xlv, D. 10, 13, 14, 19a, 19b, 21, 23, 27, 35; Env. XLVIII; XLVI, 16 (1), part of a map in fair copy. (d) Schweinfurth, in Schneider's *Naturwissensch. Beiträge z. Geog. u. Kulturgeschichte*, 97 ff.; *Esploratore*, 2, fasc. 1, 5, 6. (e) Brindley, *The Builder*, 53, 663, 683, 730; *Proc. RGS* 9, 692; *Trans. RIBA* 3 (New Series), 50, with simplified plans and several fanciful sketches; 4 (New Series), 5, with plans. (f) Floyer, *Proc. RGS* 9, 667. (g) Petrie, *Koptos*, 32 ff. (h) Barron and Hume, *Topog. and Geol. of E. Desert of Egypt, Central Portion*, 8, 22, 25-27, 86-87, with pls. 8, 9, 10. (i) Couyat-Barthoux, *Acad. inscr.* 10 (1910), 525; he calls the road the Philotera road; *Bull. inst. fr.* 7, 6, with pl. 1. (j) Weigall, *Travels in Upper Egyptian Deserts*, 95-105, with pls. 16, 17, 18. (k) Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, 438 ff. (l) B. de la Roque, *Bull. inst. fr.* 11, 113-9, with map and plans of El-Hēṭah and Sākiah. (m) Murray, *JEA* 11, 146, with pls. 12, 14 (3); *Blackwood's*, 260, 241 ff.; *Bull. Soc. roy. de Géog. d'Égypte*, 24, 107, 109, 114. (n) Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, ch. 1, with notes. (o) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 2 (1), 113; 3 (2), 64; 4 (1), 60; several plans and photographs. (p) Meredith and Tregenza, *ibid.* 11 (1), 97-126, with map and pls. 1, 3, 4. (q) Meredith, *Listener*, 44, 242; *Ill. London News*, 217, 991.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xvii, 1, 45.



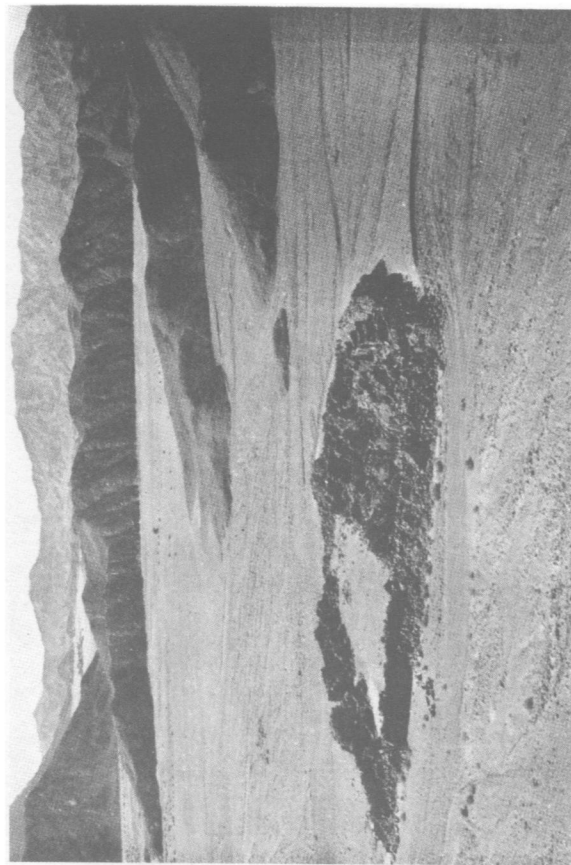
1. Mons Claudianus: castellum and animal lines



2. Hydreum S. of Mons Claudianus: broken granite bath



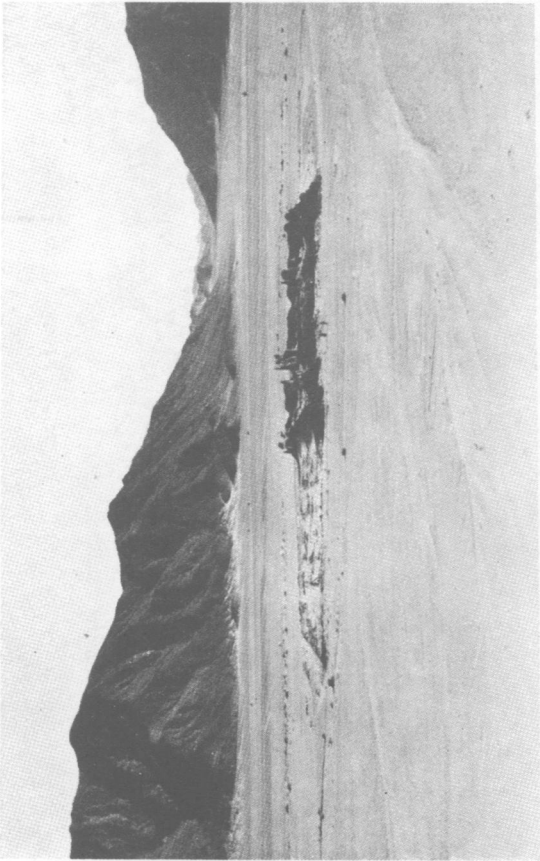
3. Mons Porphyrites, pillared room in castellum



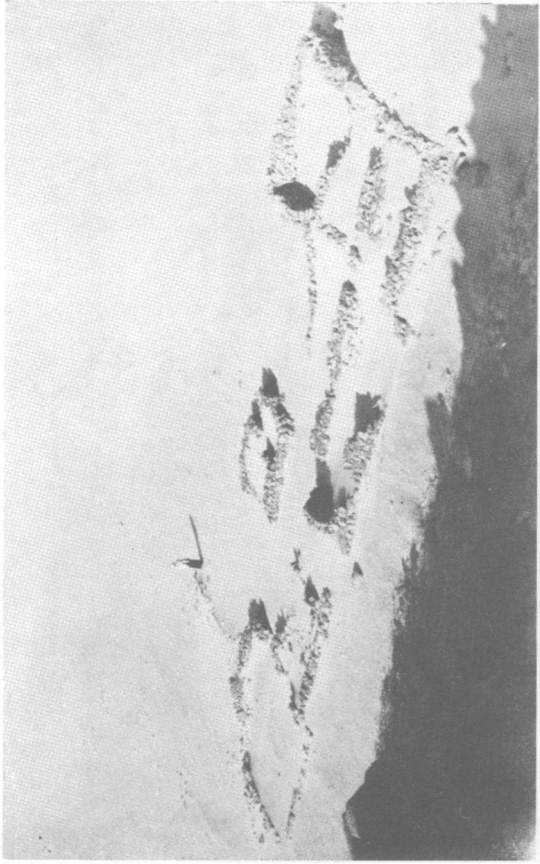
4. Castellum in Wadi Semnah

ROMAN REMAINS IN THE EASTERN DESERT

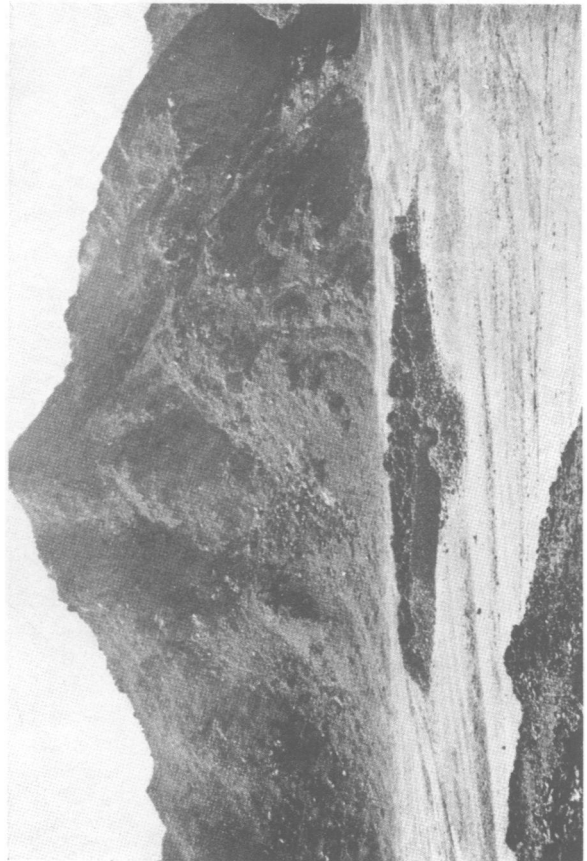




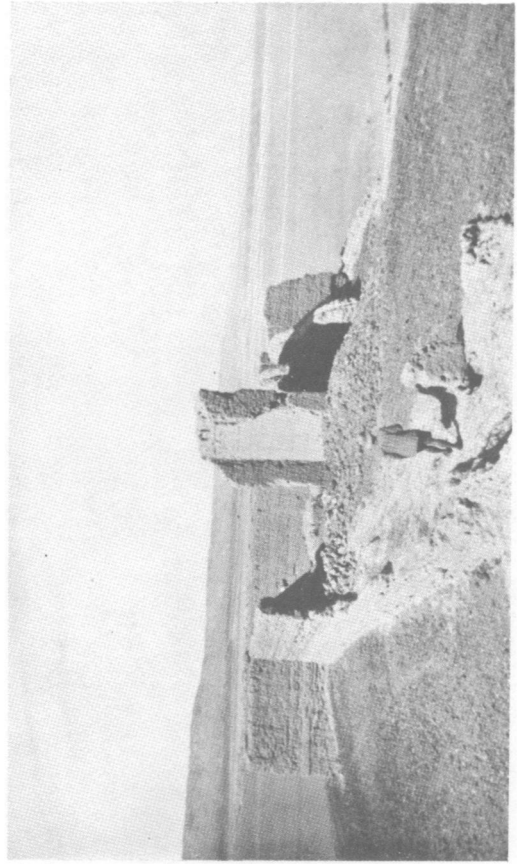
1. Dēr el-'Atrash: station with animal lines



2. Station at Bāb el-Mukhēnig

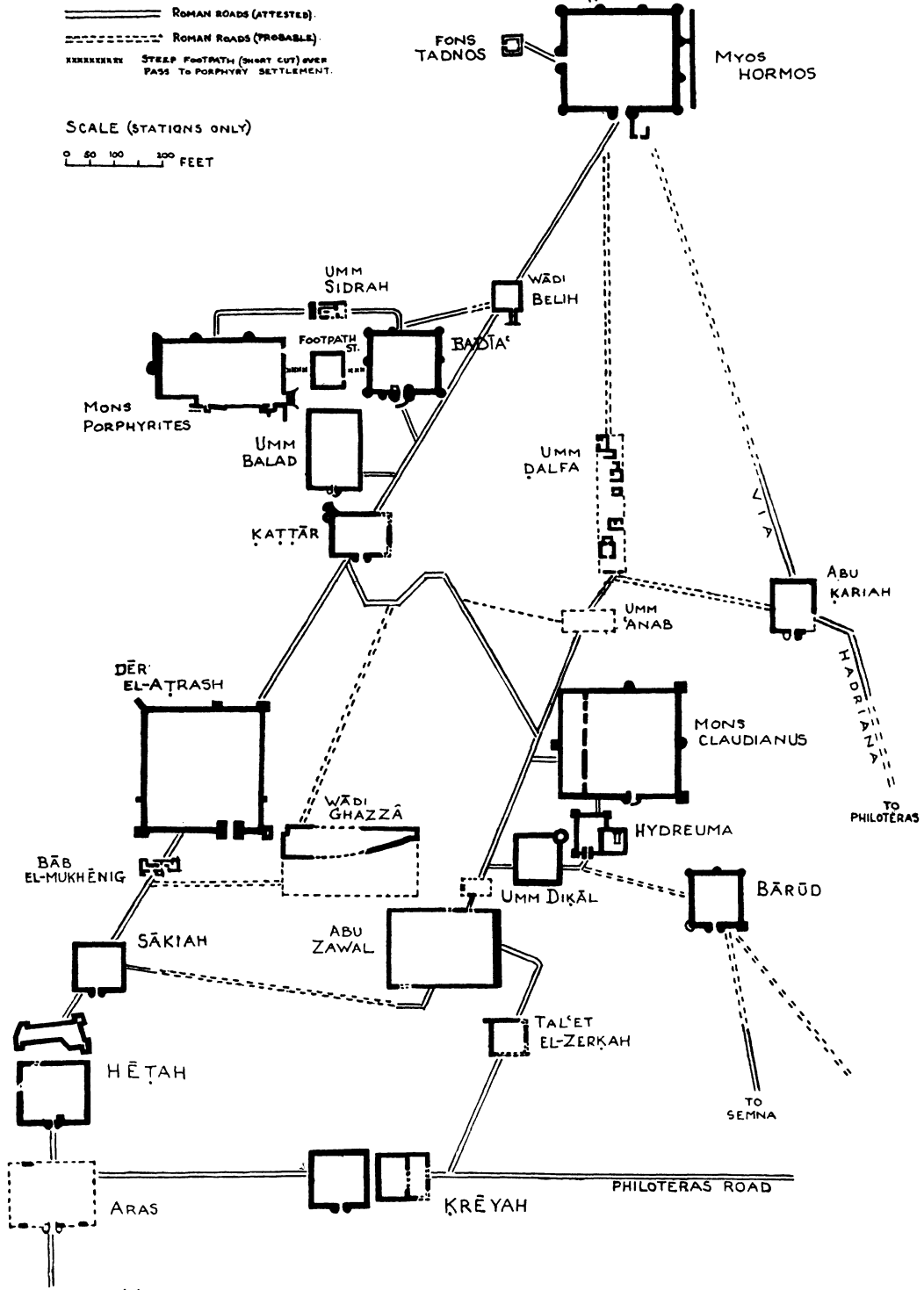


3. Station in Wādī Bārūd



4. El-Hētah: hill-top fort

· DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ROMAN STATIONS IN THE MYOS HORMOS ROAD AREA ·



NOTE: STATIONS, HERE SHOWN WITH GATEWAYS ALL TO THE SOUTH, FACE IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS ACCORDING TO LOCAL CONDITIONS (THE WADI FLOW, SLOPE etc.)

FIG. 2



ancient Nile Canal to the former Pelusiatic arm of the Nile and eventually to Rome. Despite the facts given by Strabo and Pliny<sup>1</sup> (referring possibly to an earlier period), it seems certain that this canal was not in use during the Roman stay in Egypt. Further proof of this comes from the diorite quarry in Wādi Bārūd on the east side of the watershed. Its built-up causeway turns in the direction of the Nile, across a low watershed, apparently to join the Myos Hormos road.

From the southern spur of Gebel Dukkhān (Mons Porphyrites), just below the watershed on the east side, two well-marked cleared roads join the Myos Hormos road. One is the stone-road from the dolerite quarry settlement in Wādi Umm Balad,<sup>2</sup> where there is a rectangular Roman enclosure, its well-preserved streets and houses most interestingly planned and suggesting late construction, with some confirmation in the shape of pottery of the second or third century. The other road is from the Wādi Umm Towat quarries (dark-green felspar porphyry), with no walled enclosure. Neither of the two rocks just mentioned has been traced among the ruins of Rome. In the gorge of Mukhēnig a side ravine (Wādi Ghazzā)<sup>3</sup> comes in from north-east. Its ruins, a few miles above the junction, have not been fully investigated but their appearance, confirmed by a small collection of pottery and ostraca described below, shows that this is a Ptolemaic gold-crushing site on which the Romans later built what seems to have been a rectangular road station. The ruins, like so many Roman enclosures in the Eastern Desert, stand in mid-wādi, where the torrents of centuries have swept away one corner and part of one side.

Mons Porphyrites<sup>4</sup> and Mons Claudianus are both extensive quarry areas. The former supplied black porphyry (its use not yet discovered in the Roman world except

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xvii, 1, 26; Pliny, vi, 165.

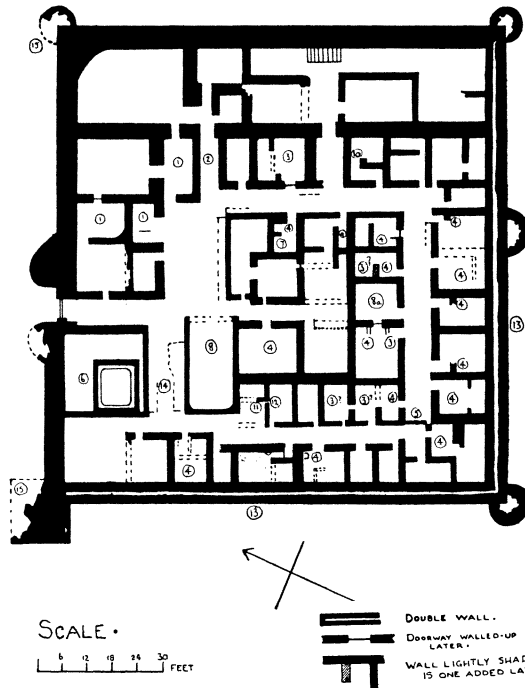
<sup>2</sup> Umm Balad, dolerite quarry station: (a) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 26, with sketch, pl. 10. (b) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), 87, with Plan VII.

<sup>3</sup> Wādi Ghazzā: (a) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 17, 20. (b) Bisson de la Roque, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 11, 120, with plans.

<sup>4</sup> Mons Porphyrites (this Latin name, used by Wilkinson, does not seem to occur in classical writings; it may well have been current, however, as Ptolemy refers to *πορφύριτον ὄρος*): (a) Pliny, xxxvi, 57, 88; Ptolemy, iv, 5; Aristides, *Aig.* xlvi, 349. (b) Burton MSS.: 25625, new (1823) pp. 33–51 (incl. old (1822) pp. 41–50, inserted by B. from 25624); 25623, old pp. 1–17; 25628, 140, 143; 25629, 36. (c) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxvi, 43–50; xxxv, 31–48; xxxviii, 29; *Env.* L; xlv, D. 16, 16a, 20, 24, 24a; xlvi, H4, 5 (2, 5, 6), B4; manuscript drawings in *Bibl. Nat.*, see De Ricci below, 50/51, 52/55, 53/54, 56/54. (d) *Monthly Magazine*, Jan. 1824. (e) *Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 23, 1824. (f) Brocchi, *Giornali delle Osservazioni* (1823 journey, pub. 1841), II, 195 ff. (g) Letronne, *Recueil des inscr. grecques et latines d'Égypte*, I, 137, 147, 433. (h) Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.* first ser. vi (2), 17; third ser. iv (11), 52. (i) Leps., *Denkm.*, Text, v, 366–9; *Briefe aus Ägypten* (Bohn transl.), 286–8. (j) Schweinfurth, loc. cit. (k) Brindley, see p. 96, n. 1 (e). (l) Floyer, *Nord-Etbai*, inset sketch in map No. 1. (m) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 27, 118, 236, 262. (n) Weigall, op. cit. 105–12, with pls. 18, 19. (o) Couyat-Barthoux, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 7, 11; see also p. 101, n. 4. (p) Villiers-Stuart, *Cairo Sci. J.* 4, 64. (q) Dubois, *Étude sur l'administration et l'exploitation des carrières*, 61 ff. (r) Chwostow, *Hist. of Eastern Trade in Egypt*, 189; in Russian. (s) Fitzler, *Steinbrüche u. Bergwerke im Ptol. u. Röm. Ägypten*, 5, 94, 101. (t) Lesquier, op. cit. 243, 439. (u) Murray, *JEA* 11, 147, with pl. 16 (4); *Blackwood's*, 260, 239 ff.; *JEA* 25, 38, map pl. 8. (v) Hume, *Geol. of Egypt*, II, i, 273. (w) Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* 31, 137, with pl. 1. (x) Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, *Introd.* (y) De Ricci, *Album of Drawings by Sir J. G. Wilkinson*, in *Bibl. Nat.* Vh 175 Rés.; list in *Griffith Studies*; see (c) above. (z) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts* 2 (1), 106: 3 (2), 58. (aa) Andrew, *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, 20, 63 ff., with bibl. of geological writings relating to *porfido rosso antico*. (bb) Lucas, *Anc. Eg. Materials*, 3rd ed. 475. (cc) Meredith and Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 12 (1), 131 ff. (dd) Meredith, see p. 96, n. 1 (q). (ee) PW, s.v. Steinbruch (Fiehn). (ff) DS, s.v. Lapides (Porphyrites).

a solitary hint, unconfirmed, of something at an unidentified spot in the Campagna) and the famous red or purple porphyry ('Imperial Porphyry') found from Britain to Spalato, Constantinople and Baalbek, but mainly in Rome. The settlement is in an

• ROMAN CASTELLUM •  
 • IN WĀDI BĀRŪD EL AḤMAR •  
 • FROM MS NOTES & PLANS BY TREGENZA (1950)



- 1. Fallen roof (?).
- 2. Roofed passage.
- 3. Collapsed arch, with small, flat stones: later work.
- 4. 'Platforms' (flat slabs on trestles, with hollow underneath) unknown elsewhere in Eastern Desert; perhaps hypocausts.
- 5. Built-up wall (later work), blocks the passage.
- 6. Cistern, 5 ft. deep; with two 1 ft. ledges, stepped: cisterns have generally one ledge.
- 7. Tool-sharpening stone, with the letters AN on back.
- 8. Many 'platforms' here.
- 8(a). So many 'platforms' that they may be the entire raised floor at original level (hypocaust?)
- 9. Passage closed by later wall; apparently roofed.
- 10. Doorway filled in later.
- 11. Later wall, apparently an arch, part still standing.
- 12. Two walls, without tie-in.
- 13. South-west and south-east outer walls are double, built without tie-in.
- 14. Low, raised side paths, one widening and rising to 2 ft. 6in.
- 15. Bastions dug away by Bedouin.

FIG. 3

enclosed valley in Gebel Dukhkhān and has a walled station, a temple of Serapis with fallen Ionic (and possibly other) columns and an inscribed architrave, two small Isis temples (one with an inscribed lintel, now fallen) and an outside bath-house or furnace room. Water came from outside wells, one with a semicircle of plastered, stone-built pillars, still standing—whether these supported a cistern or merely a roof we cannot yet say. On the west side of the valley three quarry villages housed the workers and perhaps

their military guards. To this place, Eusebius and others<sup>1</sup> tell us, came Christian and general convicts, although no clear proof of this has been found on the site. The quarries are at 4,000–5,000 ft. on both west and east ridges. Two of the villages are built on terraces in the steep hill-side, each terrace backed by a retaining wall which supports the terrace above. Water for stone-masons' tempering troughs must have been carried up steep, zigzag paths on the hill-slopes, one of which has yielded inscriptions.

The rock was split along a line of deeply-cut oblong slots, probably with wooden wedges made to swell with water, though it is not certain that this was the only method used. High quarry faces were worked from rock platforms, often with a protecting wall built behind the workers. Stone-masons chose elevated spots to catch the wind for their (charcoal?) furnaces—small, burnt-brick emplacements and heaps of slag show where these were. The masons hollowed out a block with a chisel and used it as a dipping (or tempering) bath—usually in a shaded spot, under an overhanging rock or on the north side of a high rock wall. Abundant evidence of all stages of work is seen at the quarries and the impression everywhere is that the Romans abandoned this area in a hurry.

The masons shaped the blocks at the quarries, raising them slightly off the ground on stones for convenience. They used a chisel to chip or stipple the stone to approximately the shape needed, working the tool neatly in roughly parallel striations. Smooth stone faces were somehow achieved at the quarries for such purposes as the cutting of formal inscriptions. The use of a saw is possible, though there is no evidence that it was general, as a half-cut block in a small quarry off the upper reaches of Wādi Ghazzā (with no definite evidence as to its date) has a nick, showing the thickness of the saw, where the block split. Even columns were shaped at the quarry face. Some work, however—for example, baths and sarcophagi—was done in masons' huts near loading ramps and at one point on the Mons Claudianus road to the Nile further work was done during the journey. The stone roads down the narrow ravines at Mons Porphyrites were extremely steep and to ease the lowering of blocks there were large, solid cairns or butts, a few paces apart, on each side all the way down. Many of these are still intact today. We can only conjecture how these butts were used. It is certain that columns were not rolled down broadside, with ropes round the cairns used as bollards, as the distance between the cairns, across the roads, is too little and the gradient too steep (up to 1 in  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ).

Once down to wādi level at the South-west Village, smaller objects seem to have been loaded from a long ramp on to sledges or low wagons. Big blocks were probably not placed on wagons till they reached a big loading ramp below the Dēr Umm Sidrah<sup>2</sup> ruins. These ruins, almost washed away, may (suggests Prof. C. H. O. Scaife) be the site of the unidentified animal lines of Mons Porphyrites. Heavily loaded beasts could not have worked above this point in a difficult, boulder-strewn ravine. The loads once secured on wagons, the parallel wheel-tracks<sup>3</sup> tell us the rest. The broad span, from

<sup>1</sup> (a) Eusebius, c. VIII (Martyrs of Palestine). (b) Josephus, VI, 9. 12. (c) Aristides, XLVIII, 349.

<sup>2</sup> Dēr Umm Sidrah (called by Burton and Wilkinson Deir Amyessur): (a) Burton MSS.: 25624, 51; 25625, 33, 90; 25623, new p. 32; 25626, 98a. (b) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxvi, 41; xxxv, 31; xxxviii, 28; plan in XLV, D. 26. (c) Murray, *JEA* 11, 147; *Blackwood's*, 260, 241–2.

<sup>3</sup> (a) Murray, *JEA* 11, 140, 147; *Blackwood's*, 260, 242. (b) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), 70. (c) Meredith and Tregenza, *ibid.* 11 (1), 112–5, with pls. 3–4. (d) Tregenza, *ibid.* 11 (1), 132, 133, 135.

7 ft. 6 in. to 11 ft., indicates the size of the loads. These wagon tracks have survived only on raised patches of undisturbed gravel. They are plentiful between both the porphyry quarries and the Mons Claudianus quarries and the Myos Hormos road to the Nile. They have been seen also beside the Wādi Giḏāmi station on the Philoteris road, coming apparently from the Semnah quarrying and mining district.

Quarrying for grey granite (quartz-diorite) at Mons Claudianus was on the same lines as at Mons Porphyrites, except that its quarries were much lower and its cairned stone-roads had room to zigzag. These advantages were offset by the enormous size and weight of the blocks and columns sent to the Nile. The only proof, however, so far obtained of the use of this slightly foliated Claudianus rock in Rome, despite its extensive quarrying, is its recent identification under the microscope with chips taken from the fragment of a huge column lying beside Trajan's Column in the Basilica Ulpia.<sup>1</sup> A few other specimens of Claudianus rock have been claimed in Rome, but without scientific proof of identification. The rock has also, together with Gebel Dukhkhān red porphyry, been microscopically identified in Diocletian's Palace in Spalato.<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that seven of the eight front-row columns of the Pantheon portico in Rome will prove to be of Claudianus rock, but we still await scientific proof of this.

The Mons Claudianus<sup>3</sup> settlement has the largest walled enclosure (widened at some date by a large addition on the north side) filled with buildings, often still covered with their roof slabs, which show the many activities of a whole town. Outside are well-developed animal lines, a temple of Serapis (fallen Corinthian columns and an inscribed architrave copied by Wilkinson and Burton in 1823) reached by a broad staircase, as well as the usual outside baths with white-plastered walls, recesses, and niches.

As the loads from Mons Claudianus were often extremely heavy, the evidence of wagon tracks is revealing. Instead of going down a sandy wādi to Sāḫiah on the Myos Hormos road (there is evidence that they made the return up-hill journey from this station), they cross a watershed into Wādi Abu Zawal,<sup>4</sup> where a station (with the usual large, interior well excavation and the very long line of troughs already mentioned) is built partly on the weathered tailings of an earlier gold-crushing site and with hundreds

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. G. Andrew, Geologist to the Sudan Government and formerly lecturer in Geology, Fuad I University, Cairo, and by Mr. P. M. Game, Natural History Museum, Department of Mineralogy.

<sup>2</sup> Couyat-Barthoux, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 7, 27-29, with pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Mons Claudianus: (a) *Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 28, 1824. (b) Burton MSS.: 25624, 67; 25625, 59-82, 137; 25623, new pp. 22-27; 25626, 75; plans and maps in 25628, 143, 145, 147, 153. (c) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxvi, 65-73; xxxv, 55-65; xxxviii, 31-32; xlv, D. 12, 12a; Env. XLVIII; Env. XLIX, 1; XLVI, 16 (2), H3; Bibl. Nat. manuscript drawings, see (o) below, 58/59. (d) Letronne, op. cit. 1, 149, 420; Atlas, pl. 15 (4-6). (e) Leps., *Denkm.*, Text, v, 364-5. (f) Schweinfurth, *Zeitschr. der Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, 32, 1 (repr. in *Auf unbetretenen Wegen in Ägypten*, ch. v, with additional notes), with map on pl. 2; *Gartenlaube* 40, 650-3; *Esploratore*, see p. 96, n. 1 (d). (g) Floyer, *Proc. RGS* 9, 679-80. (h) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 39. (i) Chwostow, op. cit. 370. (j) Dubois, op. cit. 53. (k) Weigall, op. cit. 116-130, with pls. 19-24. (l) Fitzler, op. cit. 94, 101. (m) Lesquier, op. cit. 441. (n) Murray, *JEA* 11, 148, with pl. 13 (1); *Blackwood's*, 260, 351 ff. (o) De Ricci, op. cit. 58/59. (p) Hume, op. cit. II, ii, 380 ff. (q) PW, s.v. Steinbruch (Fiehn); Claudianus Mons (Sethe). (r) DS, s.v. Lapidus (Lapis Claudianus).

<sup>4</sup> Abu Zawal: (a) Alford, *Report on Ancient and Prospective Gold Mining in Egypt* (Egypt. Mines Explor. Co.), 1900, 9, 14-15, with pl. 3 (reprod. in Hume, II, ii); *Trans. Inst. Min. Metall.* 10, 11 (Fatira). (b) Weigall, op. cit. 131, 133, 138 (Fatira, referring apparently to Abu Zawal-Hadrabiyah). (c) Meredith and Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 11 (1), 115 ff., with pls. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8. (d) Tregenza, *ibid.* 127-8.

of the ancient hand-mills (the crescent-shaped, reciprocatory kind described later) built into its walls. From here the road crosses two other low divides to reach a hydreuma at Tal'et el-Zerḳah.<sup>1</sup> This is much ruined and largely obliterated but has a length of cemented aqueduct wall which still bears the impression of the original ribbed earthenware piping. The direction of the road from here to Ḳrēyah is marked by several ancient wells and by stretches of wagon tracks across the Nubian sandstone plain of Wādi Negaṭēr. Clearly the Roman wagoners, rather than tackle a sandy wādi surface, preferred to face even a sharp rise, provided it had a hard surface. The same thing is seen in the Mukhēnig gorge, above the small station which stands near the junction with Wādi Ghazzā.

Ḳrēyah<sup>2</sup> has two enclosures a considerable distance apart, once connected (judging from traces noted by Wilkinson in 1826, since confirmed by Barron and Hume, but now lost) by a long, plastered conduit. Its well-planned animal lines, probably once partly roofed with side arcades<sup>3</sup> of unburnt brick, are beside the east (and main) enclosure, which has an interior well, conduit, and tank and which supplied the lower (west) enclosure with water. Although the station is on the Philoteris road, its animal lines (even without the evidence of wagon tracks from the north) stamp it as part of the northern quarry network. Its use of unburnt brick is a further proof.

Sun-dried mud-bricks moulded from local wādi silt have been common in Egypt, with periodic variations in size, from dynastic times till today. In the northern road stations the base of each wall (to a height of 3 or 4 ft.) is built of stone.<sup>4</sup> The rest is of unburnt bricks (3 × 6 × 10–12 in.), one course of headers on edge alternating with several courses of normal stretchers.<sup>5</sup> This style is of no particular date and it is doubtful whether it even separates in date the northern from other stations in the Eastern Desert. In animal lines the thin lines of loose stones now lying on the ground suggest low partitions of unburnt brick (since crumbled away) built on a single course of foundation-stones. Nowhere in these animal lines are there fallen slabs to suggest stone roofs, though the rows of close pillar bases in part of the Mons Claudianus animal enclosure indicate, though without fallen slabs of the type found in large quantities in the main fort, some heavy, substantial form of roofing.

Myos Hormos<sup>6</sup> station is perplexing in this respect. Its outer walls (with two gateways, to north and west) are of squared limestone blocks, but of its inner rooms only

<sup>1</sup> Tal'et el-Zerḳah: (a) Barron and Hume, *op. cit.* 41. (b) Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 11 (1), 130 ff., with plan.

<sup>2</sup> Ḳrēyah: (a) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxviii, 33; plan in xlv, D. 35 and another (rough, with measurements) in *Env. LI*. (b) Barron and Hume, *op. cit.* 9, 87, 88. (c) Green, *PSBA* 31, 319–20. (d) Weigall, *op. cit.* 139, with pl. 17. (e) Murray, *JEA* 11, 146. (f) Tregenza, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Barron and Hume (1902) made the unlikely suggestion that these might be the cloisters of a monastic establishment. Unburnt brick vaulting, though few traces remain, would seem to have been common in the Eastern Desert.

<sup>4</sup> Photographs by Murray, *JEA* 11, pl. 14 (3); Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), pl. 2; Meredith, *Ill. London News*, 217, 992–3, fig. 9.

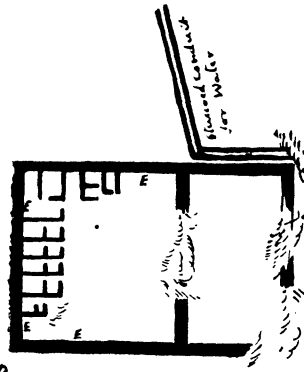
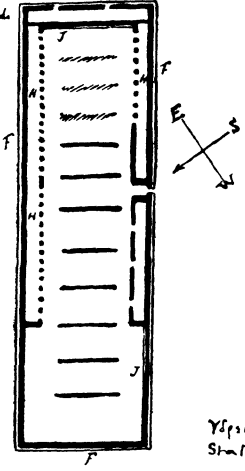
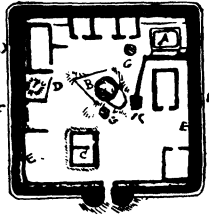
<sup>5</sup> (a) Wilkinson MS. xxxviii, 63, sketch on p. 72. (b) Photograph by Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), pl. 3 (1)

<sup>6</sup> Myos Hormos: (a) Diod. III, 39. 2; Strabo, II, 5. 12; XVI, 4. 5, 24; XVII, 1, 45; Pliny, V, 60; VI, 168; Periplus, 1; Ptol. IV, 5. (b) Lord Valentia, *Voyages and Travels*, II, 314–7. (c) Burton MSS.: 25624, 54–58 incl. maps and plans; 25626, old pp. 71–72, 96. (d) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxvi, 54–57; xxxv, 50–52; plan in xlv,

- A Tank
- B Well
- C perhaps a guard room
- D Ashes

- EE Parapet Walk
- FF raised walk round the base of the Walls
- G.G. Holes dug in the ground perhaps in late times
- K probably a vertical block of W for the wall to the tank

- HH arcade of outside walk
- JJ Stone bench



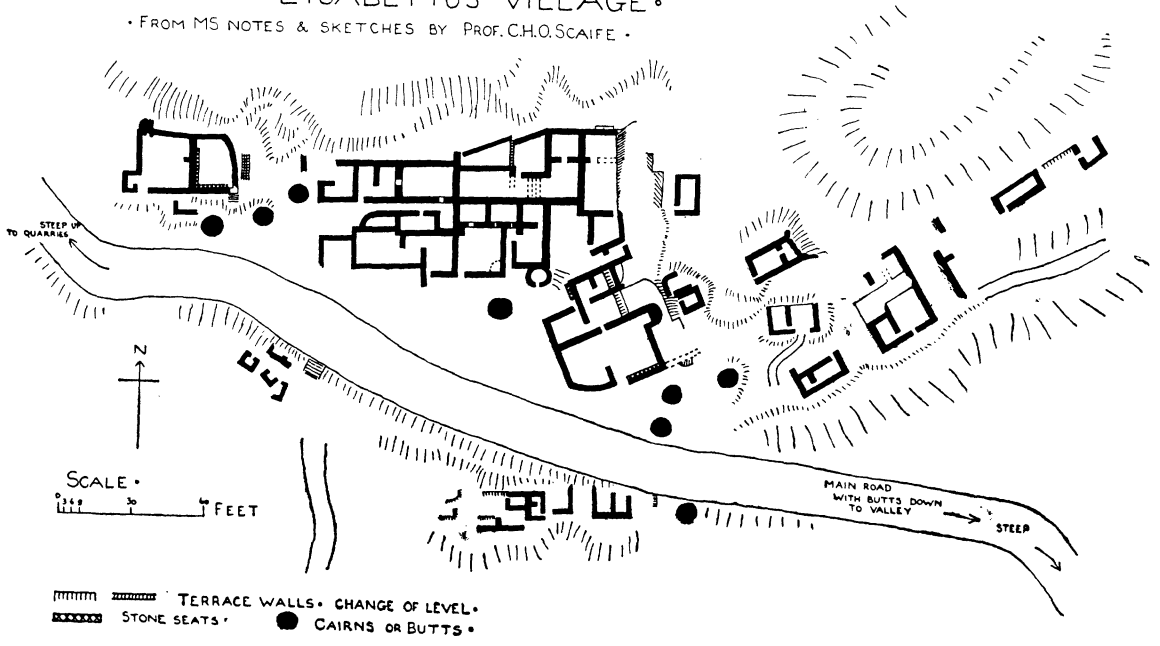
Scale of 30 Paces of 2 2/3 ft = 1 Pace

Relative Position of the two towers in Wady Greich



FIG. 4. Hydreuma in Wadi Kreyah (Wilkinson MS. XLV, D. 35)

• MONS PORPHYRITES •  
 • LYCABETTUS VILLAGE •  
 • FROM MS NOTES & SKETCHES BY PROF. CH. O. SCAIFE •



SCALE •  
 0 10 20 FEET

▤ TERRACE WALLS • CHANGE OF LEVEL •  
 ▨ STONE SEATS • ● CAIRNS OR BUTTS •

FIG. 5

thin lines of loose stones survive, not unlike those seen in animal lines. Yet the pattern of rooms shown by these lines is that of a well-planned station with regular streets and traces of an apsidal building that may have been an interior temple. This station has not yielded a dated inscription, though one gateway has certain odd markings. Myos Hormos, the port but not the surviving square enclosure, is of Ptolemaic construction, as Diodorus<sup>1</sup> and Strabo,<sup>2</sup> describing its 'winding harbour' in identical terms, are quoting an earlier source, probably Agatharchides. North of the fort and partly behind it is an inlet barely covered at high water. It is tempting to identify this shallow depression, easily deepened by regular desilting, with the winding harbour of the ancient writers. But a shallow rock platform, barely submerged, across the narrow mouth of the inlet rules out this possibility—unless the sea-level was relatively higher in Roman times than today. Starting from the very edge of the present inlet, at a point opposite the fort, an ancient cleared road leads straight north-west for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the heavily sanded-up remains of a small enclosure with double walls and an unusually large cistern, the Fons Tarnos<sup>3</sup> of Pliny. As the inlet was probably not there in Roman times—it may be the result of a recent breach in the natural sea wall of coral limestone—the 'winding harbour' of Myos Hormos remains a mystery. A few hundred yards west of Myos Hormos fort an excavated well area has a stretch of buried earthenware piping running to vague remains of what may possibly be animal lines.

Myos Hormos figures, with Berenice but no other Red Sea port, frequently in the Flinders Petrie ostraca (published by Tait and analysed by Fuchs in an article on the regular transport of goods from Koptos to the Red Sea). The absence of any reference to Philoteris and Leukos Limen suggests that Myos Hormos and Berenice, at least in the period A.D. 6–62, held sway in the Roman trade with the east, to the exclusion of the other two ports and their desert roads. That the consignments from Koptos were destined for export seems likely from the absence of any mention of intermediate stations along either the Myos Hormos road or (with one exception, see below) the Berenice road. As the numerous hydremata and quarrying or other settlements needed large and regular supplies of some of the materials included in the Myos Hormos and Berenice caravans—notably wheat, wine, bread, oil, garments, and possibly drugs—it seems likely that their garrisons and convict colonies were the care not of private

D. 14 (pub. by Scaife in *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), Plan VII); *JRGS* 2, 50–51; *Topog. of Thebes*, 363, 411, 418; *Manners and Customs* (ed. Birch), 1, 33. (e) *Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 23, 1824. (f) Letronne, op. cit. 1, 175. (g) Floyer, *Proc. RGS* 9, 659. (h) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 74–75. (i) Chwostow, op. cit. 189–92. (j) Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 52. (k) Lesquier, op. cit. 420, 435, n. 1. (l) Murray, *JEA* 11, 141; *Blackwood's*, 260, 239. (m) Tait, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library*, 1, nos. 220–304. (n) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), 81; 4 (1), 55; sketch of harbour (see (d) above) in 3 (2), 81. (o) Meredith, *Ill. London News*, 217, 992; photograph of piping (by Tregenza) 991, fig. 2. (p) Fuchs, *J. of Jur. Pap.* 5, 207–16. (q) PW, s.v. Myos Hormos (Kees).

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (quoting Agatharchides), III, 39. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (quoting Artemidorus), XVI, 4. 5; Artemidorus is apparently quoting Agatharchides (see Hyde, *Ancient Greek Mariners*, 196, n. 29).

<sup>3</sup> Fons Tarnos: (a) Pliny, VI, 168. (b) Burton MSS.: 25624, 58; 25626, 72 a. (c) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxvi, 57; xxxv, 52; plan in faint pencil in XLV, D. 27; *Manners and Customs*, 1, 152. (d) Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, II, 123–5. (e) Floyer, *Nord Etbai*, inset sketch on map p. 39, and *Proc. RGS* 9, 176 both identify Fons Tarnos with the well Bir Mellāha, a mistake which the International Map of the Roman Empire (Sheet N.G.-36, Aswān) not only repeats but aggravates by wrongly placing Bir Mellāha on the Via Hadriana.

traders employing local transport agents but of the military command of the Thebaid. Compare, however, the El-Hēṭah ostrakon (below) and the supply service referred to in connexion with Fawakhīr.

Large interior well excavations are common to Roman stations all over the Eastern Desert. As stations in the central and southern areas have no animal lines or outside troughs, provision for animals was made inside, thus severely reducing the space available for rooms. Remains of rooms are found, usually, only along the outer walls. The rest of the interior is taken up by an open space (a tethering area?) and the well depression with its conduit leading to a cistern. Often there are two and even three cisterns. Abu Ḳāriah station, north-east of Mons Claudianus, has a large plastered cistern with three compartments. This station belonged to the Via Hadriana (see below) and clear stretches of this Red Sea coastal route are seen north and south of the station. For some reason the Via Hadriana here made a deep detour inland from Myos Hormos. Later, as cleared stretches show, it rejoined the coast at Safāga, near which is the site (at about Ptolemy's latitude) provisionally identified as Philoteras<sup>1</sup> by Murray in 1925 and confirmed in 1951 by Tregenza's discovery of Greek fragments at the ruins in the inlet called Mersa Guwēsis. In, apparently, the same ruins (which he calls Wādī Gāsūs el-taḥṭānī), Schweinfurth, writing in 1885 and without identifying the site as Philoteras, described a fragment of 'crystalline conglomerate' that he found, bearing some large and much-weathered Greek letters. As already explained, the few stations which have their source of water outside (e.g. Mons Claudianus, Mons Porphyrites, Bārūd,<sup>2</sup> Badīa',<sup>3</sup> Umm Balad<sup>4</sup>) are usually packed with rooms and are generally better preserved than the rest, often with outer and inner walls still standing to their original height.

Judging by its meagre remains of stations, the Philoteras road<sup>5</sup> was not, in Roman times, a busy Red Sea merchandise route. Little provision for watering animals is seen except at Ḳrēyah which, as we have seen, served the needs of heavy wagon teams from Mons Claudianus. On the Leucos Limen and Berenice roads, however, the story is different, as the evidence of abundant cisterns shows. Although it is not mentioned by any Graeco-Roman writer, the Philoteras road has hieroglyphic inscriptions<sup>6</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Philoteras; see below: (a) Schweinfurth, *Alte Baureste u. hierogl. Inschr. im W. Gasus*, 2, with sketch. (b) Murray, *JEA* 11, 142.

<sup>2</sup> Bārūd: (a) Murray, *Bull. Inst. d'Égypte*, 28, 43, with map. (b) Meredith, *Ill. London News*, 217, 991, from field notes by Tregenza.

<sup>3</sup> Badīa': (a) Burton MSS.: 25624, 53 (?), 90 (?); 25625, new pp. 29a-31a. (b) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxvi, 59; xxxv, 47 (?); plan in XLV, D. 21 (pub. by Scaife, see below). (c) Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ägypten* (Bohn transl.), 282. (d) Brindley, *Trans. RIBA* 3 (New Series), 11. (e) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 27. (f) Weigall, op. cit. 104-5. (g) Murray, *JEA* 11, 147, with pl. 13 (3). (h) Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* 31, 139, with pl. 2. (i) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), 78; photograph of fortified rock in pl. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Umm Balad: see p. 98, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Philoteras road; see below: in Wilkinson this means the Leucos Limen road (q.v.) and in Couyat-Barthoux it means the Myos Hormos road. (a) Alford, op. cit. 12 ff., with pl. 2. (b) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 15, 41-5, 51-3, 85. (c) Cook, *PSBA* 26, 70. (d) Green, *PSBA* 31, 319-22, with pls. 51-53. (e) Couyat-Barthoux, *Acad. Inscr.* 10 (1910), 529. (f) Lesquier, op. cit. 443. (g) Murray, *JEA* 11, 146. (h) Porter and Moss, *Topog. Bibl.* VII, 338-9.

<sup>6</sup> References to hieroglyphic evidence kindly supplied by Miss R. Moss before publication from *Topog. Bibl.* VII.



dynastic date at Giḏāmi, Ḥamāma, and Gāsūs and also, on roads branching south, at Waṣīf and 'Aṭallah. The Abu Geridah remains (in Wādi Ḥamāma) are only sand-obscured scattered buildings, with no clear evidence of a Roman enclosure. It is an ancient iron-smelting area, as heaps of furnace clinkers testify, but it has rubbing or crushing stones closely resembling those found at the gold-crushing area of Semnah (see below). Of the Roman enclosure in Wādi Giḏāmi only the outer shell remains. It has only one wall still standing to any height and in the deep sand that has blown against this has been recently found a small heap of potsherds of Roman date. It remains to be seen whether it had a connexion with a gold-mining area some miles up a side wādi to south-east. Here there is the usual evidence of ancient ore-crushing, hand-mills, etc. The remains here, others some miles south near the watershed (at 'Eridīyah, with reported remains that seem Roman in character), and those noted in passing by mining engineers at many places have not yet been sufficiently investigated to describe them with certainty as not having been worked by the Romans. All the gold areas in this part of the Eastern Desert, however, were worked in Ptolemaic times as shown by the pottery found at most of the sites. As we have already seen at Abu Zawal, in places where the Romans put up road stations or forts at former mining sites, they built the old crushing-mills into their walls. It seems reasonably certain that the Romans did not work the gold.

A useful light is thrown on this question by recent finds at Semnah<sup>1</sup> on the Philoteris road. Wādi Semnah has a Roman castellum where a number of side wādis flow into it. Some distance up one of these (to the north-east) there are high Roman quarries of greenish metagabbro—incidentally, this rock, also, like others already mentioned, has never been found in the ruins of Rome. Below the quarries is a small quarrymen's village and, on the opposite side of the narrow ravine, a small chapel or temple, possibly two of them, built probably at different dates, end to end, with a double wall between them. Just below this spot (in 1951) Tregenza found, in addition to a Greek fragment naming Tiberius, the lost Min inscription ('Curator Stone')<sup>2</sup> already published by Green and now republished with emendations by Tregenza. It names Publius Juventius Rufus as ἐπάρχος of Berenice and its mines and quarries. This stone is dated in the fortieth year of Augustus. The same official, as well as his freedman Agathopus, are also named in an inscription found in the Wādi Ḥammāmāt quarries, the date there being the fifth year of Tiberius. Although both stones name the 'emerald' and 'topaz' mines (and the pearl fisheries), gold is not mentioned. Across a hill, in the main Wādi Semnah, some miles above the castellum, is a large, well-constructed gravel embankment, its two sur-

<sup>1</sup> Semnah: (a) Burton MS. 25626, 85, with plans of the castellum and quarrymen's temple; sketch map in 25628, 161 (bottom). (b) Schweinfurth, op. cit., with a very incorrect plan. (c) Green, *PSBA* 31, 332-3, with pl. 55. (d) Barron and Hume, op. cit. 59. (e) B. de la Roque, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 11, 134, with plan in fig. 9. (f) Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 12 (2), 85, with pls. 1-2; 13 (2), 39 ff., with pl. 1. (g) Meredith, *Ill. London News*, 217, 992, with photograph of gold-crushing site (by Tregenza), fig. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Semnah stela ('Curator Stone'): (a) Burton MS. 25625, 85 a, stela mentioned but not copied; traces of a second inscription (copied). (b) Green, loc. cit. (c) Barron and Hume, loc. cit. (d) Couyat-Barthoux, *Acad. inscr.* 10 (1910), 541, with photograph on p. 539. (e) Cagnat, *ibid.* 580. (f) Fitzler, op. cit. 126-8; *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, v, 422. (g) Lesquier, op. cit. 239, with nn. 5, 6; 443-4. (h) Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 13 (2), 39 ff., with pl. 1. (i) PW, s.v. Metalla (Kiessling).

living sides (east and north) forming a right angle. The embankment marks an old gold-crushing and washing area. By analogy with other gold areas in this part of the desert and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we can date this embankment provisionally as Ptolemaic. The last remains of a similar embankment are seen in a side wādi to the north-west (Wādi Garahīsh), where the pottery (identified by Prof. Emery) is nearly all Ptolemaic, some certainly so, but one piece is Roman second-century. It is reasonable to think that to one or other of these embankment areas came, for crushing and washing, the ore mined at spots higher in the surrounding hills. One such spot is at the head of Wādi Merkh (just over a watershed into a west-flowing drainage area), the pottery here being also Ptolemaic, including some black Attic ware.

On the west side of the larger embankment site (Wādi Semnah) are the ruins of one or more buildings, including a tower and part of a trough. These buildings, which may have been a small road station or a well post, are Roman, for in 1950-1, slightly below them in the wādi silt, Tregenza found several Latin fragments.<sup>1</sup> Two of these, reconstructed by Prof. A. H. M. Jones, name Antoninus and his prefect Munatius Felix (date, therefore, A.D. 150-1) and the others confirm this, at the same time, apparently, naming the military units doing duty here. It is, therefore, fairly clear that the Romans did not work the gold here, but it would be unwise to conclude that the quarrying here went on continuously from the time of Augustus-Tiberius (the dates in the north-east wādi) to that of Antoninus. Further evidence may come to light to settle this question. A similar long break may have occurred also in the quarrying at Mons Porphyrites.

The dated material from the northern area needs special consideration. It is usual to date the porphyry quarries from the time of Claudius merely because Pliny said that Vitrasius Pollio brought to Rome from Egypt statues made of a mottled variety ('leptosephos') of *porphyrites*.<sup>2</sup> This is poor evidence, especially as Pliny elsewhere confused red porphyry with red granite. Vitrasius Pollio<sup>3</sup> was Prefect under Caligula, his latest recorded date being soon after Claudius's accession. Porphyry statues which reached Rome in Claudius's first year or so (A.D. 41-42) must have come from quarries worked at least as early as Caligula, perhaps Tiberius or even Augustus. Quarrying at this early date took place, as we have seen, at Semnah and Hammāmāt and there is some evidence of sculpture in red porphyry at Rome as early as Tiberius and Augustus.<sup>4</sup> Scaife found at a high quarry village ('Lycabettus') at Mons Porphyrites a proscynema to Pan<sup>5</sup> which Prof. Jones is inclined to date in Tiberius's sixteenth year (A.D. 29).

Other inscriptions at Mons Porphyrites are much later, however. One Isis temple has A.D. 113, the Serapis temple architrave has A.D. 117-19, and the western Isis temple (possibly) A.D. 137-8. Scaife found at the Lycabettus quarry a *frumentarius*<sup>6</sup> inscription which must be before Diocletian (who abolished *frumentarii*). At the main fort

<sup>1</sup> Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 12 (2), 85, with pls. 1-2; 13 (2), 49 ff., with sketches on p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> 'Porphyrites' and Vitrasius Pollio: (a) Pliny, xxxvi, 57, 88. (b) Letronne, *op. cit.* I, 139-41. (c) Murray *Blackwood's*, 260, 241.

<sup>3</sup> Milne, *op. cit.* App. I (B); Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten*, 28-9.

<sup>4</sup> Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, 15; cf. 13-14.

<sup>5</sup> Pan (i.e. Min): (a) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), 62. (b) Murray, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 2 (1), 107.

Wilkinson found a Maximianus coin but gave no confirmatory details. Tregenza has found there three coins, a Domitian (11th year, A.D. 91), a Constantinus I (between A.D. 320 and 324) and a Constantius II (probably between 350 and 361). These readings, with others given below, are by Prof. Wace, M. Jungfleisch, and Mr. R. A. G. Carson (British Museum). In the cemetery outside the Lycabettus quarry village Scaife found the inscribed, undated tombstone of John of Hermopolis,<sup>1</sup> with a Christian symbol. It is tempting to regard this as the grave of a Christian convict, but it may be that of an anchorite nearly three centuries later, for John Moschus,<sup>2</sup> in his *Pratum Spirituale*, describes how a Christian traveller in about A.D. 620 visited two hermits in an area called 'Porphyrites'. It is probable that this name covered a wider area by that date than merely Gebel Dukhkhān. Palladius gives 'Porphyry Mountain' and 'Porphyrite' as names of the residing places of certain anchorites in, apparently, the late fourth century. A few miles away from Gebel Dukhkhān, at Ḳaṭṭār, there are remains that may be the site referred to by Palladius. It is a scattered settlement consisting of single and sometimes small groups of cellae, some fashioned in rock crevices and others built of stones in the Roman style. This Christian settlement<sup>3</sup> is up in the inaccessible heights at the head of Wādi Ḳaṭṭār. It contains a small church where Wilkinson found a stone (the 'Flavius Stone') recording the building of a catholic (i.e. public or common) church by Flavius Julius for a certain Tres, Epitres, or, more probably, Atres (or Hatres), bishop of Maximianopolis in the Thebaid (Upper Egypt) at a date that can be reckoned as about A.D. 340. On the Lycabettus causeway Wilkinson found a 'Christian stone'<sup>4</sup> stating that something (probably the road) was repaired for the lowering of columns (i.e. from the porphyry quarries) for the church of Melitius. The Melitian schism took place in Egypt under Constantine and Constantius. While awaiting further evidence, it seems reasonable to say that Mons Porphyrites may have been briefly quarried (possibly experimentally and probably on its eastern ridge) under Tiberius and Caligula, largely abandoned until Trajan, worked actively (perhaps with breaks) till the reduction in Christian prisoners and pressure on the boundaries of the empire brought about its final, hurried abandonment after Constantine. The Melitian group made a brief visit a few years later, by which time it was already inhabited by a group of anchorites. The absence of coins of the Trajan-Hadrian period, when the area was most actively worked, serves as a reminder that too much must not be made, in the Eastern Desert, of the absence of coins for certain periods. Much may come to light here, as elsewhere, when it becomes possible to examine properly fallen buildings and sand-obscurd sites and to make a systematic collection and study of pottery.

<sup>1</sup> Scaife, *ibid.* 109.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Greek Patrol.*, Ser. Graec. 87 (3), c. 124.

<sup>3</sup> The Christian settlement and the 'Flavius Stone' (Ḳaṭṭār): (a) Wilkinson MSS.: xxxvi, 53; xxxv, 50; Env. L; all with plan of the church and a drawing of the stone. (b) Burton MSS.: 25623, 25; 25625, 52. (c) Floyer, *Proc. RGS* 9, 673, connecting the chapel with Dēr el-Aṭrash under the mistaken impression that 'Dēr' means a monastery, whereas in Eastern Desert Arabic it means an ancient ruin. (d) Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 11 (2), 146. (e) Murray, *Bull. Soc. roy. de Géog. d'Égypte*, 24, 107 ff., with a note by Drescher, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Christian stone (Lycabettus causeway, Mons Porphyrites): (a) Wilkinson MSS.: Env. L; xxxviii, 30; xxxv, 34. (b) Letronne, *Acad. Inscr., Mém.* 16, 11, 256. (c) Barron and Hume, *op. cit.* 27-28. (d) Kaufmann, *Handb. der altchristl. Epig.* 232. (e) Kramer, *Das altägypt. Lebenszeichen ꝥ im christl.-kopt. Ägypten*, 62. (f) Delbrück, *op. cit.* 34. (g) Murray, *Blackwood's*, 260, 241, 245. (h) Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3 (2), 58-61.

Badīa' has yielded four coins to date (all in 1951), placed by Jungfleisch in, respectively, 320-4, 324-6 and 333-5, while the fourth is a surprise, being of Theodosius I (379-95). This is the latest date so far found in the area, even later than the date we have provisionally fixed for the abandonment of the porphyry quarries. As Badīa' is near the junction of the porphyry branch road with the main Myos Hormos highway, this coin may mean that traffic from Myos Hormos to the Nile went on for some time after the quarrying had ceased. At Umm Balad some Roman second- or third-century pottery shows late decoration and thus confirms the appearance of the fort which suggests late construction. At Ḳaṭṭār no pottery has yet been examined, though some (not expertly examined) has been collected at the Christian settlement. This spot seems to have been used over a long period, with rock drawings that indicate prehistoric, Nabataean, and early Arab times. A large sand-covered dump outside the gateway at Dēr el-Aṭrash may yield interesting evidence. At Ghazzā a set of small and fragmentary ostraca, found by Tregenza, is dated by Prof. Turner and Prof. Préaux as Ptolemaic (third and second century B.C.), confirming the appearance of the ancient gold-mining settlement. The pottery (examined by Prof. Emery) is also Ptolemaic, including a pot-bellied figure of Bes, an earthenware lamp, and some white, blue, and green glaze ware. One fine, vertical-ribbed, bowl-type pot is apparently second-century Roman, probably imported. At Sāḳiah, Scaife found a coin of Constantinus I and at El-Hēṭah an ostrakon<sup>1</sup> read by Mr. C. H. Roberts as second century B.C. In 1951 Tregenza found here some two dozen ostraca which Prof. Turner describes as of Roman date, mainly first and second century A.D. The longest fragment is a letter of a mixed personal and business nature. It seems to be from a woman called Isidora who begs not to be forgotten, gives news of her own good health, but remembers also to mention the dispatch of salted fish. It is just possible that she may be the Isidora who, at Myos Hormos some time between A.D. 37 and 41, gave the receipts included in Tait's list of Flinders Petrie Ostraca as nos. 244 and 257. Prof. Turner considers that her unskilled school hand, though difficult to date precisely, is consistent with a first-century date. A Latin fragment found by Tregenza at El-Hēṭah has relatively large, well-cut lettering on a kind of limestone that must have been brought from near the Red Sea coast. Profs. Turner and Momigliano think that the inscription is possibly early second century, in which case the erasure that appears on the stone is likely to be the name of Domitian. Mr. Birley, however, is inclined to ascribe it to Elagabalus. The only pottery so far examined here is Roman with late (second or third century) decoration. Tregenza has found three coins, two probably Maximianus and Licinius (in, it is thought, 294-310 and 320-4 respectively) and the other of Crispus Caesar, between 324 and 326. Jungfleisch is responsible for these readings.

Mons Claudianus has yielded no date earlier than an inscribed altar, A.D. 109. Its Serapis temple architrave is A.D. 118. Floyer claims to have found a Vespasian coin at the castellum and Profs. Wace and Emery declare its pottery to be predominantly Roman (second or third century) but with one odd piece of red ware, with two yellow paint bands, that may be Ptolemaic. Schweinfurth has concluded from the friable nature of the quartz-diorite that exploitation here was soon abandoned, but the very

<sup>1</sup> Scaife, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 4 (1), 62.

extensive amount of quarrying seen all over the area suggests the opposite and this impression is strengthened by the developed nature of the main fort and its outside buildings, as well as by the annexe built on to the former north wall of the fort. The date and purpose of this last development are unknown but it is tempting to connect them with the overcrowding of Egyptian penal settlements at the beginning of the fourth century. We may be helped by finding a date at the Bārūd settlement but so far the very hasty examination Tregenza has been able to make of the fort there has added to our problem, for its pottery has been dated as probably Ptolemaic but possibly Roman. The many roofed rooms at Mons Claudianus are mostly filled with rubble and rubbish that need clearing and a mere scratching of the surface has revealed domestic objects (e.g. a bronze pin, a rhyolite razor hone) that may shed a light on dates. Identification of Claudianus rock at Rome will also help. A tombstone<sup>1</sup> (in Greek) found by Tregenza gives no date, while another (in Latin) found by Burton<sup>2</sup> in 1823 is that of a soldier of Coh. 1 Flav. Cilic. Equit., a unit whose presence at Mons Claudianus in A.D. 117–19 we already know from the temple architrave inscription. Burton also copied an ostrakon<sup>3</sup> (at the main fort, where he also found other small fragments which Prof. Claire Préaux reads as recording the activities of a quartermaster (κιβαριάτωρ). The name of the emperor is illegible but is accompanied by an adjective that suggests a late-first or early-second-century date, probably Trajan or Hadrian.

Along the Mons Claudianus branch road the only coin found is one at Abu Zawal. It is a very worn specimen of the debased copper coinage minted at Alexandria, first or second century. Carson has identified the portrait as Domitian—the eleventh year of his reign, therefore A.D. 91. The pottery at Abu Zawal is, as expected at an early gold site built over by the Romans, mainly Ptolemaic, with some possibly Roman. As the Ptolemaic road from the Abu Zawal gold workings descended Wādi Faṭīri to join Wād Ḳena (and the Myos Hormos road) at Sāḳīah and followed it to the Nile via El-Hēṭah, Ptolemaic evidence is likely at both these sites, although so far only El-Hēṭah has supplied traces of this in one ostrakon.

The Semnah-Garahīsh gold site has pottery, some of which (perhaps all) is of Ptolemaic date, while at Abu Mreiwat a few miles away all the pottery is Ptolemaic. At Garahīsh there is possibly one second-century Roman specimen. At the Wādi Merkh gold workings in the same area there seems to be only Ptolemaic pottery, including some black Attic pieces. At the central Wādi Semnah embankment site, however, there is first- or second-century Roman pottery (due to the presence of the Roman station or well post, as already explained) but, rather oddly, no Ptolemaic specimens. The ruined buildings at the east and north embankments, when examined, may supply this want. At the Wādi Behlouk gold area (south of Wādi Ḥamāma) the pottery is all Ptolemaic, including the 'palm-tree' style of decoration and some black Attic ware, as well as a typical second century B.C. specimen of the shallow bowl-type with black circular bands. At the Giḍāmi (up-stream) gold workings pottery is again

<sup>1</sup> Tregenza, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, 11 (2), 139, with pl. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Burton MS. 25625, 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73. Now pub. by Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte*, 51, 135; 52, 354, with photograph of Burton's copy.

Ptolemaic. A recently found hieroglyphic inscription, extremely faint, on the rock face may prove to be Ptolemaic but is more likely to be of much earlier date, as a Ramesses III inscription corresponding to a similar one found in 1951 by Tregenza some way to the east, at the head of Wādi Sāḩi, appears on the rock face slightly south, at 'Aṭallah, on the direct road to the gold workings of ḩammāmāt and Fawakhīr.

*[To be continued]*

## JOSEPH GRAFTON MILNE

ONLY senior members of the Society will be able to recall the period, now over thirty years ago, when J. G. Milne was Honorary Treasurer of the Fund which preceded it; and though he remained a member of the Committee from 1908 until his death, his visits to London became latterly so rare that many who joined the Society more recently will not have met him. But, now that he is gone, his services as one of our officers and as a student of Graeco-Roman Egypt require that some account of a rather remarkable life should be put on record in this *Journal*. Milne was one of those men, more common in his generation than since, who combined a career in the Civil Service both with many practical activities outside it and also with learned pursuits which secured them distinguished places in the world of scholarship.

He was born on December 23, 1867, at Bowden, near Altrincham, in Cheshire, the younger son and third of five children of William Milne, a yarn-agent, who had been educated at a Quaker School and was a staunch Nonconformist, and his wife Ellen, daughter of Joseph Smith Grafton. From Manchester Grammar School he won a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. After he had been placed in the First Class by the Classical Moderators in 1888 and in the Second by the examiners in the Final Classical School in 1890, this scholarship was continued for a fifth year and, together with a grant from the Newton Testimonial Fund, enabled him to spend part of the years 1890 and 1891 in Greece. Having been already introduced to classical archaeology at Oxford by Percy Gardner, he was recruited by W. Loring for the staff sent by the British School at Athens to excavate on the site of Megalopolis. On his return to England he became Sixth-Form Master at Mill Hill School, where he remained until in 1893 he entered the Education Department from which, by then the Board of Education, he retired in 1926.

At Oxford Milne had come to know A. M. Fairbairn, the first Principal of Mansfield College, and while he was still at Mill Hill he began to help at a Boys' Club, attached to Mansfield House Settlement in West Ham, which eventually he converted into the still flourishing Fairbairn House. When he joined the Civil Service he made the Settlement his home, giving most of his leisure to the Club. And there he met Kate, daughter of James Edmondson Ackroyd, a stuff-merchant of Bradford, Yorkshire, and his wife Harriet, whose maiden name was Priestley, of the same city. To her he eventually addressed himself as follows: 'I think you and I could run a boys' club together. Shall we get married?' The marriage took place in 1896 and was followed by fifty-five years of rare happiness.

After his visit to Greece, Milne continued to take occasional holidays in the Mediterranean. During the autumn of 1893 he was in Montenegro, where he did a little work with J. A. R. Munro at Doclea; and in the winter of 1895-6 he made his first journey to Egypt. Most of his time he spent with Petrie at Thebes, where excavations round



*Photo: Elliott & Fry, London*

JOSEPH GRAFTON MILNE



about the Ramesseum were in progress, but he also paid a brief call on Grenfell and Hunt at Karanis and Bacchias and spent a good many days in the Cairo Museum. He seems to have been in Egypt again in 1899, copying the Greek inscriptions at Cairo, and he was there once more in 1905-6, when he joined the party which under C. T. Currelly (in the temporary absence of Naville) was finishing off the Fund's excavations at Dēr el-Bahri.

In 1899 he had published his *History of Egypt under Roman Rule* (2nd ed. 1913; 3rd ed. 1924)—a work written in odd half-hours at the Settlement in West Ham; and this was followed in 1905 by his volume on the Greek Inscriptions in the *Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. In 1913 he edited the Greek material in a selection of the *Theban Ostraca* which had been bought seven years before. And it was from 1912 to 1919 that Milne came into his closest contact with the Fund as its Honorary Treasurer, a capacity in which there fell to him the responsible task of seeing its finances safely through the First World War.

From boyhood Milne had been a collector of coins, and his interest in Egypt was mainly in its Graeco-Roman period. Hence the consequence of an illness in 1908 was not surprising. Hitherto he and Mrs. Milne had never been abroad together because the Boys' Club could not be left without one or other of them for more than a fortnight; but now, during his convalescence, they both went by sea to Constantinople and thence to the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. There, at Smyrna, he met a local inhabitant who was collecting ancient coins to provide his daughter with a dowry; and, having managed to buy the whole of this considerable mass of material, he found his attention turned to the Greek series of Asia Minor and the Islands. The result was to divert him from Egypt to the Greek world at large: he studied Greek coins in an increasing number of their aspects, and by the time of his retirement from the Board of Education he was eminently equipped for the final phase of his career, by the results of which he is likely longest to be remembered.

Moving to Oxford in 1926 he found the Heberden Coin Room, which had been opened in the Ashmolean Museum four years before, containing little more than the numismatic collections of the University itself. This Room he set about converting into a place where all the coins in the possession of the University and its Colleges should be housed and used, and in this undertaking by his courtesy, his tactful persistence, and his quiet good sense he had come near to complete success before his death. Moreover, he saw it enriched by purchases and by gifts; and among the gifts none was more notable than his presentation of his own collection, which was particularly strong in the issues of the Greek cities of Asia Minor and of Alexandria-by-Egypt. Of the Alexandrian coins he published the impressive catalogue in 1933, having himself provided the greater part of the cost of printing. First as Assistant, and from 1931 as Deputy, Keeper of Coins, and from 1930 to 1938 as Reader in Numismatics as well, he laboured assiduously in the Heberden Room for twenty-five years until within a week of his death. Throughout his object was unchanged—to mobilize the numismatic resources of Oxford, to fill their more serious gaps, and to arrange the whole for convenient use in teaching. With rarities or exhibition-pieces as such he was not concerned;

but the purpose he had before him was achieved. Thanks to his work and to the work of others whom he inspired, he left Oxford equipped with by far the finest apparatus for the instruction of numismatists that exists in any British university. His eminence in his chosen field was marked by the bestowal on him of the Annual Medal of the Royal Numismatic Society in 1938 and of the Archer M. Huntington Medal of the American Numismatic Society in 1944.

Milne's energy in retirement was not wholly absorbed by the Coin Room. From 1933 to 1946 he was Librarian of his College, and in that capacity, aided by the unstinted devotion of his wife (who was his constant helper in all his undertakings), he rendered it services which a College Library rarely gets from a Fellow engaged in tuition or research. Indeed, one result was to make him the authority of his day on the College history. And during the Second World War he gave a great deal of time to the Red Cross organization which recommended, acquired, and sent off books on serious subjects about which inquiries had come from British prisoners in enemy hands. He died at Oxford after a short illness on August 7, 1951.

As a man Milne's most obvious characteristic was his modesty. Of this there is an instance so striking as to deserve record. In 1924, being offered the Degree of Doctor of Letters *honoris causa* by the University of Oxford, he replied that he thought himself compelled to decline because he had been a candidate for that Degree in 1919 and believed that he had been ploughed. When the Vice-Chancellor discovered that the application had in fact been approved and that the reason why Milne had not been told was simply that a University official had filed the papers and forgotten them, he had a choice between taking the Degree in the ordinary way on payment and of having it conferred honorifically without charge; and the way he chose was the more costly and less glorious. But behind his shy and even diffident manner there lay a steady concentration on what he thought worth while. He will be remembered by those who knew him for his unremitting devotion to his many tasks and for his constant readiness to serve any cause of which he approved—above all the encouragement of an interest in numismatics by putting every inquirer, from the scholar to the schoolboy who had dug up a coin in the back-garden, on the way to a solution of his problems. In particular, the Society has to regret a faithful supporter through forty-eight years, and Oxford the man to whom it owes the enviable accessibility of its coin collections and their present active use both in numismatic research and in training historical students to avail themselves of the help which coins have to offer for the elucidation of their proper problems.<sup>1</sup>

HUGH LAST

<sup>1</sup> Milne's meticulously kept list of his own publications has been printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1951, 115-25.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1950-51)

By P. M. FRASER

THE present bibliography is the first since the inauguration of the series in 1913 not to appear under the name of 'MARCUS N. TOD'. A tradition of forty years is thus broken, and the break will be regretted by DR. TOD's innumerable friends, all of whom will join me in wishing him many years of health in which he may continue to enrich our studies. His own illness and my absence from England at the time when he decided that he could no longer continue with the bibliography prevented any close collaboration between us, and I hope that any lacunae will on this occasion be pardoned. I would ask all those who in the past have made the task of my predecessor lighter by sending him *separata* of their writings to continue the same kindness towards myself. They should be addressed to me at Brasenose College, Oxford.

I. *Bibliography, etc.*

(1) The years 1950-1 saw the appearance of two surveys of Greek epigraphy by J. and L. ROBERT, both of which contain brief sections on Egypt (*RÉG* 63, 211-14; *ibid.* 64, 210-11).

(2) M. N. TOD's previous survey in *JEA*, covering the years 1948-9, appeared in vol. 36, 106-9.

In the field of bibliography I note also the lists of the published writings of (3) G. DE SANCTIS, in his *Studi di Storia dell' Historia*, ed. cura di A. Momigliano, Roma, 1951, pp. 173-94, prepared by the REV. DR. P. KUNZLE, and covering the years 1892-1949; of (4) W. SCHUBART, in *Aus Antike und Orient*, ed. S. MORENZ, *Festschrift Wilhelm Schubart, zum 75 Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1950, covering the years 1900-48 and prepared by †H. KORTENBEUTEL and M.-C. VON KRAUSE; of (5) H. GRÉGOIRE, in *Παγκάρπεια, Mélanges Grégoire*, II (*Annuaire d'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. orient. et slaves*, 10, pp. v-lvii, covering the years 1900-51, prepared by M. MATTHIEU and comprising 500 items; of (5A) A. J. B. WACE, *BSA* 46, 232-43, covering the years 1903-50; also of (6) †P. ROUSSEL, *RA*, 1950 (2), pp. 109-14, prepared by G. DAUX and R. L. LÉRAT; of (7) †P. JOUGUET, *Journ. Jur. Pap.* 4, 9-18, prepared by G. MANTEUFFEL, with the assistance of MME JOUGUET; of (7A) †A. WILHELM, *Almanach. Öst. Akad.* 101 (1951), prepared by J. KEIL, and covering the years 1886-1951; J. G. MILNE, and of *Num. Chron.* 1951, pp. 115-25, prepared by C. H. V. SUTHERLAND. All these scholars have contributed, as these lists testify, to our knowledge of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

II. *Corpora and other collections*

(8) The third fascicule of volume v of the *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden* appeared in 1950 (Bilabel-Erben Selbstverlag, Wiesbaden). It is devoted almost entirely to Greek inscriptions. In the absence, therefore, of a Corpus of Greek Inscriptions from Egypt it should have provided a useful basis for further study. It is, in fact, a dangerous work which all will use at their peril. The aim of the authors (†F. BILABEL was responsible for pp. 213-324, E. KIESSLING for the rest) is clearly expressed in a note on p. 230: 'Da es sich als sehr unpraktisch erwiesen hat, dass *Preisigke* seinerzeit die Inschriften von *CIG* III, *Dittenberger, Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*, und andere ähnliche Sammlungen nicht ins *SB* in extenso aufgenommen und offensichtlich nur in den Vergleichstafeln auf sie verwiesen hat, hole ich [i.e. Bilabel, presumably] das Versäumte hier, auf vielfachen Wunsch hin, nach. In den Literaturangaben gehe ich nur bis zum *CIG* zurück. Die Vergleichstafeln in *SB* II sind nicht immer vollständig und nicht fehlerfrei. Da viele Texte des *CIG* auch noch nicht nach den *Lepsiusschen* Zeichnungen verbessert sind, ergab sich hieraus manche Neulesung.' We may agree or disagree with the departure from the first principles of a *Sammelbuch* contained in this pronouncement, namely, not only to collect and republish without commentary scattered documents, as had been the intention and (however inadequately performed) the practice of PREISIGKE, but also to republish inscriptions published in complete volumes of inscriptions (cf. the complaints levelled by

L. ROBERT in *REG* 64, 121-3, against the similar tendency in *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.*; but in any case a scholar who republished with bibliography and with the latest readings the inscriptions in older standard collections would deserve our thanks. B(ILABEL) and K(IESSLING), however, have not done this. They have been content to repeat the texts and old bibliographical references as they stand in *CIG* and *OGIS*, and have ignored the work of the last half-century. Their own contribution—numerous errors apart—is the addition of a continuous enumeration. The danger of this course is obvious. Deservedly or otherwise, PREISIGKE's *Sammelbuch* has won a central place as a handbook of the documentary sources for the history of Graeco-Roman Egypt, and any student, finding that the heirs of PREISIGKE have republished all, or almost all, the inscriptions relative to the political history of Egypt, might reasonably suppose that he now had at his disposal a reliable collection of texts. In fact he has the texts of *CIG* and *OGIS* reprinted without comment. I, for one, cannot see what is gained by this performance. Since, however, the book has been published and will inevitably find its way into libraries it must be made safe for the unwary, and to that end I print some addenda and corrigenda. I pass over innumerable annoying variations in method of quotation and so on, indicative of very perfunctory proof-reading, though these will confuse persons not wholly familiar with the literature. I attempt only to refer to publications of the inscriptions which improve on, or enable one to control, the texts as published by B.-K., and which they should have used, and add little or no bibliography referring to historical discussions and the like, save for a few recent references which B.-K. could not know. I use the serial number of *SB* in Clarendon type, followed by that of DITTENBERGER, *OGIS*, in brackets. The main references are to BRECCIA's catalogue of the Alexandria Museum (= Breccia) and to MILNE's of the Cairo Museum (= MILNE). A. WILHELM's *Αἰγυπτιακά*, I (*Sitzb. Wien.* 224 (1), 1946) I abbreviate as WILHELM.

8274 (99): it should be noted (though DITTENBERGER failed to do so) that HOLLEAUX reproduced and discussed the text in *Rev. Phil.* 1894, p. 121, n. 4 (= *Études* III, 368, n. 1). 8276: this is discussed by ZUCKER in no. (68) below. 8296 (60) = *BMI* 1063 = BRECCIA, *Mon. de l'Égypt. gr.-rom.* 1, 52, no. 3 = A. ROWE, *Ann. Serv.* 46, Supp. Cah. 2, pp. 10-11. 8299 (90): the Rosetta Stone. The new Elephantine copy is also published as *SEG* VIII, 784. A new, revised edition of BUDGE, *The Rosetta Stone* (B.M., 1s.) was issued in 1950. 8303 (666) = *BMI* 1067. 8305 = *BMI* 1068. 8318 (109) = *IGR* 1, 1146. 8334 (194): ll. 1-3 are in *IGR* 1, 1208; the whole is discussed, and new readings given, by WILHELM, pp. 24-32. 8394 (130): on the name *Πελλίας* in this text (ll. 26, 34, 44) v. WILHELM, pp. 7-8. 8396 (137-9) = SCHROETER, *Reg. Hellen. Epist.*, nos. 35-37. 8404 (190) = WILHELM, p. 30. 8427 (196): the date given by B.-K., '25 Feb. 25 v. Chr.' is that given by *CIG*; DITTENBERGER's n. 7 shows that that date is impossible and that the correct date is 32 B.C. 8443 (702)-8444 (669)-8445—these texts have all been published now in a definitive edition with excellent illustrations and indispensable palaeographical notes by H. G. EVELYN WHITE and J. H. OLIVER, *The Temple of Hibis*, II, 1939. Any edition earlier than this is dangerous. 8444, the edict of Ti. Iulius Alexander, is also republished by RICCOBONO, *Font. Iur. Rom.*<sup>2</sup> (1941), no. 58. It is discussed by W. SCHUBART, *Archiv*, 14, 36-43 and by AMISUN, *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, pp. 73-75 (on § 7). The hitherto unpublished edict of Iulius Vestinus, EVELYN WHITE-OLIVER, op. cit., no. 2, does not reappear in B.-K. 8447 is combined with *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 27, 9 ff., and published as a single text with a valuable commentary by WILHELM, pp. 60-70. 8462-8509 and 8511-8535: the inscriptions from Kardasse and Talmis were all re-copied and re-published by ZUCKER, *von Debod bis Bab Kalabscha*, III and GAUTHIER, *Le temple de Kalabchah*, I. The publications of ZUCKER and GAUTHIER must be used, since in many instances their researches revealed parts of inscriptions invisible to former travellers, and thus provide many improved readings. All of the texts published by ZUCKER and GAUTHIER which were not to be found in other collections from *CIG* onwards were reproduced by PREISIGKE in various parts of *SB* I (nos. 1016-23, 1521-4, 2120-5, 4122-7, 4549-662; 3919-20, 4103-4104, 5076-99). B.-K., reproducing those inscriptions which already figured in *CIG* and Lepsius, omit all reference to both these works. These texts, as now re-published, may therefore be ignored. I have no space here to give a concordance between the publications of ZUCKER and GAUTHIER and the number in *SB*. 8545 (54 and 199), *Monumentum Adulitanum*: B.-K. have not consulted the standard edition of Cosmas by E. O. WINSTEDT, *Cosmas Indicopleustas*, pp. 73 ff., in which they would have found that the inscriptions and their scholia have undergone changes of nomenclature and that improved readings of the scholia are given. 8546 (200) = *Deutsche Aksum Expedn.* IV, 4, no. 4 = *SB* 6949 (cf. also below, no. (29)). As on a previous occasion the earlier edition in *SB* embodies the improvements of later study, the later, unnecessary, one nostalgically reproduces the readings of the earlier publication.

**8549**: a statue signed by Theon of Antioch and Demetrius the Rhodian: 'Zeit?', B.-K. *v.* Blinkenberg, *Inscr. Lindos*, 1, 54 (no. 63), and the dates there given (mid.-ii B.C.). **8676**: 'Jetzt in Smyrna'; I wonder. **8697** = G., pp. 312-13. **8699** (722) = MILNE 9273, pp. 32-33. **8766** (36): DITTENBERGER, by an oversight, gave as the place of original publication of this inscription, '*Am. Jour. Arch.* 1, 1855', instead of '1, 1885'. B.-K. also give '1855'; this is one of their most revealing errors. **8768** (85) = **8868**(!). **8770** (121): *v.* WILHELM, pp. 5-10. **8771** (86) = *BMI* 1064. **8772** (64) = *Musée de Mariemont* (1952) p. 107. **8773-95**: these are mostly in BRECCIA, to whom B.-K. have here not a single reference; instead they follow their early source in giving references to BOTTI's superseded catalogue. **8773** = BRECCIA 152; **8775** = BRECCIA 51; **8776** = BRECCIA 79; **8777** = BRECCIA 42; **8779** = BRECCIA 63; **8780** = BRECCIA 72; **8782** = BRECCIA 81; **8783** = BRECCIA 82; **8789** = BRECCIA 75; **8791** = BRECCIA 53; **8796** = BRECCIA 86. For the items in the Cairo Museum between numbers **8798** and **8835** B.-K. mysteriously give the reference to MILNE, but after this brief sign of life all is again still. **8808** is said to be from Karnak by RICCI, *Archiv* 2, 561, no. 97; I do not know on whose authority it is said by B.-K. to be from Birbeh (Hiera Sykaminos). **8815** = BRECCIA 62. **8814** and **8819**: *v.* below, under no. (10). **8827** = MILNE 9269, p. 40. Though B.-K. give the reference to MILNE they have not observed that MILNE expressly states that the text has been damaged since its previous publication, and that some words are missing. **8836** = BRECCIA 46. **8837** = BRECCIA 328. **8840** = BRECCIA 35. **8848** (19): for '*Archiv* 1, 1890' read '*Archiv* 1, 1900'. **8850** (31) = BRECCIA 7. **8854-6** (48-52): the location of these five stones is unknown to B.-K.: **8852** (48) I too have been unable to locate. **8853** (49) is in the Galerie Épigraphique of the Louvre. **8854** (50) and **8855** (51) are both in Cairo, MILNE 9270, p. 17 and 9284, p. 18. **8856** (52) is in Alexandria, BRECCIA 48. **8857**: cf. *JHS* 62, 16, x a. **8858** (56), the Canopus Decree: Copy A = MILNE 22187, p. 5; copy B = MILNE 22186, p. 1; copy C (Louvre) is described by ROESLER in REINISCH-ROEDER, *Die zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis*, p. 56, and again in BOREUX's *Catalogue Départ. Ant. Égypt.* II, 89, no. C 122. The fourth exemplar, unknown to B.-K., was found at El-Kāb, north of Edfu, and published by A. BAYOUMI and O. GUÉRARD, *Ann. Serv.* 46, 373-82 (cf. *RÉG* 64, 211, no. 242; *JEA* 36, 107-8). **8861** = BRECCIA 10. **8862** (69) = BRECCIA 109. The stone was transferred from Cairo to Alexandria in 1892 (*v.* BRECCIA's *lemma*). DITTENBERGER wrote 'translatus in museum oppidi Cairo' and B.-K. have 'Jetzt Museum in Kairo' (so also O. KERN, *Archiv*, 12 (1937), 67). The text is reproduced and discussed by HOLLEAUX, *Études*, III, 1, n. 1. **8866** (82) = *SB* 174 already. **8867** (83) = MILNE 27581, p. 33. **8868** (65) = **8768** (!). **8870** (92) = MILNE 9232, p. 23. **8871** (95): DITTENBERGER wrote 'anno 1898/9 in oppido Cairo veniit'; B.-K. write 'Fundort? (Jetzt in Cairo)', evidently misunderstanding 'veniit' as 'venit'. The inscription was taken to France and sold in a Paris auction in 1905 (*v.* *Antiq. égypt. grec. et rom. appartenant à P. Philip et à divers Amateurs . . . dont la vente aura lieu les 10, 11 et 12 av. 1905 à l'Hôtel Drouot*, item no. 44, pp. 14-15). I do not know what subsequently became of it; I have not seen it in the Louvre. **8874** (100) = MILNE 9262, p. 14. **8879** (122) = BRECCIA 34, WILHELM, pp. 5-10. **8881** (178) = MILNE 9201, p. 24 = WILCKEN, *Chrest.* 142. **8888** (179) = MILNE 9245, p. 9 = WILCKEN, *Chrest.* 168: 'Jetzt Gizeh, Museum', say B.-K., but the inscriptions in that museum were moved to Cairo when the museum was shut in 1899: *v.* MILNE, Preface, p. v. **8891** (187) = 5222. **8895** (655) reveals (as also does **8900**) another form of error. The reference to 'Milne, *Hist. of Roman Egypt*, p. 183, no. 1' is taken from DITTENBERGER, who quoted it correctly, since in the first edition of his work MILNE printed as Appendix III 'Inscriptions in the Gizeh Museum'. In the second (1913) and third (1924) editions, however, he omitted this appendix since the inscriptions had in the interval been republished in his Cairo Catalogue. B.-K.'s reference to MILNE should therefore either be omitted or else 'ed. 1' should be inserted. **8900** = MILNE 9242, p. 10. **8904** (674), **8911** (705). **8912** (708) are all said by DITTENBERGER to be in Cairo, and B.-K. faithfully record 'Jetzt in Kairo'. But DITTENBERGER had failed to notice that RICCI, *Archiv*, 2, 437, 443, 446, when publishing these three inscriptions, had added after the Cairo inventory number the statement in brackets, 'maintenant mus. Alex.' (cf. also MILNE, p. 134). They are in fact respectively BRECCIA 61, 71, 78. **8908**: for 'Milne 929' read 'Milne 9291, p. 12'. **8913** (711): here, and only here, B.-K. have a reference to BRECCIA; is it fortuitous that here too they have one of their very rare references to recent works, *PMich.* III, 292, which quotes the number of the inscription in BRECCIA? **8914** (712) = BRECCIA 146. **8915** (713) = MILNE 9223, p. 21. **8918** (719) = *BMI* 1078 = MILNE 9247 b, p. 16. **8920** = BRECCIA 4. **8921** = BRECCIA 6. **8922** (726) = BRECCIA 11. **8923** (728) = BRECCIA 145. **8924** (729) = BRECCIA 23. **8925** (731) = BRECCIA 31. **8926** (732) = *SB* 4208: on this *v.* my remarks in *Eranos*, 49, 103, n. 1. **8927** (733) = BRECCIA 32. **8928** (734) =

BRECCIA 37. 8929 (737) = MILNE 33027, p. 19. 8930 (738) seems once to have been in Alexandria Museum, but I do not see it in BRECCIA. 8931 (739) = MILNE 9299, p. 8. 8932 = SB 7259. 8934 = BRECCIA 41. 8954-63 reprint the inscriptions in Robert, *Collection Froehner*, nos. 71 ff.

These are a few of the errors and omissions in one field alone. This work can bring nothing but discredit upon the authors, whose method of work is clearly revealed by the above remarks. By its production the progress of scholarship is silently but effectively retarded.

(9) In *Inscriptiones Creticae*, IV, 1950, Miss GUARDUCCI continues her publication of the inscriptions of Crete. This volume contains only inscriptions from, or referring to, Gortyn. Among those of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, those of interest to students of Ptolemaic Egypt are: 176 (= *Inscr. Magn.* 65a+75); 181 (*SGDI* 5015, with *Historia*, 8, 67 ff.); 195 (fr. a ined. ll. 2-4: [ἐπειδὴ πρὸς το]ῦς ὑπεναντίους συνεμαχῆ] [σαντο ἀμὶν οἱ ἐξαποσταλέντες ὑ]πὸ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίω ἄν[δρες——]); 208 A (*SGDI* IV, 4, 3, p. 1036, no. 9 = SCHWYZER 187); 244, and numerous texts attesting the existence of Egyptian cults at Gortyn (*v.* Index, p. 437, s.v. Ἴσις; p. 438, s.v. Σάραπις).

(10) M. N. TOD, *JHS* 71, 172-7, 'Epigraphical Notes from the Ashmolean Museum', gives a most useful account of the collection of inscriptions in the museum. Nobody is more competent than he to carry out this task, and his treatment of it leaves little more to be said. We must be particularly grateful to him for providing useful tables of concordance between the stones in the collection and the standard publications. One point only occurs to me. T. says nothing of any inscriptions from Egypt, but HOGARTH published two from Coptos, one a dedication of the reign of Galba, and the other of the reign of Pertinax, in FLINDERS PETRIE'S *Koptos*, p. 26, no. 2, and p. 33, no. 5, both said by him to be in Oxford. These were re-published by RICCI, who apparently had made his own copies in Oxford, in *Archiv*, 2, 435, no. 27, and 448, no. 79; they now reappear as SB 8814 and 8819, still said to be in the museum. In fact, I have never seen them there, and they seem to have been lost.

(11) T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden*, Uppsala, 1945 (not available for previous bibliography; *v.* *JEA* 36, 108), publishes, pp. 39-54, 'Ein neues zweisprachiges Dekret einer ägyptischen Priestersynode unter Ptolemaios III Euergetes'. The fragment is in Uppsala University and of unknown provenance. The author precedes his examination of the text by giving a list of parallel synod-decrees (a protest may be made against his habit of quoting *SEG* by page number: p. 40, under nos. 1 and 4, '*SEG* 8, 70' should be '*SEG* 8, 463'; under no. 2 a '8, 76' should be '8, 467'; under no. 2 b '8, 87' should be '8, 504 a'; under no. 4 '8, 139' should be '8, 784'). The inscription consists of two fragments of which the first contains the opening formulae, from the seemingly certain restoration of which S. infers that the inscription is of the reign of Euergetes I, and according to S. this may be the 'former decree' referred to in the Canopus Decree (*OGIS* 56, l. 33). Line 5 contains the letters ΛΦΕΙΩΝ, restored by S. to read Φιλαδέ] λφείων and taken to refer to a general festival of Arsinoe alone, not attested in Egypt, but known from Delos during the Ptolemaic period. The supplement is probably right, but it should be noted that S.'s further contention that the Arsinoeia is not attested outside the Fayyūm is incorrect; it is attested as a general festival in Alexandria by *PCol. Zen.* 56, ll. 4-5, and cf. E. VISSCHER, *Götter und Kulte im ptol. Alexandrien*, p. 76, items 19-20 (S. refers only to BILABEL, *Neue Heid. Jahrb.* 1929, pp. 30-31, who could not know *PCol. Zen.*). It may therefore be wiser to regard the [Φιλαδέ]λφεια as a festival for the royal pair and not for Arsinoe alone as S. proposes. The second fragment is gone beyond reconstruction but the appearance of the word καταπλεῖν (*sc. εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν*) should be noted.

(12) ZAKI ALY, *BSA* 46, 219-31 (with a bad photograph), 'A propos of a Greek Inscription from Hermoupolis Magna' 'publishes' the Hermoupolite fragment already edited by ZUCKER in *Aegyptus*, xvi, 1938, pp. 280-4, who showed that it belonged to the main stele of 78 B.C. published by him in *Abh. Berlin*, 1937 (6) = SB 8066 (without the additional fragment). ZAKI ALY seems quite unaware of ZUCKER'S outstanding work on the Hermoupolis stelae and of its general relevance for him. However, quite apart from the fact that this fragment was already published—a fact of which the editors of *BSA* should have made themselves aware in time—the whole treatment of the stone indicates that the author is quite ignorant of Ptolemaic epigraphy as a whole. His remarks on the lettering betray a profound ignorance of the topic (let him consult the series of dated texts in the plates to BRECCIA, *Inscr.*); and those on the prosopography are astounding (*v.* e.g. p. 225: 'The name Argaios in l. 9 of our inscription reveals the origin of its bearer. He must have belonged originally to Argos in Greece proper or have been descended

from some Argive parentage'). One oddity I cannot forbear to mention. When looking for prosopographical rapprochements between the fragment and other documents, the author records what is known of other persons of the same name who can have no conceivable connexion with the present inscription. Thus on the name Phaon we are given details regarding a certain Ptollis, *the son of Phaon*, who occurs in an epicrisis-document of the second century A.D. And on the name Hermolaus we are treated to accounts of homonyms from the third century B.C. and the third century A.D.

(13) M. N. TOD, *JEA* 37, 86–99, publishes in exemplary style a lengthy and very carefully engraved ephebic inscription of A.D. 220–1 (*v. p.* 99) from Memphis, preserved in the British Museum. The inscription begins with a characteristically ornate description of the festival (containing two terms, Ἡλειον, and Λεόντιον, for which T. has no satisfactory explanation), followed by a long list of the ephebic participants. T. brings together much useful material in the notes; the collection of references to Games bearing the title ἰσο- is particularly valuable.

(14) D. MEREDITH and L. A. TREGENZA publish in several articles the fruits of their exhaustive topographical researches in the eastern desert. I collect them all here. In *Bull. Fac. Arts*, Fouad I Univ. 11, 97–126, they publish 'Notes on the Roman Roads and Stations in the Eastern Desert: I (a) from Qena to Bab-el-Mukheiniq; (b) the Roman Station in the W. Abu Zawal', containing a detailed account of the road; *ibid.*, pp. 127–35, T. publishes alone 'Notes on a recent Journey from Abu Zawal to the Greiya Station'. These two articles though not epigraphical, are essential for an understanding of the area. *Ibid.*, pp. 139–50, T. publishes 'Notes on Inscriptions and Graffiti at Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites'. This contains a few new inscriptions and graffiti of little importance: (a) τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰ . . . ἴθαι, apparently complete, is described by the editor as an epitaph, and for the last line he suggests ἔρρωσθαι or ἐντεθάπται (?), both of which seem odd. Is it not a boundary-stone rather than a tombstone? (b) reproduces, with the same text, *CIG*, 4713 D (except that for T.'s χιλιάρκω (sic!) read χιλιάρχω); (c) graffiti already copied by WILKINSON. In the second part of the article T. discusses some inscriptions from Mons Porphyrites published by C. H. O. SCAIFE, *ibid.* 11, 106–15. There follow some more graffiti and a new copy of a Christian inscription seen by WILKINSON (= R. DELBRÜCK, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, p. xxiv). It is a pity that of the city called Maximianopolis which occurs in this inscription T. can only say that it is 'presumably one of the towns of the Thebaid', since this is a controversial matter on which his opinion would be of value in view of his close knowledge of the area (*v.* KEES, *RE*, s.v. Maximianopolis (1), cols. 2484–5). *Ibid.*, pp. 151–8, contains a collection of Nabataean inscriptions from the same area published by T. and DR. J. WALKER. *Ibid.* 12, 85–89, 'A Latin Inscription from Wadi Semna', T. publishes the text of a Latin inscription of the Prefecture of Munatius Felix (A.D. 150–1), containing a reference to an Arrius Iuli(anus) of the third Ituraean cohort, in connexion with a praesidium. *Ibid.*, pp. 131–7, M. and T. write on 'Mons Porphyrites; the North-West Village and Quarries', and discuss some problems connected with the working of the porphyry. *Ill. Lond. News*, Dec. 16, 1950, pp. 991–3, M. publishes excellent photographs of the whole region and gives an interesting general account of his and T.'s researches. In *Bull. Fac. Arts*, Fouad I Univ. 13, 39–52, 'The Curator-Inscription and other recently found Fragments from Wadi Semna', T. (a) republishes with a photograph, *L'An. Épig.* 1910, no. 207, of A.D. 11, an important text for our knowledge of the workings of the mines in the Roman period, with a note by A. H. M. JONES on the interpretation of the text, and (b) publishes four other fragments of the Imperial period, one Greek and three Latin, which contain fragmentary bits of Imperial titlature. All told, this collection of articles, though often written in a somewhat simple and ingenuous manner, give us a far more exact picture of the region as a whole and in particular of Roman mining activities there, than had hitherto been possible.

(15) J. SCHWARTZ, *Ann. Serv.* 50, 401–10, 'Épigraphes grecques à l'Égypte', publishes with a very bad photograph, three metrical epitaphs. (I) of late Ptolemaic date, from Heracleopolis, consists of three epigrams separated by the word ἄλλο, in all twenty-seven lines, commemorating the death in child-birth of Ammonia, an ἀστὴ of Naucratis, at the age of 35. In the first part the stone speaks to the passer by, in the second the husband speaks, and in the third the wife consoles her husband. In ll. 25–26 we must read στέργε τὰ μέγχι πέλους· μοίρης δόσιν οὔτιν' ἀλυκτόν (*vel. sim.*) as DR. MAAS points out to me; στεργετὰ and τινυκτόν (!) thus disappear. (II) is a conventional epitaph of seven lines from Saqqārah on a youth named Crocodilus who died at the age of 22. The last two lines have defeated the editor, and the photograph is such that I can make nothing out. (III) in the Michailides collection in Cairo, is an epitaph of ten lines painted in black

on a white ground in a cursive hand dated by S. to the third century A.D. It contains a lament for a youth of 20 years. The readings are again uncertain.

(16) H. MUNIER, *Aegyptus*, 29, 126–36, 'Stèles chrétiennes d'Antinoé', publishes Greek and Coptic funeral stelae from Antinoe. They follow normal Christian formulas and call for no comment.

(17) E. FERRARIO, *Epigraphica*, 10, 62–68, 'Una antica iscrizione scoperta a Milano nella Basilica degli Apostoli', publishes an interesting metrical epitaph in three parts (cf. ROBERT, *RÉG* 64, 213, no. 249), found beneath the floor of the Basilica degli Apostoli at Milan. It contains the praises of a doctor Dioscorus, of Egyptian origin, identified by F. with the *archiater* mentioned in August. *Epist.* 227 (*CEL* 57, 481–3).

(18) G. MICHAILIDES, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 49, 23–43, 'Vase en terre-cuite portant une inscription philosophique grecque', publishes a vase found at Akhmim bearing an inscription (quoted in full with corrections by ROBERT, *RÉG* 64, 210, no. 240) in ink. It is an attack on the creation of Images in the manner familiar from Christian writings. M. dates it, on grounds of general historical probability, to the second or third century after Christ.

(19) A. ADRIANI, *Arch. Class.* 1, 39–45, publishes a head, now in the Alexandria Museum, bearing on the base the inscription *Ξενοφῶν*. He discusses other busts of the famous Athenian.

(20) ZAKI ALY, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 38, 55–88, 'Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Bellou', publishes the first batch of a series of forty funerary stelae bearing reliefs, found at the site of the ancient Terenuthis, and now in the Michigan University Museum. The inscriptions themselves are unimportant, but the reliefs are of value as a contribution to the 'orantes'-tombstones of Graeco-Roman Egypt, and the author makes a careful, if rather derivative, study of the main types. Cf. also no. (57).

(21) AHMED FAKRY, *Bahria Oasis*, II, 80–82, publishes four Greek inscriptions from villages of this oasis south of the Wadi Natrun. Of nos. 1–3 he gives only a copy and no transcription, and of no. 4 a transcription and no copy. No. 1 should probably be restored thus: *Ἡρακλεῖ θεῶ μεγιστῶ* [—] *Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ* [—] *ἀνὴρ θῶσεν ἐκ καινῆς τὸ [ν ναὸν καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα] πάντα* —ras. — | —ras. — | —*ἔτους ἐνάτου Ἀύτοκρ [άτορος—]* *Σεβαστοῦ* — If the erasures are deliberate they were probably made after a *damnatio*. No. 2 is mutilated beyond repair. No. 3, *αρματικωνμειπτωμεχ* should evidently be read as *Σ]αρματικῶν Μεγίστων Μέχ[ειρ—]* and refer to a date in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (A.D. 176–180). No. 4 is a puzzling fragment of which I can make nothing certain.

(22) R. REMONDON, *Chron. d'Ég.* 26, 156–61, publishes two graffiti from the neighbourhood of Siwa, noted by Ahmed Fakry in *Siwa Oasis*, 1944, pp. 147–9. One consists of a single name *Ανκητος*, which R. proposes to understand as *Ἄν(ι)κητος*, and the other of the words *Πνεφερῶς νεκρωσωλιστής*, probably to be understood as *νεκροστολιστής*, otherwise unattested but cognate to *νεκροστόλος*. The author discusses the functions of *στολισταί* in general. A reference to H. C. YOUTIE, *TAPA*, 71, pp. 650 ff., would have been in place here, as MR. C. H. ROBERTS points out to me.

(23) G. MICHAILIDES, *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* 31, 297–314, 'Jeux gymniques et scéniques en Égypte', discusses many objects, largely from his own collection, relating to gymnastic and theatrical activity in Egypt. The evidence covers a wide range of material, fabrics, terracottas, etc., in which various aspects of this activity are represented, and also includes objects used by performers, such as strigils, masks, etc. Some reins bear the inscription *Διοσκόροις*, and a bronze disque is inscribed in point-lettering *Ἀπολλόδωρός μ' ἀνέθηκε Ἀπόλλωνι*. This is dated by M. to the fourth century B.C. It is certainly not later than the early Hellenistic period.

(24) G. MICHAILIDES, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copt.* 13, 37–110, 'Vestiges du culte solaire parmi les Chrétiens d'Égypte', publishes a detailed and richly illustrated study of Christian funerary symbolism in which the inscriptions on the tombstones play a subsidiary part to the actual reliefs. The author collects and analyses much scattered material.

(25) G. MICHAILIDES, *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* 32, 291–324, 'Sur quelques tendances religieuses: à propos de deux urnes cinéraires et d'une situle à forme phallique', publishes further interesting objects from his collection, namely, two funerary amphorae, one bearing the inscription *σεμνή ἐσιῆς Θοσοθυμῖς*, the other *Θόας Ἀριστονίκου*, and a phallic-shaped uninscribed situla. These lead him to a detailed and wide-ranging study of many aspects of Graeco-Roman religious beliefs; he dwells particularly on the significance attached to death by drowning, and to immersion.

(26) C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1950, the first full-length study of an important aspect of ancient religion, by the acknowledged master of this material, is a work of



outstanding importance. It consists of a general discussion in which particular emphasis is laid on the part played by Egyptian beliefs in the genesis of these charms (pp. 22 ff.), and a catalogue of amulets in which most known types are included. The gems are mostly inscribed and the author discusses in detail the interpretation of the inscriptions.

(27) C. BONNER, *Hesperia*, 20, 301-45, 'Amulets, chiefly in the British Museum', gives some addenda to the foregoing study.

(28) G. ROEDER, *Ein Jahrzehnt deutscher Ausgrabungen in einer ägyptischen Stadtruine* (Deutsche Hermopolis-Expedition, 1929-39), Hildesheim, 1951, summarizes the achievements of the expedition and gives a history of the site. On p. 38 he refers to a statuary-group (reproduced on pl. 8c) with the dedication Ἐρμῆος Ἀπολλωνίου [κ]αὶ Θάϊς καὶ τὰ τέκνα vac. Ἀφροδίτῃ θεᾷ μεγίστῃ. L.ε (perhaps of Ptolemy X: 82 B.C.).

#### IV. Studies of previously published texts

(29) E. LITTMANN, *Misc. Acad. Berol.* II, 2 (1950), pp. 97-127, re-edits the Ethiopic inscriptions from Aksum, previously published by him in *Deutsche Aksum Exped.* IV, 1913, and offers new readings. No. I is the Sabaeo and Ethiopic version of the trilingual of which OGIS 200 is the Greek text, and in his discussion L. makes frequent reference to the Greek text.

(30) L. ROBERT, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 39, 130-1, offers new and wholly convincing restorations of the early dedication to Sarapis published by WACE, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, Farouk I Univ. 2, 17 ff. (cf. ROBERT, *RÉG* 63, 211, no. 221). The whole text now reads:

Ἀσκληπιόδ[. . . ος Εὔ]βουλος Εὔ[βούλου] Σαράπ[ιδι]. Ἄρποκρατίων Πολέμω[νος καὶ τὰ] τούτου τέκνα, Ἄρποκρατίων, - - ]ριον, ἐπεσκεύασαν, [ἔτους - - ] Σεβαστοῦ Φαρμού[θι ]

(31) M. T. LENGER, *Chron. d'Ég.* 25, 324-7, 'Le Dernier décret des Lagides' (SB 7337), after examining the stone is able to report that the mystifying iota in l. 15 between νομῶν and ὄν τρόπον is a crack on the surface of the stone. A valuable observation. (A. WILHELM, *Wien. Stud.* 61-62, 170-1, calls attention to the correct interpretation of l. 22 of this stone).

(32) M. SCHWABE, *Tarbiz*, 19, 198-9, writes in Hebrew on some Christian inscriptions including LEFEBVRE, *Recueil*, 533. I do not understand Hebrew, and hope that the author will publish his remarks in English or another European language at some time.

#### V. Religion

(33) M. P. NILSSON's *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II, 1950, which contains a most judicious survey of all aspects of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman religion is, inevitably, much concerned with epigraphical material. It is a book to read from cover to cover.

(34) A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Cl. Ph.* 46, 81-92, 'Amulettes magiques à propos d'un ouvrage récent', raises questions arising from a reading of C. BONNER's work, no. (26).

(35) In a far more popular vein, but not wholly without merit, in so far as it makes an honest attempt to utilize ancient sources, Greek inscriptions among them, and shows some acquaintance with modern scholarship, is SELIM HASSAN's *The Sphinx* (Cairo, 1949), in which the author discusses and translates several of the inscriptions on the Sphinx at Gīzah to illustrate the social background of ancient visitors to the monument.

(36) P. M. FRASER, *Cl. Rev.* 63, 92-94 proposes an alternative explanation of Zeus Seleukeios recently studied by J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica*, 6, and is sternly chastised by them for doing so. He refers to the use of Σελεύκειος as an ethnic in a graffito from the Valley of the Kings.

(37) W. OTTO, *Beiträge zur Hierodulie im hellenistischen Ägypten* (ed. F. Zucker) *Abh. Bayer.* N.F. 29, 1949), is a posthumous work of the great historian on a subject which had long preoccupied him. For the main thesis of this important work v. the review of H. DE MEULENAERE, *Biblioth. Orient.* 8, 220-3. The author makes wide use of epigraphical material to establish the categories of temple servants and priests. The whole is a most important contribution to our understanding not only of hierodulia but also of the status and duties of all the clerical staff of the Egyptian temples in the Graeco-Roman period. O. also treats in detail inscriptions dealing with Egyptian cults outside Egypt (v. esp. pp. 66 ff.), and deals particularly with the status of the neocoroi of Sarapis (pp. 37 ff., 66 ff.).

(38) F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Journ. Jur. Pap.* 3, 138-41, 'Encore sur le décret dionysiaque de Ptolemée Philopator', interprets the text as a financial measure and supports his interpretation by reference to several inscriptions concerning the exercise of public control over cults, outside Egypt.

(39) In *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 137, 207-35, 'Histoire des cultes royaux ptolémaïques', and *Chron. d'Ég.* 25, 283-316, 'La Dynastie ptolémaïque et la religion dionysiaque', J. TONDRIAU continues his studies of Ptolemaic ruler cult (for some previous articles *v. Étud. Pap.* 7, 1-15; *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 37, 1-24; *Chron. d'Ég.* 23, 127-46). The first of these articles is of a fairly general nature, and is less a bare list of sources than some of T.'s previous productions. Inscriptions naturally play a large part in his discussion, and a full bibliography is given of, among other items, the Pompe of Callixenus and connected documents, though the author himself has nothing fresh to add (his adhesion to the chronology of Tarn seems to have been determined by the Phoenician inscription published by HONEYMAN, *JEA* 26, 57-67; cf. also GOW, *Theocritus*, II, 265, n. 2; for the correct interpretation of this inscription, against TARN, *v. DRIVER*, *JEA* 36, 82). The second article is little more than a list of documents indicating a connexion between the dynasty and Dionysiac cults, and numerous inscriptions are included. The author has nothing new to say of them, and they can easily be found in the article, so they need not be noted individually here. The author's passion for bibliographical reference here finds full scope, for instance, in regard to *BGU* 1211, and there is no doubt that the references will be of great value.

(40) In *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 42, 209-31, A. J. FESTUGIÈRE studies, under the title 'Les Arétalogies d'Isis', the problem of the original language of the 'Praises of Isis', arising from R. HARDER's paper, *Abh. Berl.* 1943, 'Karpokrates von Chalkis', and rejects, as does A. D. NOCK, *Gnomon*, 21, 221-8, the view of Harder that the surviving Greek 'Praises' are translations from an Egyptian original.

(41) F. W. VON BISSING, *Sitzb. München*, 1951 (2), 'Versuch zur Bestimmung der Grundbedeutung des Wortes "NUTR"', discusses the hieroglyphic and demotic equivalents of the words *ιερός* and *ἐνλόγιμος* (not *εὐλόγιμος*, as VON BISSING gives), found in the Rosetta and Canopus decrees respectively (*OGIS* 90, l. 31 (not 'Z. 91'); *ibid.* 56, l. 9).

(42) Ch. PICARD, *RA*, 1950 (1), pp. 135-46, 'Une oenochoe trouvée à Glanum', identifies a vase found at Glanum as an oenochoe of the Ptolemaic type which bore portraits of the Ptolemaic queens and princesses, and had painted inscriptions of the type *Ἀγαθῆς Τυχῆς Ἀρωσῆς Φιλαδέλφου* (cf. COURBY, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 511).

(43) The article of S. MORENZ, *Würz. Jahrb.* IV (1949-50), 370-8, 'Vespasian, Heiland der Kranken', brings us to the verge of *Kaisermystik* in tracing the religious background of the story in *Tac. Hist.* IV, 81, concerning the healing by Vespasian of the sick Alexandrians. In his discussion he notes the concept of the *εἰκὼν ζωσα*, and refers in this context to the Ptolemaic bilinguals, *SEG* VIII, 504 a and the Rosetta Stone (*OGIS* 90), in which the phrase occurs, while for the view that Pharaoh and Asclepius alike bring the Nile-Inundation he refers to the Paean from Ptolemais, MILNE 9265, p. 29 (cf. *Aegypt.* 11, 15 ff.).

(44) N. TURCHI, *Studi e Mat. di Stor. del. Relig.* 22, 139-48, 'I quattro inni di Isidoro', offers a translation with brief notes of the hymns inscribed at the entrance of the temple at Madinet-Madi (*SEG* VIII, 548-5; *SB* 8138-41).

(44 a) E. LAUCH, *Theol. Literaturzeit.* 76, 66, 'Eine echt hellenistische Grabschrift', gives a detailed discussion of *SB* 2134, a metrical epitaph from Ramleh, and attempts to reconstruct from it the Greek attitude to various aspects of faith and belief in the Antonine age. Much of what he has to say seems very forced (I owe knowledge of this article to Dr. S. WEINSTOCK).

#### VI. Political and social history, constitutional law

(45) M. LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, 2 vols. Paris, 1949-50 (I, pp. ix, 1-624; II, 633-1315) contains an exhaustive account of aspects of hellenistic armies other than the purely military. The first volume contains a detailed discussion of the ethnical origins of the individual soldiers known, the second a no less thorough examination of their social activity and organization. The author gives a brief index (p. 1273) of inscriptions to which he has added new readings or suggested emendations of one sort or another, or else to which he has devoted detailed discussion, and to this index it must suffice to refer here. A most valuable feature of the book is the 'Prosopographie militaire hellénistique' of 160 pages (pp. 110-1271), in which all known soldiers of hellenistic (non-national) armies are listed by their ethnicum. This is a repertorium of great value. Faced with this monumental work, the product of learning and great industry, one is doubly conscious of the loss caused by the author's early death.

(46) H. G. PFLAUM, *Les Procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris, A. Maisonneuve, 1950

(one vol. with autograph tables in separate folder), provides what will long remain the standard work in its field. It consists of an exhaustive analysis of the various procuratorial posts and of the changes to which in the course of time the procuratorial system as a whole was subject. In this investigation Egypt, of course, plays only a very small part. Since, however, the book has no index, I note those pages particularly relevant to Egypt: pp. 48, 51, 52, with nn. 11 and 12, pp. 53, 57, 65, 74, 101—these pages contain the evidence for the various procuratorial posts held in Egypt. For many of them the evidence is as much in Greek as in Latin inscriptions.

(47) F. ZUCKER, in *Aus Antike und Orient* (v. no. (4), above), pp. 146–65, writes on ‘Athen und Ägypten bis auf dem Beginn der hellenistischen Zeit’. Though Z. refers quite rightly in this connexion to *IG*<sup>2</sup> II, 119 and 356, he seems to have missed the one inscription from Egypt belonging to the fourth century attesting relations between Greece (and in particular Athens) and that country, namely, *CIG* 4702 = *SB* 8306, a list of mercenaries (presumably: usually connected with Chabrias’ expedition in 360 B.C.), consisting of five Athenians, one Boeotian, one Cyrenaean, one Corinthian, one Caryandian, and one Rhodian.

(48) S. DAVIS, *Race Relations in Ancient Egypt*, London, Methuen, 1951, the work apparently of a pupil of the late Dr. T. J. HAARHOFF [known best for his work on a wider but kindred subject, *The Stranger at the Gate*, London, Longmans, 1948 (2nd edit.)], is evidently written by one with limited knowledge of ancient sources and of some aspects of modern research. Yet, though much of the work is a cento of opinions gathered from standard modern handbooks, it is not without interest. The evidence is mainly from papyri, but in writing of the Jewish population of Egypt in the Ptolemaic age he gives (p. 71, n. 2) the evidence from inscriptions relating to Jews and Jewish life in Egypt. His list, however, is incomplete: add, at least, BRECCIA 88 (*SB* 5862); *SEG* VIII, 366 (*SB* 7454); VOGLIANO, *Riv. Fil.* 67, 247–51 (*SB* 8939).

(49) C. ROEBUCK, *Cl. Ph.* 45, 236–47, and *ibid.* 46, 212–20, writes on ‘The Grain Trade between Greece and Egypt’, and ‘The Organisation of Naucratis’. In both articles he deals with early commercial relations between Greece and Egypt. Both are well documented and careful studies, and the author includes in the first an analysis (pp. 246–7, nn. 62–63) of the ethnica occurring in the early Naucratic dedications. The second article includes a note (p. 219, n. 26) on the possible alternative readings in the Rhodian decree, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 110, *Αἰγ[υπτίων]* and *Αἰγ[ύπτιον]*; R. decides in favour of the latter in view of the nearly contemporary Lindian text which refers to a proxenos of Lindos as *ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντα*, but which gives him no ethnicum (*Inscr. Lind.* 16, app.). ‘Evidently’, says R., ‘Naucratic Greeks might be referred to as Egyptians or as residing in Egypt.’ But this hardly seems to affect the possibility of the honorand of *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 110 being an Aeginetan.

(49a) F. W. VON BISSING, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 39, 33–82, ‘Naucratis’, gives a detailed account of the city, its origin and development, and makes full use of epigraphical evidence.

(50) J. SCHWARTZ, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 49, 45–55, ‘Ti. Claudius Balbillus’, discusses the various personalities of this name known in the time of Claudius and Nero, and comes to the conclusion that the procurator honoured at Ephesus, the Prefect of Egypt, and the astrologer are to be identified, while the like-named ambassador of the Alexandrians to Claudius (BELL, *Jews and Christians*, pp. 23 ff.) is the father of this individual. There are, however, difficulties in this: v. ROBERT, *REG* 64 (1951), p. 147, no. 59. He also discusses the epigrams on the statue of Memnon composed by JULIA BALBILLA (*SEG* VIII, 716) and disputes PEEK’s reading of *αἶμα* in l. 3.

(51) E. MANNI, *Riv. Fil.* 77, 79–106, and *ibid.* 78, 229–62, ‘L’Egitto tolemaico nei suoi rapporti politici con Roma’, discusses the relations between Egypt and Rome from 200 B.C. until the end of the dynasty.

(52) L. H. NEATBY, *TAPA*, 81, 89–98, ‘Romano-Egyptian relations during the third century B.C.’, opens up no fresh fields, but conveniently summarizes the by now bulky literature dealing with the numismatic problems.

(53) S. APPLEBAUM, *Journ. Jew. Stud.* 2, 26–30, publishes ‘Notes on the Jewish Revolt under Trajan’. He discusses the spread of the revolt in Egypt and in this connexion refers to *CIG* 4948, from Thebes, and quotes other inscriptions in his account of the rising in Cyrene.

(54) V. MARTIN, *Journ. Jur. Pap.* 4, 143 ff., in discussing the phrase *ἀναδιδόναι εἰς γεωργίαν* occurring in a papyrus published by him there (*PGenf. Inv.* 211) compares the *ἀγεσθαι* or *ἐλκεσθαι εἰς γεωργίαν*, *εἰς μισθώσεις*, found in *OGIS* 664, l. 19 and *ibid.* 669, l. 11.

(55) M. LENGGER, *Rév. Int. Droits de l’Ant.* III (*Mélanges de Visscher*, II), 69–81, ‘Les Vestiges de la législation

des Ptolémées en Égypte a l'époque romaine', though mainly relying on papyri, refers in this connexion to the last royal decree of the Ptolemies, *SB* 7337 (cf. above, no. (30)), and to the Edict of Ti. Iul. Alexander, *OGIS* 669 (cf. no. (8) above), and holds that the latter was inspired by the former in its provisions granting relief to certain classes of agricultural workers.

(56) V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, *Rév. Int. Droits de l'Ant.* IV (*Mélanges de Visscher*, III), 7-20, 'Intorno agli *αστοί* dell' Egitto greco-romano', though his evidence is derived wholly from papyri, writes on a topic of interest to all concerned with documents from Graeco-Roman Egypt.

(57) M. N. TOD, *BSA* 46, 182-90, 'Laudatory epithets in Greek Epitaphs', gives a picture, based wholly on tombstones (epigrams excluded), of the conventional virtues of later antiquity, as depicted on its tombstones. He shows that certain epithets were confined to certain regions, grouping Egypt and Italy together as areas where, in the Imperial period, all restraint in the use of such epithets seems to vanish. To illustrate this and other points he refers to numerous inscriptions from Egypt. ZAKI ALY, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 38, 57-58 (above, no. (20)), gives a similar list of epithets which occur on the tombstones edited by him.

(58) P. E. ARIAS, *Annuario*, N.S. 8-10, 331, fig. 26, reproduces with reference to a remarkable silver plate from Cesena published by him, the mosaic with a four line (unmetrical) epigram from Sheik-Zoueda on the Sinai coast, previously published in *Ann. Serv.* 15, 25-28 (cf. *JEA* 6, 215). Since the text as there published is incomprehensible, and I do not think it has been republished, I give a transcription from the photograph in ARIAS's article: *εἰ με φιλεῖς, ὠνθρωπε, χαίρων ἐπίβαινε μελάθρων, | ψυχὴν τερπόμενος τεχνήμασιν οἰσὶν ποθ' ἡμῖν | πέπλον ἰμεροέντα χαρίτων ἢ Κύπρις ὕφανεν | λεπταλεῖ ψηφίδι, χάριν δ' ἐνεθήκατο πολλήν.*

## VII. *Prosopography*

(59) W. PEREMANS and E. VAN'T DACK, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, I, nos. 1-1824, Louvain, 1950 (*Stud. Hell.* 6) has already been reviewed by Sir Harold Bell in this Journal (*JEA* 36, 118-20), and I may therefore be brief. The work raises a question of principle, for here is what most of us, I imagine, will regard as a work executed in a perverse and eccentric manner. The authors have chosen to arrange their prosopography alphabetically within categories established according to posts held within the administration of the kingdom, and not on a simple *A-Ω* system. They explain at length and very candidly the disadvantages of this method (p. xiv) by which the evidence for one man may be scattered through three or four volumes, of which only one has so far appeared, but nowhere state what compensations we are offered for this vexatious system which in practice makes the work virtually unusable in its present form.

The execution of the work is only moderately satisfactory, and some important information is lacking, perhaps because, as the authors state, they have read only the standard historical authors (excluding JACOBY's *Fragmente*) so far! The main points of criticism in detail lie in the first part of the book which contains the names of the officials of the central administration. Here inscriptions and literary evidence play an important part, whereas naturally the officials of the villages and the nomes are for the most part known only from papyri. From this first part the editors' scant preparation for their task is very obvious. I note a few points.

No. 48. the elder Sosibius. The vital evidence for Sosibius is the Callimachus-scholion published for the first time in PFEIFFER's *Callimachus*, I, fr. 384. It is possible that the authors did not have access to this. Also of importance is MAAS's article in *Mélanges Grégoire*, I, 443-8, which analyses the text of POLYBIUS, xv, 25 (though I myself am not sure that MAAS is right). Much of what is included in this and other entries, apparently in the belief that they are official titles, are simply descriptions of an individual given by a historian: v. BELL, loc. cit. No. 155: it seems doubtful whether this official is in charge of Alexandria (*ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως*). *ἐν* and not *ἐπὶ* suggests that he was not. Since the only document in which he is mentioned is a Nesiotic decree passed in his honour he may have been appointed by Ptolemy to reside in Alexandria with the post of *στρατηγός* and look after the interests of the Nesioties in the city. No. 165: this is definitely Alexandrian: v. SEGRE, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 32-33, 135-6. No. 169: this should be omitted. *Archiv.* 2, 436, no. 32 = *IGR* I, 1151, shows it to be of the reign of Titus. This latter inscription was apparently unknown to the authors. No. 176: Alexandrian; cf. note on no. 165. No. 183: there is no reference to CALLIM. *Dieg.* VI, I, on fr. 191 Pf., the vitally important text. No. 185: for Sostratus the authors have omitted all the important evidence from outside Egypt: *IG* XI, 4, 1038 (*OGIS* 67; *Choix* 21); *ibid.* 563 (*Choix* 22); *ibid.* 1130 (*OGIS* 68; *Choix* 23); *ibid.* 1190 (*Choix* 24); *Fouilles de Delphes* III, I, 299 (*OGIS* 66); *BCH* 64-65, 63, no. 3.

Where too are the epigrams of Posidippus? Still unread? They are to be found in PAGE, *Gr. Lit. Pap.* 1, 444, no. 104.

(60) W. PEREMANS and E. VAN'T DACK, *Chron. d'Ég.* 26, 386–90, 'Notes prosopographiques', illustrate by four rapprochements hitherto unobserved the value of their prosopographical studies.

(61) A. STEIN'S *Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Diss. Bern. Ser. 1, fasc. 1, 1950), is a work of the first importance in its field. It gives an up-to-date and exhaustive account of the individual prefects of Egypt. The only other work of recent years, that by O. W. REINMUTH, *The Prefect of Egypt* (*Klio*, Beiheft, xxxiv), dealt, as its title implies, primarily with the office and not with the individual holders of it. Considerable additions to our knowledge made a new list of prefects desirable. Of both inscriptions and papyri Stein makes characteristically thorough use. The book consists of a detailed list of the Prefects from Gallus to the reign of Diocletian (pp. 14–166), with an analysis of all the relevant evidence, followed by a brief 'Zusammenfassung', pp. 167–90, and a chronological table of the sequence of Prefects. It does not therefore take the place of, but supplements, REINMUTH'S valuable survey of the functions and duties of the Prefect. An index of sources, notably of papyri and inscriptions, would have been of great assistance.

(62) F. ZUCKER, *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1950 (1), 'Plotin und Lykopolis', discusses the evidence for the birth-place of the philosopher, admits the possibility that it might have been the Lykopolis of the Delta known only from the Rosettana (*OGIS* 90, l. 22) and one passage of Polybius, but concludes that in fact it was the Lykopolis of the Thebaid. He then attempts to reach conclusions regarding the nature and status of the population of the city in the time of the philosopher, and in this context quotes *OGIS* 709 and *CIG* 4708–9 = Kaibel 414–15 (*SB* 8314–15).

#### VIII. *Lexicography*

(63) P. M. FRASER, *Chron. d'Ég.* 26, 162–3, and corrigendum, *ibid.* 27, 290, 'ἀρχιπροστάτης, ἀρχιπροστατέω', examines the meaning of these two terms and denies that they refer to the exercise of an office in a synagogue, or have any specifically Jewish connexion.

(64) P. M. FRASER, *Eranos* 49, 102–8, '-κύρω, -κυρέω', studies the use of *προσκύρω, προσκυρέω, συγ(ν)κύρω, συγ(ν)κυρέω* in documents of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods.

(65) A new edition (the fourth) of W. BAUER'S invaluable *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1949, has been undertaken. It has so far progressed as far as *ἐνέχω*. Though the edition is described as 'völlig neu bearbeitete' it may be doubted whether a new edition was really necessary. The high standard of the third (1937) edition has never been questioned, and the amount of new material since that date is relatively very slight. In the few important entries which I have checked (*ἀγαπή, βασιλεία, εἰρήνη*) the only changes seem to be that B. has added a very few additional references to pagan literature, and some recent bibliographical material. [Since this was written, the rest of the work has been published, and will be noted in the next bibliography.]

#### IX. *Private law*

(66) In his monumental work, *The Greek Law of Sale*, Weimar, 1950, F. PRINGSHEIM makes continuous use of epigraphical material though most of it comes from outside Egypt. He provides, pp. 545–50, a special index of the inscriptions utilized. The work, naturally, is of a highly technical nature and must be studied in conjunction with the discussions of it by other acknowledged authorities in the field: L. GERNET, *Rév. Hist. Droit. Franç. et Ét.* 29, 560–84; V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, *Iura* 2, 281–91; H. J. WOLFF, *ZSS* 681, 541–53. To the same field belongs the same author's detailed discussion of the Greek Sale by Auction in *Scritti in onore di Contardo Ferrini*, public. in occas. della sua beatificazione, IV, 1949, 284–343, 'The Greek Sale by Auction'.

#### X. *Geography, topography, etc.*

(67) A. BATAILLE, *Chron. d'Ég.* 26, 325–53, 'Thèbes gréco-romaine', a summary of two forthcoming doctoral theses on the same topic, makes frequent reference to inscriptions from Egyptian Thebes, and offers, on p. 349, n. 4, an ingenious solution of the isopsephic inscription, *CIG* 4759.

(68) In his general survey of Euhemeria, *Journ. Jur. Pap.* 3, 63–100, 'Euhémérie du Fayoum', N. HOHLWEIN makes use of the asyilia-decrees, *SB* 6154–5 (pp. 66–67, 74).

(69) D. CLARKE, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, Farouk I Univ., 5, 99–102, 'Alexandria ad Aegyptum: a Survey', enters into a difficult field. The article indicates considerable inexperience.

Cf. no. (14).

XI. *Nubia and Ethiopia*

(70) The seventh and final volume of the first edition (a second is already in preparation: *v. Ox. Univ. Gaz.* 2733, Suppl. 2, Mar. 10, 1952, p. 644) of PORTER and MOSS, *Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1951, deals with 'Nubia, the Deserts and outside Egypt', and is a mine of information for other than hieroglyphic scholars. Greek epigraphists will welcome the full bibliography on such sites as Talmis (Kalabshah) and El-Khargah, famous more for their Greek than their hieroglyphic inscriptions.

(71) P. L. SHINNIE, *Sudan Notes*, 31, 297-9, 'A Note on some Fragments of Stamped Pottery from Christian Nubia', publishes five pieces of stamped pottery from the northern Sudan of which the first three are dated by him to the ninth or tenth centuries while the last two may be earlier on stylistic grounds. They bear stamped representations of unidentifiable tiara-ed heads. The first three of these pieces bear an inscription *Ρωμαιοσ* (abbreviated in no. 3), and the other two have the inscription *Πέρσοσ*. S. suggests that the first group may be copied from an east Roman original, perhaps a coin or a medallion; of the inscription on the other two he says: 'Whether this is to be taken as a name or an ethnic description cannot be said', but in view of the similarity with the types stamped *Ρωμαιοσ* it seems very probable that it is an ethnicum. I can, however, see no satisfactory explanation of the pieces as a whole.

Cf. no. (29).

XI. *The Ptolemaic Empire*

(72) O. H. E. BURMESTER, *Bull. Fac. Arts*, Farouk I Univ. 5, 49-72, 'Cyprus in Hellenistic and Roman Times', gives a general survey of the subject, and makes considerable use of epigraphical evidence of the Ptolemaic period. The article also includes a survey of the archaeological remains of the island for the period in question. The whole is descriptive rather than critical.

(73) E. WEISS, *Scritti in onore di Contardo Ferrini*, public. in occas. della sua beatificazione, IV, 232-53, offers new interpretations of the Ptolemaic documents contained in *SEG IX*, 5. Much of this article is so badly printed that its meaning cannot always be made out—one can only imagine that the author never saw any proofs—and the reproduction of the Greek text is so unreliable as to be quite valueless. Nevertheless those who persevere will be rewarded. WEISS opposes the view of V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, *Riv. Fil.* 65, 266-77, according to which ll. 1-32 (col. 1) and ll. 33-46 (col. 2, ll. 14-26) all form part of one document, and he examines ll. 47-61 (col. 2, ll. 14-26) the Royal Letter of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, with especial reference to the *δικαστικὸν διάγραμμα* there mentioned. He concludes with a discussion of the *ἀδέσποτα* (l. 64) and other terms in the *πρόσταγμα*. The whole is—or would have been, if it had been properly printed—a valuable contribution to our understanding of the documents.

(74) P. M. FRASER, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 39, 132-43, in publishing an inscription of the fourth century B.C. from Euesperides, refers to the Constitution of Cyrene imposed by Ptolemy I (*SEG IX*, 1).

(75) T. A. SINCLAIR, *Greek Political Thought*, London, Methuen, 1952, includes a general account of the Cyrenaean constitution of Ptolemy I on pp. 267-8; cf. also K. M. T. CHRIMES, *Ancient Sparta*, Manchester University Press, 1949, pp. 16 ff.

Cf. no. (9).

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

## Spell 413 of the Pyramid Texts

IN his *Götterglaube*, p. 50, n. 6, H. Kees speaks of Djebaʿwe!  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓}$ , a locality in the neighbourhood of, if not identical with,  $\text{𓆑}$  Pe (Buto), as the birthplace of Horus. Wishing to verify this contention, I looked up the various passages which he quotes, and in particular *Pyr.* 734c, a sentence occurring in Spell 413. This led to a study of the entire spell in question, for enlightenment concerning which I naturally turned to Sethe's *Übersetzung und Kommentar* III, 359 ff. Those who will take the trouble to consult the pages in question will quickly realize why I felt justified in attempting a different version of my own. Here it is:

Raise thee, my father. Thy water to thee! Thy inundation to thee! Thy milk to thee which is in the breasts of my mother Isis! Raise thee, thou who gavest birth to Horus, who gavest birth to him who is in Djebaʿwe, like Seth who is in Henhene (?). This Great One lies sleeping, (he) tosses and turns (?).<sup>2</sup> Awake, Teti, raise thee, receive unto thyself thy head, collect unto thyself thy bones, shake thee off thy dust, and take thy seat on this thy throne of brass, that thou mayest eat the foreleg, digest the haunch and partake of thy cutlets in heaven in company with the gods.

Nothing could be plainer than that this short spell is a unity, a summons to the dead Osiris, here equated with the deceased king Teti, to arise from the tomb where he lies desiccated amid the dust, to assemble his bones and recover that moisture which is necessary to corporeal life, so that he may assume his kingship among the gods, and with them assuage his long dormant appetite. The speaker is the living king Horus. Several fancies are here woven into a harmonious whole: death as a sleeping, resurrection as a rebirth involving the need for a mother's milk, Osiris not only as a defunct terrestrial king, but also as the land of Egypt needing the inundation in order to renew its fertility. Such at least is my reading of the passage. In one crucial point Sethe was certainly wrong: *ts tw* in 734c must be an imperative, like the same words in 734a and 735b, and this involves taking *ms Hr*, *ms imi Dbrwt* as a vocative with *ms* as perfective active participle. Horus is evidently here identified with the anonymous heron-god of Djebaʿwe, as is clear also from *Pyr.* 1668a, 1993c, and to that extent Djebaʿwe was one of his homes, though not his birth-place. The one troublesome phrase in the spell is that concerning Seth, for which I have no plausible explanation to offer.

ALAN H. GARDINER

## Champollion and the biliteral signs

IN Griffith's admirable article reprinted in *JEA* 37 there is a statement which, without being definitely wrong, is misleading, and which did in fact mislead me when dealing with the same circumstance on p. 15 of my *Egyptian Grammar*. Griffith wrote, p. 43, ll. 5-6: 'At the same time he met with a cartouche containing the figure of Thoth followed by the same sign *mes*.' But Champollion never realized that  $\text{𓆑}$  was to be read as *ms*; he rightly interpreted  $\text{𓆑}$  as *ms*, but to the end of his life



<sup>1</sup> Or should we read *Dbr-hrwt*?

<sup>2</sup> The same sentences in 894a, but with substitution of *wrs* for *sqr* and the necessary repetition of the subject with *ib*; there too a condition precedent to an awakening is described. The verb *ib* must, I think, belong to the stem meaning 'dance' (*Wb.* I, 62, 8) and in that case the determinative  $\circ$  in 894a will not be that used in connexion with *mw* 'die' as Sethe supposed, but rather that employed in *Pyr.* with *dbn* 'move around', see *Wb.* v, 436, 12.

maintained that the value of  $\text{𓂏}$  was simple *m*.<sup>1</sup> It was Lepsius<sup>2</sup> who detected this error, though he did not formulate his conclusion in the same terms as we are accustomed to do nowadays. It is only fair to mention that Erman<sup>3</sup> was, like Sottas and Drioton,<sup>4</sup> well aware of Champollion's very natural, indeed almost inevitable, misconception; if Griffith was not so aware, he may have owed the oversight to Fräulein Hartleben (*Champollion*, I, 420-1) in whom, as not being a professional Egyptologist, it was quite excusable.

ALAN H. GARDINER

### $\text{ꜥd}$ = 'duck'

IN *Wb.* I, 9, 5 ff.   $\text{ꜥd}$  is regarded as meaning 'bird' in general, and that view is certainly correct from an early date, but it is possible that originally this word had a narrower sense. In the development of language specific terms apparently are earlier in appearance than general ones, and—to state our conclusion in advance—there seems some reason to think that  $\text{ꜥd}$  originally may have meant not generally 'bird', but more precisely 'duck'. The evidence is admittedly slender, but perhaps not insignificant. Thus in *Pyr.* § 461 we read 'The face of WN. is that of falcons (*bikw*), the wings of WPN. are those of  $\text{ꜥdw}$ ', where there is an obvious contrast with *bikw*, and the determinatives of  $\text{ꜥdw}$  in W. seem, so far as can be judged from Sethe's autograph copy, to represent water-fowl—note the spoon-bill at the end. The same contrast occurs in 'thou ascendest to the sky as do falcons, thy feathers are those of  $\text{ꜥdw}$ ', *Pyr.* § 913. Other birds come into the picture in 'He flies, he flies from you, O men, as do  $\text{ꜥdw}$ , he wrests his arms from you as does a falcon (var. MN. *šmn* 'goose'), he has removed himself from you as does a kite (*drit*)', *Pyr.* § 1484, where the picture is that of a bird escaping the hand of the fowler clutching at its wings. We thus see that in these three passages from the Pyramid Texts the  $\text{ꜥd}$  is presented as a specific type of bird, distinct alike from falcon, kite, and goose. In *Pyr.* § 1530 the colour of an  $\text{ꜥd}$  is green, suggesting a mallard, which is greenish on head and neck, and the word is again contrasted with *šmn* 'goose', while in Davies, *Ptahhetep*, II, pl. 5, the birds described by the collective  $\text{ꜥdw$ t (translated non-committally 'table-birds' on p. 12) are obviously water-fowl and almost certainly ducks; their necks are too short for geese. Further, in the examples of  $\text{ꜥd}$  which occur in Montet, *Vie privée*, 59 f., the determinative is  (Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 472, G 42), which appears to represent a duck. It therefore seems not improbable that  $\text{ꜥd}$  originally meant simply 'duck' (including in this term perhaps also other small water-fowl); but in due course this word came to mean 'bird' in general, possibly because in the undrained marshes of early Egypt ducks probably greatly outnumbered the other species of birds.

R. O. FAULKNER

### A $\text{ḥb-sd}$ Stela of Amenophis III

THIS little monument, which is here published for the first time, was brought to Europe from Egypt some fifteen years ago by a well-known dealer in this class of antiquities. In the nature of the case, nothing is known of its previous history except what can be learnt from the object itself, which is believed to be now in the United States of America. The description given below is based on three photographs in the writer's possession (reproduced by courtesy of Dr. Eric Cassirer, a previous owner), augmented by his vivid recollection of the original.

<sup>1</sup> *Précis*, 1st ed., p. 241; 2nd ed., pp. 269, 291; *Grammaire égyptienne*, p. 41, No. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettre à . . . Rosellini*, §§ 34-36.

<sup>3</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1922, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Introduction à l'étude des hiéroglyphes*, 110.





FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

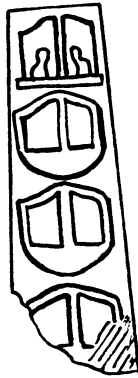


FIG. 4

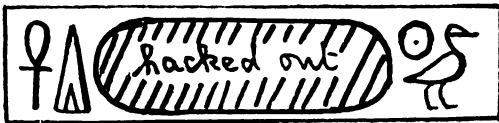


FIG. 5. The top.



FIG. 6

The stone, whose approximate dimensions are  $10 \times 9$  cm., is of white alabaster and, having the shape of an Egyptian temple pylon, tapers somewhat towards the top. It is broken approximately in half; the upper portion alone appears to have survived.

*Front view* (figs. 1 and 2). The god Heh, symbolizing a 'million', is represented holding in each hand a palm-branch with several notches, this being the hieroglyph for 'years' (*rnput*). The latter is now only extant on the left-hand side of the monument. Above Heh, and touched by his head as if this were supporting it, is the cartouche of Amenophis III.<sup>1</sup> In the depressions on either side of

<sup>1</sup> For the titulary and cartouches of this king, see Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois*, II, 306 ff.

the god's head are the familiar formulae *di nḥ* (right) and *mi r* (left), translated respectively 'given life' and 'like Rē'. Fig. 3 shows the same theme on the base of a scarab commemorating the identical Pharaoh.<sup>1</sup>

*Side view.* This is of great interest with regard to the nature and purpose of the monument under discussion, especially in view of the lack of comparative material. We have here a series of *hb*-signs of which, on the left-hand side, two remain intact, while a third (the lowest in the present condition of the stone) is partly broken away. Above these three signs and topping the flank is the *sd*-emblem, establishing a connexion with the much-discussed *sd*-festival or royal jubilee.<sup>2</sup> The arrangement of the signs is illustrated on the accompanying rough sketch (fig. 4).

*Top view.* This view is not included in the photographs at my disposal. The *sr*-title is followed by a cartouche which has been completely deleted, resumed by the customary *di nḥ*. There can be little doubt that this act of vandalism was perpetrated under the king's son and successor, the reformer Akhenaten. (See fig. 5).

*Back view* (fig. 6). Here the same phenomenon as that described above is observable. The king's prenomen and cognomen are alternatively inscribed, each one originally occurring twice. The cartouches are preceded by conventional formulae of good omen in accordance with the following scheme:

1. All life and dominion for (prenomen).
2. All health for (cognomen; destroyed).
3. All joy for (prenomen).
4. All strength and victory<sup>3</sup> for (cognomen; broken off except for small tip of cartouche with signs of hacking).

The treatment suffered by the stela suggests that it was displayed in some fairly prominent position at the commencement of the 'Amānah period, perhaps in a temple or palace. The objection to it seems to have been as much to the royal family name which, in each case, was obliterated *in toto*, as to that of the god Amūn, a formative element therein. Akhenaten's dislike of his cognomen is, of course, sufficiently attested by his abandonment, in the latter part of his reign, of the same name Amenophis. It is equally clear that no offence was taken at the repeated mention of the sun-god Rē, or of that of the goddess Mā'et.

MANFRED CASSIRER

### A pearl shell disk of Ammenemes II

THE Royal Scottish Museum has recently added to its Egyptian Collection (Acc. No. 1951. 322) a pearl shell disk from El-Salmiyah inscribed with the prenomen of Ammenemes II.<sup>4</sup> This specimen was formerly in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price and appears as lot 895 in the sale catalogue of his collection, where it is also illustrated.<sup>5</sup> In a useful study of such pearl shell pendants Winlock<sup>6</sup> cites the British Museum specimen (no. 36499, no. 28 of his list), inscribed with the prenomen of

<sup>1</sup> After *Rec. Trav.* 30, pl. 2, 51. A similar specimen is illustrated in Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 30, 32. Other examples of this type, but mostly of Tuthmosis III, *ibid.* pls. 28 (4. 24), 29 (38), and 30 (19); also Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. 30, 14. 15, and *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in B.M.* nos. 682-7 (pp. 69-70). The stela incidentally provides good evidence for regarding these scarabs as genuinely belonging to Dyn. XVIII, to which the motif seems to be confined.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent discussion (with a select bibliography) is by Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 361 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The same writing of *ḫnt nḥt* also Gebel es-Silsilah No. 100, 38 (end), published in this volume by Dr. Caminos, to whom I owe the reading.

<sup>4</sup> Porter and Moss, *Top. Bib.* v, 169. Add further reference given in n. 2 below.

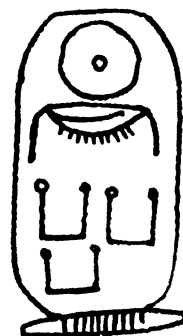
<sup>5</sup> Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, *Catalogue . . . of Egyptian Antiquities . . .*, July 12-July 21, 1911; p. 115, pl. xxi (incorrectly numbered).

<sup>6</sup> *Griffith Studies*, pp. 388 ff.

this same king, as unique, and ignores the Hilton Price example either because he was unaware of its existence or because he considered it a forgery.

At first sight, there is some justification for suspecting it to be spurious: the inscription is engraved in a 'halting amateurish hand' (see adjoining cut), the misplacing of the third sign in the *Kꜣw* group is exceptional, and the crude 'hour-glass' suspension holes, drilled from both sides, betray the hand of an unskilled jobber. The patent clumsiness of the execution, however, is over-pronounced, and one wonders whether any forger working with an authentic example either in view or in mind would have been quite so inept.

When the specimen was examined under a low-power microscope, it was seen to be covered with a calcareous film which encrusts also the incised parts of the shell—the craters of the suspension holes as well as the lines of the inscription—suggesting that the specimen is not of recent manufacture. Moreover, some of the signs show traces of a dark blue or black paste filling which underlies this deposit. It would appear therefore that the two holes were bored and the inscription engraved and filled with pigment at the time when the shell was originally worked, and that thereafter a thin chalky film has developed upon the surface of the specimen.



The experiment was made of incising the surface of the shell unobtrusively near one edge with a sharp burin. When the resulting furrow was examined it was seen that the area along the edges and in the vicinity of the scratch had been flaked away, producing an iridescence which was unmistakable under the microscope. No such effects could be detected in the incisions of the inscription despite the brittle and friable nature of the surface. Such a test should dispose of any suggestion that an antique shell has been inscribed in modern times. There seems no reason to doubt, therefore, that this Hilton Price disk is genuine: its diameter, 11 cm., is the standard measurement of such artefacts, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, its 'fundplatz' must be accepted as El-Salmīyah in the Theban area, where such specimens have commonly been found. A clumsily inscribed cartouche, it would seem, may afford no certain indication of a forged specimen, and those curators who have charge of collections containing shell disks which have come under suspicion as a result of Winlock's article may now be disposed to re-examine them.<sup>1</sup>

From his study of existing specimens, Winlock concluded that such inscribed disks were the insignia of some military organization or class raised by Sesostri I and allowed to become extinct soon after his death.<sup>2</sup> Since his article was written, however, an additional shell inscribed with the name of Sesostri III has been notified among the finds made by the Harvard-Boston expedition at Uronarti in 1928.<sup>3</sup> This specimen has a roughly incised cartouche supported on each side by a uraeus, a design which appears to be a later fashion of embellishment, and would suggest that if Winlock's theory is correct, the military organization persisted for much longer than he supposed.

As a matter of fact, there are quite a number of pectoral ornaments, some of them inscribed, which, while not actually of pearl shell, are of a form clearly derived from the natural archetype and which date from a period posterior to Sesostri I. Thus several gold pendants based upon the trimmed pearl shell were found among the Dahshūr jewellery.<sup>4</sup> The Princess Mereret had two elaborate specimens, only one of which is complete, made of gold and set with carnelian, turquoise, and lapis lazuli in cuneal motives based upon a lotus pattern.<sup>5</sup> Another and simpler version of this same design, perhaps almost contemporary with the Mereret specimen, is to be seen in the gold shell found by Lansing at Lisht, which displays the cartouche of Sesostri III, flanked by uraei as in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also nos. 17, 21, 22, and 23 of Winlock's list, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Winlock, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Arkell, *JEA* 30, 74.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèveries*, nos. 52845, 53070, 53143, 53168, 53255.

<sup>5</sup> J. de Morgan, *Dahchour*, 1, 65, no. 4, pl. xx.

Uronarti specimen, and surrounded by wedge-shapes, in granulated gold work.<sup>1</sup> A gold shell with the cartouche of Sesostris III, again supported by uraei, in soldered gold wire was found by Engelbach at Er-Riḳḳa.<sup>2</sup> An electrum specimen with the applied cartouche of Ammenemes III in wire is in the collections of University College, London, where there is also a gold shell incised with the nomen of a Seknenrē, though the inscription on this latter specimen may be suspect.<sup>3</sup> The parure of three princesses of the court of Tuthmosis III contained a large uninscribed shell pendant in gold and a smaller one in silver.<sup>4</sup> As late as the reign of Tutankhamūn, to go no farther, a plain gold pearl shell pendant was included in the king's funerary equipment, and was described by Carter as belonging to one or more strings of amulets found distributed over the floor of the 'Annexe' of the king's tomb.<sup>5</sup>

The context in which this last specimen was found should help to confirm the former view of these shells as being primarily amulets. It is evident that they were hung around the neck; and since a popular design for pectorals worn in life, at least from the Middle Kingdom onwards, seems to have been based upon the name of the king within a cartouche, we may assume that such humble specimens of this kind as the pearl shell disks were decorated with the same potent device. Congeners in precious metals appear to have been but expensive versions of the natural shell pectorals.

Objects of shell from the Red Sea littoral are more characteristic of the Nubian than the Egyptian cultures,<sup>6</sup> and are especially to be associated with 'Pan-Grave' burials as at Hū, El-Balābīsh, Mostagedda, and elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> It is surely not too daring to ascribe the appearance of this kind of amulet to that increased Nubian influence in the culture of Upper Egypt which is evident from the advent of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes;<sup>8</sup> and which was perhaps introduced by Nubian mercenaries. It would be natural for such peoples to bring their own amulets with them, and later to increase their efficacy by inscribing them with the powerful name of the king whom they served.<sup>9</sup> The engraving would be done idly, perhaps, in a moment of leisure, and with varying degrees of accuracy depending upon how far the carver was literate and skilful. It may even be that someone, more educated and nimble-fingered than most, might be commissioned to engrave shells for his fellows. Winlock observes that a number of the shells of Sesostris I are carved with a great deal of style and could all have been done by the same person.<sup>10</sup> Whatever its origin, the fashion once adopted, persisted for centuries so that even as late as Dyn. XIX, Queen Tawosret had three diminutive gold shells included in her funerary amulets or ornaments.<sup>11</sup>

CYRIL ALDRED

### SB 5174, 5175: some corrections

THESE two fine documents, published by Sayce in *REG* 3 (1890) 134 ff. (from which the text in SB 5174, 5175 was reprinted without further verification) have recently been discovered in University College, London. Examination of them shows that Sayce's copies are faulty. The majority of the corrections (which have to do with matters of orthography and diplomatic) are reserved for the next

<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Expedition 1923-4*, pp. 41, 42, fig. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, p. 12, pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, Amulets, nos. 112c and 112d. Winlock, *JEA* 10, 259.

<sup>4</sup> Winlock, *Treasure of Three Princesses*, p. 25, pl. xii.

<sup>5</sup> Information taken from Carter's card index (No. 620/71) in the Griffith Institute, by kind permission of Dr. Harden.

<sup>6</sup> Lucas, *Materials*, 1948, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> See particularly Brunton: *Mostagedda*, para. 171.

<sup>8</sup> Cf., for instance, the appearance of the 'paddle-doll'; see Winlock, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Expedition 1930-1*, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> The reply of the Medjay in the 5th Semnah Despatch, 'We have come to serve the Great House', may have some significance in this connexion. See Smither, *JEA* 31, 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Griffith Studies*, p. 390.

<sup>11</sup> Vernier, op. cit., no. 52682.

volume of the *Berichtigungsliste*, but a few that are of wider importance are noted below. The misleading term *ἐνορία ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας* disappears, and the ghost-word *ἀγγραμματεύω* can be exorcised from Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, and LSJ. On the other hand, the term *ἄπλωμα* (5174, 5, 9, 16), which LSJ hesitated to accept from the *Wörterbuch*, and *κωντοναίτωρ* (5175, 21) are confirmed.

5174, 1 Ὑπατία Φλαουίων Παύλου καὶ Μοσχιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων Θῶθ δεκάτη [ἐ]κτης ἰνδικτί(ονος) ἐν Ἀρσω(οιτῆ) ἐπαρχί(ας) Ἀρκαδίας. 2 Φύων is quite clear. 3 πᾶσαν δεσποτίαν, υἱῶ Ἄπα (>) οἰκοῦντι. 4, 5 ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς προσοῦσι[ν αὐτῶ] 5 δικαίους, μετὰ is clear. 8 χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια). 12 καὶ (not κατὰ) τὴν νομὴν. 15 Μελιτιανῶ τῶ ὑπάρχον. 16 ὠλωκλήρου. 17 Κυρίλ'λου, ἀγγραμμάτου ὄντος, Ἀυρήλιος Παῦλος. 18, 19 Ἀυρήλιος Εὐλόγιος υἱὸς Εὐφρωντίου ἀπό, μαρτύρω τῆδε τῆ πράσι, ὀκτῶ καὶ τῶν, Ἀυρήλιος Νεῖλος. 20 Ὁρήλιος Ἄπα Ὁλ υἱὸς Ἑλλᾶ (offered with reserve).

5175, 1 Φλαουίων, τῶν λαμπρο(στάτων), ἰνδικτί(ονος) ἐν Ἀρσω(οιτῆ) ἐπαρχί(ας) Ἀρκαδίας. 2 μοναστηρίου Μικροῦ. 5 τοῖς προσοῦσιν αὐτῶ, ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου. 8 ἐντεῦθεν is clear, Παπνουθίου καὶ Ἰουλίω (l. -ου) τὴν συμπεφωνημένην. 14 καὶ (not κατὰ) τὴν νομὴν, τοῖς αὐτῶν κληρονόμοις. 15 τιμὴν διπλῆν. 17 τῆσδε τῆς πράσεως (not λυτρώσεως). 19 ὑπωλέλιπτε ἄπρατων. 21 Φλ(άουιος) Τιμοθέως (as Wilcken) υἱὸς Ἀβρααμίου, ἔγραψα, ἀγγραμμάτου ὄντος. 22 τραπέζ(ίτης) (not τρωτηξ), Πήκτινος υἱὸς Ἄπα Ὁλ.

In both documents the docket seems to me to read  $\text{P}^{\text{I}}$  di emu Eulogiu eptuchthe δι εμου Ευλογιου in its first line, and to have nothing in the second except three oblique embroidered strokes.

E. G. TURNER

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Arrest and Movement. An Essay on Space and Time in the representational Art of the ancient Near East.*

By H. A. GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT. Faber & Faber Limited, London, 1951. Pp. xxiv+222, figs. 47, pls. 94. 50s.

It is a matter of regret that this finely got-up volume dealing with a fascinating topic of great cultural significance should be written in a perversely obscure style which at times almost reaches the plane of utter unintelligibility. Reading it through has proved a Herculean labour, and even after days of sedulous study the reviewer is not at all sure of having fully grasped the meaning of Mrs. Frankfort's esoterically written lengthy essay.

The *leit-motiv* of the book is the problem of monumentality in the representational art of the ancient Near East. According to Mrs. Frankfort 'the criterion of monumental art should, in fact, lie in a tension between the ephemeral and the lasting, between concrete event and transcendent significance'. In the light of this not altogether clear criterion Mrs. Frankfort finds that, but for one passing moment in the Nineteenth Dynasty, Egyptian art always fell short of monumentality: Sethos I's war reliefs on the outside of the north wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak, particularly those depicting the battles against Canaanites and Hittites, alone possess that inner tension which makes them truly monumental. Only sporadically did Mesopotamian art achieve monumentality, viz. in the stelae of Naramsin, Urnamu, and Hammurabi; but the celebrated Assyrian reliefs of the royal palaces, which Mrs. Frankfort duly admires, never transcend actuality in the manner of monumental art and are purely secular and narrative in character. Cretan art shows a complete absence of any monumental intention.

In the section devoted to Egyptian art, which takes up the bulk of the volume, the reviewer considers of special interest the discussion of some significant art productions of the predynastic period such as King Scorpion's ceremonial mace-head and the palette of Narmer, and the analysis of the scenes of daily life in the private tombs of the Old Kingdom. The treatment of the Middle Kingdom tomb scenes at Mēr, El-Bershah and Beni Hasan, and of some New Kingdom royal reliefs carved on the temple walls of Thebes, is likewise commendable.

The book is profusely illustrated. Most of the plates are photographic reproductions of ancient monuments, all of them very appositely chosen and referred to in the text, but not a few of them rather mediocre from the photographic standpoint. Owing to much too drastic reduction some of the line-drawings in the text-figures are very poor indeed. The author has failed to realize that the result obtained by compressing a vast tableau crowded with people, animals, and objects into a small 8vo page is nothing but a chaotic blur which serves no illustrative purpose and at the same time does crass injustice both to the beauty of the ancient original and to the occasionally superb draughtsmanship of the modern copy. RICARDO A. CAMINOS

*The Burden of Egypt. An Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Culture.* By JOHN A. WILSON. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951. Pp. xix+332, figs. 73. \$ 6.00.

The widespread vogue of popular history books has resulted in such a flood of very indifferent productions that it is extremely gratifying indeed to come on one that is trustworthy, well informed, and readable enough. Such a one is the attractively presented volume under review. Professor Wilson defines it as 'a book about ancient Egyptian history'. It is in reality a cultural history of Egypt in the strictest acceptance of the term, for it sketches in a very rapid manner the main political and military vicissitudes of the country from its remotest origins down to the Macedonian conquest, and against this background are set in an orderly sequence, and dealt with in far greater detail indeed than the purely political and military events, such social, religious, artistic, literary, scientific (*sit venia verbo*) and like manifestations as make up the cultural pattern of Pharaonic Egypt.

Professor Wilson deserves high praise for having accomplished with success the truly difficult task of ranging over so vast a field and condensing so enormous a mass of material into a coherent whole. Furthermore, his book is thought-provoking throughout and full of interest, though naturally enough not entirely free from blemishes both in matter and in manner. Its gravest defect is, perhaps, that it is far too subjective and over-burdened with speculation not seldom based on rather flimsy evidence; let alone the fact that, in the reviewer's fallible judgement, no amount of speculation will ever avail to save Professor Wilson's main thesis, which is that Egypt attained her acme in the Old Kingdom—'under the Old Kingdom', the author says, 'Egypt realized her highest material and intellectual powers'—and henceforward it was all downhill, so to speak. This view would appear to be responsible for a conspicuous disproportion in the amount of space devoted to the various historical periods, the later ones being treated in so summary a fashion as almost to present the appearance of having been discriminated against. Thus, for instance, the Libyan dynasties are dismissed in a few lines, and the important Saite period is excluded altogether from the body of the book and has to content itself with the briefest of references in the chronological table at the head of the volume. Though sometimes almost inevitable in pematic history, this sort of cavalier treatment is hardly justifiable in a book of the nature of Professor Wilson's. But enough of the matter. As for the manner, the book is interestingly written on the whole, but suffers not a little from circuitousness of expression and a prevailing pomposity of style.

*The Burden of Egypt* contains little that is new and of real service to the professional Egyptologist; nonetheless, it is certainly well documented and conscientiously done, and presents the main results of recent research in a form convenient to the general public.

RICARDO A. CAMINOS

*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. IV, Texts of Spells 268–354. By ADRIAAN DE BUCK. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. LXVII. University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. xv+413.

It is good to see that, despite all the difficulties which today beset the publication of learned works, Professor de Buck has been successful in producing the fourth volume of his invaluable edition of the ancient religious texts inscribed in coffins of the Middle Kingdom, and both he and the University of Chicago Press are to be congratulated on their success in maintaining this series. The outward aspect of this volume does not differ from that of its predecessors, but there is one significant alteration; whereas in vols. I–III passages rubricated in red ink in the originals were printed in red in the publication, in vol. IV they are printed in black, being marked off from the main text by a dotted background. Although there is no scientific loss, this new procedure does detract a little from the appearance of the autographed pages, but it was doubtless enforced by financial stringencies.

Of the spells printed in this volume, many have parallels in the Book of the Dead, but the representation of the Pyramid Texts is somewhat sparse. Almost all the texts in this volume come from inscribed coffins and fragments of coffins; the only other sources are two burial chambers (Sekweskheth and Ḥarhotpe) and two papyri (Gardiner II and III), and of these all have been used in previous volumes except the first-named. A foretaste of the interest and importance of these texts is provided in vol. 35 of the *Journal*, where de Buck has translated Spell 312; let us hope that circumstances will permit him to bring the whole of his enormous task to a successful end.

R. O. FAULKNER

*Tutankhamun's Treasure*. By PENELOPE FOX. Pp. x+40, 2 figures and 72 plates. Published by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London, 1951. £1. 5s. od.

Although thirty years have passed since the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun focused the attention of the world upon the subject of Egyptology, and the name of that Pharaoh became a household word, yet Mr. Howard Carter's three volumes describing the tomb and its contents remain the only source to which the inquirer can be referred. Always too bulky to serve as a really popular guide, this work is now out of print, so that the handy illustrated introduction to this famous royal tomb which Miss Fox has provided is indeed welcome.

Three opening chapters tell firstly of the use of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings for royal burials; then of the historical, artistic, and religious events which form the setting in which the life of Tutankhamun

was placed; and finally of the religious beliefs in obedience to which the tomb was made and equipped. This account is at once clear, accurate, and free from technicalities.

The fourth chapter briefly describes the tomb, chamber by chamber and object by object, in the order of finding and clearance, the reader being conducted along the same path as that followed by the excavators.

This fourth chapter serves to introduce the seventy-two excellent plates that are the main substance of the book. These plates are also arranged in order of discovery and each one is accompanied by a concise description of the object depicted, as well as its dimensions, object number and a reference to the appropriate page of the text.

The whole work is well designed and is furnished with an adequate index, a plan of the tomb, a table of the cartouches of the royal personages concerned, and a short list of the hieroglyphs most commonly used in the symbolic decoration of the objects found.

C. H. S. SPAULL

*A Family Archive from Tebtunis.* Ed. by B. A. VAN GRONINGEN (*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, vol. vi). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1950. Pp. xvi+189.

Archives of papyri, as distinct from miscellaneous collections, are of value out of proportion to the number and nature of texts they include and the group presented here by Professor van Groningen is no exception. If I am not mistaken, it is unique; while several archives of texts more or less contemporary and concerned with one central figure or group of figures have been published, this is the first whose subject is the history not of an individual but of a family which extends throughout five generations from the late first century A.D. to the first quarter of the third.

The collection comprises 55 papyri, 45 in the British Museum, 4 in Berlin (and in addition a duplicate of one of the London texts), 3 from the Ianda collection in Giessen, 2 from Hamburg, and one from a private collection in New York. Of these 14 have already been published *in extenso* and a further 3 published in part. All concerned deserve our thanks for making it possible for the whole collection to be published together in this admirably set out and edited volume. They are arranged in chronological order; this has its disadvantages, e.g. when a lawsuit drags on over a number of years, but on the whole is probably best. All are legal, administrative, or business papers; the absence of private letters is particularly to be regretted, as they alone could have given individual life to the characters whose names appear so often in these papers. But the interest for the social historian of these papers is none the less considerable, as the editor's introduction demonstrates.

The family was settled at Tebtunis in the Fayyūm and with the aid of some Michigan papyri can be shown to have been living there in A.D. 27. Although later some of its members acquired Antinoopolite citizenship, it seems probable that despite their interests in the Antinoopolite nome, the centre of their activities was still Tebtunis. The editor favours the view that it was here that the archive was discovered and in support of this it may be urged both that in papyri known to have come from Antinoopolis no trace of the family has been found and that the great majority of papyri from that site are of very much later date. The family was well-to-do, with considerable landed interests; it was essentially Hellenic, for there is little evidence for intermarriage with Egyptians and a certain amount for inbreeding; it would be interesting to know the reason for and the significance of the Graeco-Roman double names that occur from time to time, e.g. 'Lysimachus who is also Gaius' in no. 7 (A.D. 102/3).

That a number of the texts printed here are of considerable interest goes without saying—we may cite the group of Antinoopolite documents, a deed of divorce (no. 13), a dowry (21), and another text (20) that has a bearing on the law of marriage; but there is no doubt that the main interest belongs to the group of texts (14, 15, 17, 24), two of them over a hundred lines long, that relate to a protracted, involved and important lawsuit concerned with the state of the public archives (both registries, the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων* and the *β. δημοσίων λόγων* are involved) in the nome capital, the responsibility for their repair and preservation and the liabilities of the liturgic officials in charge, the *βιβλιοφύλακες* (Registrars). Extracts have been published before, but the complete texts together with the editor's lucid and careful analysis are indispensable to the understanding of this complex but illuminating affair. The period involved covers over half a century and the editor in his invaluable chronological analysis distinguishes forty-one separate stages in the proceedings; they begin with a lawsuit between retiring Registrars and their successors; before the



end no less than six pairs of Registrars are mentioned. The state is represented by prefects—at least seven are known to have concerned themselves with the matter—procurators, strategi, and arbitrators, while in the middle a new factor is introduced with the intervention of a third party, the salaried clerk of the Registry and the attempt to decide how far his employers, the Registrars, are liable for his actions. It is clear that at no relevant period had the archives been in a good state and the main questions are, are the Registrars of the moment responsible for their state, can they be compelled to take over from their predecessors mutilated and decaying documents, how is the liability to be apportioned.<sup>1</sup> The whole case gives an overwhelming impression of the oppressiveness and inefficiency of the liturgic system, oppressive because some Registrars, or their widows and children, were clearly ruined as the case went on, as the central government insisted that liturgy holders should pay for the entire cost not only of staffing the office and maintaining the archives, but of erecting a new building: inefficient because clearly the archives steadily went from bad to worse (even though copies were kept at Alexandria, the suggestion that these should be used to reconstruct the defective documents in the nome was never carried out) and because Rome callously and, it seems, deliberately ruined the only class on whom the economic and administrative health of the country depended. It is no wonder that one son at least, and probably two, preferred to resign his entire patrimony rather than inherit with it his father's responsibilities. One reflection that remains after studying these papers is that the office of prefect was changed far too often for efficiency and continuity of administration; even granted the liturgic system, the Roman officials do not come out of the case at all well.

A few points of detail may be noticed (and I have found singularly few points of disagreement in this long volume with the editor's discussions, which are always to the point and never evade difficulties).

5, 15: ἐκφορίων should be translated *rent in kind* rather than *crops*.

11, 3: the name Sambathaios is by no means necessarily Jewish (see Youtie in *Harvard Theological Review*, 37 (1944), 202).

13, 16 and note: the missing word (clearly glossed in l. 57 by the words οὐκ ἐπελεύσομαι περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς) may be ἀνέφαπτος in the sense *having no claim or right to interfere*.

15, 93: the use of σκύλλεσθαι of frayed documents is of interest, in view of the parallel English use.

30, 1: I should prefer Bell's original supplement: the editor's participle would surely have to be preceded by the definite article.

41, 8: διὰ τ[ῆν νῦν (?) π]ερί σε αβλυ. λίαν: is not the last word, which must denote some kind of illness (and the editor wisely if sadly rejects his own ἀβληχρία) ἀβλεψιάν?

42: in this difficult and important letter from the nomarch of Antinoopolis on the question of the tax-liabilities of Arsinoites who married Antinoopolite women the editor is puzzled by the reference to κλήρωσις. It is possible that the allusion here is to the selection by lot of the original settlers (see *W. Chr.* 26) whose immunity from certain burdens might constitute a precedent here.

The editor is to be congratulated on his handling of this interesting but by no means easy material; in many ways it is a model of what such a publication should be. It is written in an English which, if not always idiomatic, is at least never misleading and for this English readers may well be grateful.

C. H. ROBERTS

*Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit.* By A. STEIN. (Dissertationes Bernenses, Ser. I, fasc. 1.) Berne, A. Francke, 1950. £1. 8s. 6d.

The veteran scholar who wrote this book died in November 1950. In this last work he returns again to the theme of his *primitiae*, the Roman administrative system in Egypt, and in particular its personnel. The present study is concerned entirely with prosopography, the establishment of an exact list of the prefects of Egypt, and then some remarks on their careers (origin, social position, promotion, titlature, length of tenure) which sets the prefecture in perspective as a stage in the Roman civil service. The list itself discusses the full name of each prefect, his first and last dates, the internal chronology of his administration, and, where

<sup>1</sup> The Registrars will have the sympathy of all who have struggled with worm-eaten and incomplete (σητόβρωτα and ἀναρχα) papyri.

known, his antecedents and later seconding. Suggestions are made for the identification of persons not named in the literary references or the documents. A closing survey shows also which prefects are known to have been immediate successors to the one standing prior to them in the list, so that its gaps (still considerable under Augustus and in the first and third centuries) can be estimated.

Such a work stands or falls by its attention to detail, and there is no doubt of the success of this one. Scrupulous scholarship and judgement, inclusion of all the relevant evidence, open-minded discussion of what is doubtful we expect of a scholar of the rank of Stein, and the expectation is not disappointed. It is, however, a sobering thought that if the papyrological and epigraphical material continues to grow, this list will need replacement within twenty years. Since its publication, *P. Ant.* 35, II, 1 has supplied the name of Flavius Fortunius, a hitherto unknown prefect of the late third century; *P. Ryl.* 678 makes it probable that Mamertinus, Heliodorus, Eudaemon, Proclus, Honoratus (and perhaps also Munatius Felix, for whom a date is given 2. ix. 150) directly succeeded each other; *P. Fam. Teb.* brings some supplementary evidence for the prefects of the late first and the second century.

A check against my own annotated Reinmuth shows little to add. Stein clearly had difficulty in gaining access to post-war publications. A number of omissions (e.g. from *P. Philad.*) are made good in the *Nachträge*, pp. 226 ff. He clearly, however, did not know of *P. Philad.* 4, 7, which enables the date of C. Avidius Heliodorus' entry into office to be set earlier than 8. ix. 137, or of *P. Oxy.* 2227, 1, a letter which probably emanates from the vice-prefect Aurelius Antinous. In the general list, p. 192, the Petronius Quadratus inserted (p. 65) for convenience (but on very doubtful grounds) between Haterius Nepos and T. Flavius Titianus is omitted. Misprints: p. 77, l. 26 *read* Dunlap; l. 27, P. Mich. VII; p. 114, l. 1 *read* P. Oslo, III, 179.

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*Annual Egyptological Bibliography 1951* (International Association of Egyptologists). By J. M. A. JANSSEN. Nos. 1626–2129; pp. 470–631. Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1952.

The appearance of this admirable work gives all the greater pleasure and relief, because at one moment there were rumours of its discontinuance owing to lack of financial support. It is not too much to say that such a discontinuance would have been a major disaster for our science. Each item is accompanied by a full and most commendably objective résumé, in English for articles and books in English, and in French for the rest. A feature of the present fascicle is the addition of certain items omitted in previous parts; also special attention has been given to articles in non-Egyptological publications. We cannot be too grateful, not only to the painstaking and skilful compiler, but also to the Ministry of Instruction at the Hague for its subsidy towards this indispensable instrument of study.

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