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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

ONE of the repercussions of the crisis over the Suez Canal has inevitably been the interruption of the Society's work in Egypt on behalf of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. It had been intended that Professor Emery should proceed to Egypt in December 1956 to continue his excavations in the Archaic Cemetery at Saqqārah, but the expedition had of necessity to be cancelled. Recent developments have, however, hinted at the possibility of resuming work there this winter, a consummation devoutly to be hoped for, since there remain important sites yet unexcavated. It is also proposed, thanks to the co-operation of the Sudan Government and its Department of Antiquities, to explore the region west of Wādi Ḥalfa, since there is some reason to suspect that examination of this remote site may shed further light on the Archaic Period, which is the subject of Professor Emery's investigations at Saqqārah. The report on the excavations during the season 1955-6, which will constitute the memoir *Great Tombs*, vol. III, has been completed and is now in the hands of the printers.

The Sir Herbert Thompson Chair of Egyptology at the University of Cambridge, left vacant by the death of the late Professor S. R. K. Glanville, is now to be occupied by the Rev. J. Martin Plumley, author of *An Introduction to Coptic Grammar*. We heartily congratulate him on his new appointment and wish him every success.

A personality who for very many years was prominent in Egyptological circles passed away when Lady Flinders Petrie died on 24 November 1956. Thanks to family friendship with the well-known geologist Professor Seeley, Lady Petrie's earliest interest was in geology, but after her marriage to W. M. Flinders Petrie, later to be knighted for his services to archaeology, she identified herself with his work. She accompanied him on all his expeditions, whether to Egypt, to Sinai, or to Palestine, but although she once conducted an excavation of her own at Saqqārah, when on her husband's expeditions she took no part in the actual excavations, but helped him with much of the detail work such as measuring and drawing, and undertook most of the inevitable administrative tasks. When Petrie left the Egypt Exploration Society and founded the Egyptian Research Account, it was Lady Petrie who almost single-handed raised the funds for her husband's work, and after his death in 1942 she set herself to preparing and publishing his unfinished manuscripts, some of which have appeared in recent years. The results of her own work at Saqqārah were published in *Seven Memphite Tomb-Chapels*, and in her *Early Egyptian Hieroglyphs* the decipherer of archaic Egyptian inscriptions has available a valuable collection of early signs.

Another figure prominent among Egyptologists in the years before the first great war was Professor John Garstang, who died at Bērūt at the age of eighty on 12 September 1956. After some preliminary experience in England he went to Egypt in 1900, when he excavated at Mahāsna and Bēt Khallaf on behalf of the Egypt Research Account, which published a memoir recording the results of his work on those sites. In 1902 he

became honorary Reader in Egyptian Archaeology in the University of Liverpool, and it was very largely due to his efforts that the Institute of Archaeology in that University was founded, while in 1907 he was appointed Professor of the Methods and Practice of Archaeology at Liverpool, a post which he held until his retirement in 1941. Every year between 1900 and 1914 he dug at various sites in Egypt, and at Meroe in the Sudan, and apart from his memoir *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallaf* referred to above, he published *El-Arâbah*, *Tombs of the Third Egyptian Dynasty*, *Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, and *Meroe*, as well as being part-author with the late Professor Newberry of *A Short History of Egypt*. During those early years he excavated and explored also in Asia Minor, publishing in 1910 *The Land of the Hittites* and in 1929 *The Hittite Empire*. After the war of 1914-18 his activities were confined to Palestine, where he founded the Department of Antiquities and the School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and to Asia Minor, where he brought into being the British School of Archaeology in Ankara.

Our attention has been called to the initiation, announced by Mme Desroches-Noblecourt in the *Bulletin* of the Société Française d'Égyptologie for February 1956, of a Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'histoire de l'art et de la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte, sponsored jointly by the Egyptian Government and Unesco. The purpose of this new organization is to establish in Egypt a centre where there can be assembled archives of all documents related to Egyptian archaeology, to render this material available to scholars and serious inquirers, and where necessary to execute restorations and repairs to existing monuments. In view of the threat to the Nubian temples arising from the proposed heightening of the Aswân dam, the recording of these monuments, with precedence for the temple of Abu Simbel, is to be the first operation undertaken by the new Centre, and we wish those engaged on the task a complete and speedy success in this most urgent cause.

Contributors to the *Journal* are asked to note that the Editor's address is now Flat 2, Bosworth House, Thoroughfare, Woodbridge, Suffolk.

THE STELA OF 'ANKHEFENMUT

By E. P. UPHILL

THE history of the stela shown in pl. I, which is now in the Central Library at Croydon, is obscure. Its original provenance is unknown, for strangely enough it was found in 1952 in the grounds of a demolished house called Fairchildes, situated near Addington. The previous owners of the house were the Daniel family, and it is not improbable that one of them brought the stela home from a visit to Egypt perhaps many years ago. The mention of Koptos in l. 4 suggests that it may have originally come from there.

The stela is a beautifully carved round-topped slab of polished limestone measuring 36 by 20 cm., and, apart from a chip missing at the bottom left-hand corner, the surface is perfect. The figures in the upper panel are in raised relief, while the hieroglyphs of the main inscription are deeply incised; some of the figures retain traces of red paint. The back of the stela has nothing of interest except a large 𓆎 in the lower right-hand corner. Its owner was one 'Ankhefenmut, the descendant of a long line of priests sprung from a grand-daughter of a King Takelot, who under the form of a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula traces his ancestry back for nine generations.

At the top of the stela is a disk with wings and uraei, and beneath it a block border; under this is a panel in which are shown the figures of two gods and two goddesses who stand facing right, where the deceased confronts them across an offering-stand. From right to left these deities are Osiris, Rē, Isis, and Nephthys. Osiris is shown in his usual shape, mummiform and bearded, wearing the *ꜣtf*-crown with uraeus, and holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre. Above and a little to the right of the head of his sceptre is the title of the deceased 'the god's father (of) Osiris' so arranged that 'Osiris' serves also to indicate the name of the god. Behind him stands Rē, anonymous but identifiable by his falcon-head crowned by the sun's disk with uraeus; he too holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre. Behind Rē, with her upraised left hand resting on the back of his head, stands Isis, crowned with her symbol and with her name written in front of and a little above her face; she carries a napkin (?) in her right hand and a roll of cloth rests in the crook of her left elbow. Behind her stands Nephthys, similarly named and accoutred. On the offering-stand between the deities and the deceased is a spouted vessel with a large lotus-flower resting on it; behind the stand, facing right with hands upraised in worship, is 'Ankhefenmut, dressed in a long skirt, the lector's sash, and a broad collar, but apparently barefooted.

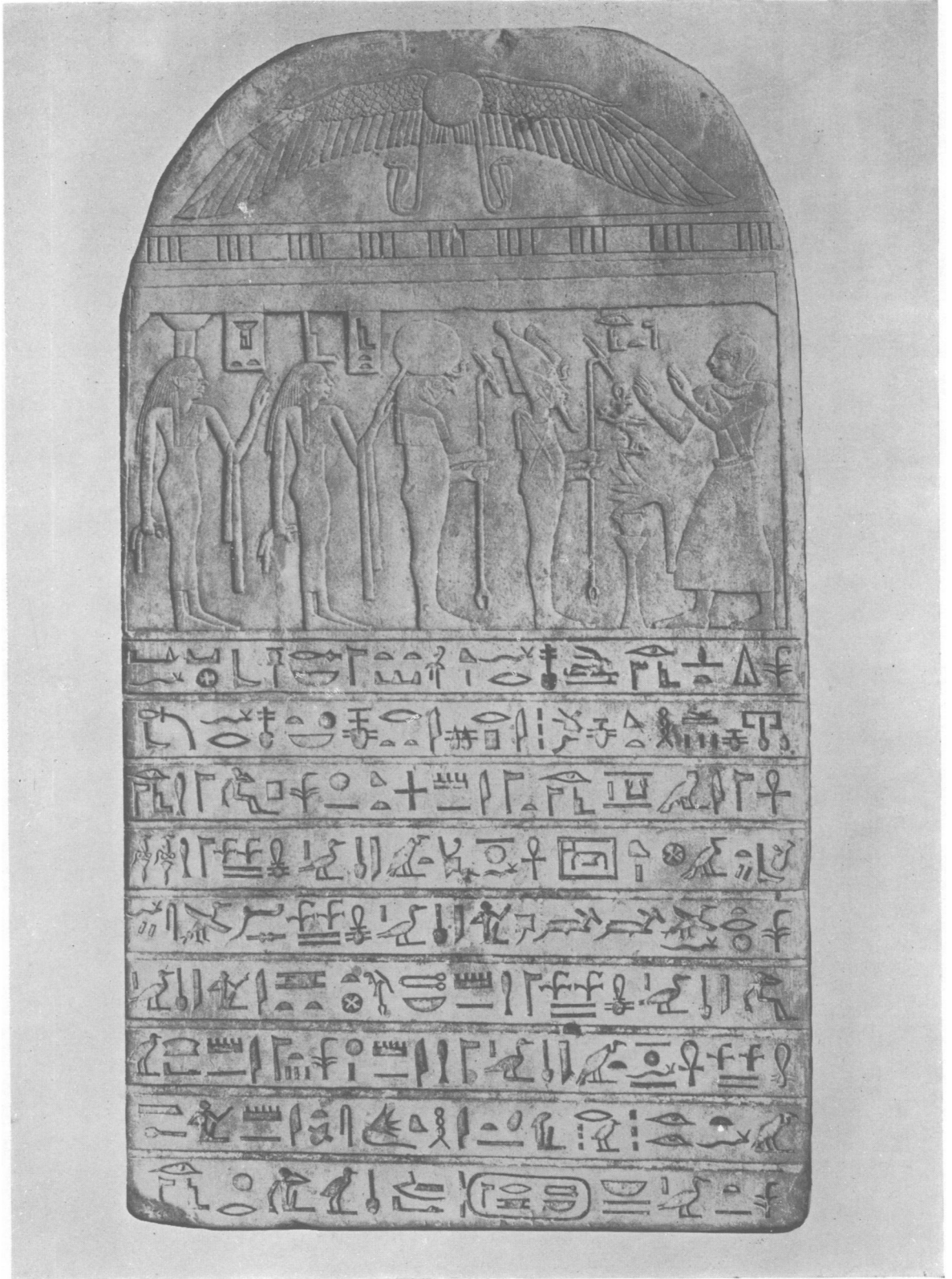
The inscription in nine horizontal lines reads: † *A boon which the King gives <to> Osiris Onnophris, pre-eminent in the West, the great god, Lord of Abydos, that he may give † invocation-offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, wine and milk, and all things good and pure † whereon a god lives, to the spirit of the Osiris the god's father of Amūn, imy-ḥnt-priest of Khons-the-child, prophet of Osiris † of Koptos pre-eminent in the House of Gold,*

ʿAnkhefenmut, justified, the son of the like-entitled prophet of the two Serpent-goddesses ⁵ and King's Acquaintance Pefuiiu, justified, son of the like-entitled Nespsefy, ⁶ justified, son of the like-entitled prophet of Mont, Lord of Thebes, Mititi, justified, son ⁷ of the like-entitled ʿAnkhefenmut, justified, son of the like-entitled prophet of Amen-Re, King of the gods, Amenkharu; ⁸ his mother was Iruru, daughter of the ihk¹ Setamūn, justified, ⁹ son of the King, the Lord of the Two Lands, Takelot,² justified with Osiris.

There is no evidence within this text as to which King Takelot is referred to here, nor does there seem to be any other record of the prince Setamūn, but a reckoning of nine generations from the middle of the Twenty-second Dynasty would suggest a date in the latter half of the seventh century B.C. for this stela. It is an extremely well executed piece of work, and the style and skill of the craftsman also suggest a date in the early Saïte period.

¹ Clearly a title of some kind, but the word is not recorded in *Wb*.

² The final sign in the name of King Takelot is \equiv , a clear mistake for \equiv ; the \neg -sign at the end of the cartouche is presumably a determinative indicating the divinity of the long-dead king.



STELA OF 'ANKHEFENMUT

A POSSIBLY CONTEMPORARY PARALLEL TO THE INSCRIPTION OF SUTY AND ḤOR

By H. M. STEWART

THE sculpture illustrated in pl. II forms part of the Harris Collection¹ in the British Museum, where it bears the registration number 968. Its provenance is not recorded, but would appear from the inscriptional evidence to be Thebes. Except for a brief account in the Museum's *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 147–8, it has not hitherto been published.²

Carved in dark-grey granite, the fragment, 9 in. in height, represents the head of an official, wearing a short beard and a waved and curled wig of duplex pattern, which leaves exposed the ear-lobes (these showing no sign of piercing). Traces on the figure's right side and the asymmetrical placing of the plinth suggest that the fragment belonged to a dyad statue,³ perhaps of man and wife.⁴ In style the sculpture closely resembles work of the reign of Amenophis III,⁵ particularly in the modelling of the wig, and although dating on stylistic grounds is notoriously controversial, the monument does not seem at least to be earlier than this reign.

Behind the left shoulder is the beginning of a column of *hṯp di nsw* formula with a possible trace of another beside it, and on the plinth a long inscription of which parts of the first eight columns are preserved. The latter text, which provides the monument's chief interest, is a solar hymn, recalling the well-known example on the stela of Suty and Ḥor⁶ (period of Amenophis III). Detailed comparison shows that the sequence of the passages preserved is the same, and that the signs on the stela, which correspond to those lying on any horizontal line across the columns of the fragment, occur at approximately uniform intervals. It is therefore possible, recasting the stela's text⁷ vertically, to complete (if not strictly to restore) the columns⁸ (fig. 1). Departures may, of course, have occurred, but within the existing framework can hardly have been many.

In the dating of this parallel the epigraphical evidence becomes crucial. Before the

¹ Acquired by the British Museum in 1872, cf. *JEA* 35, 164.

² The writer's thanks are due to the authorities of the British Museum for kind permission to publish the object and for the use of a latex impression of the inscription, and to Mr. R. O. Faulkner for valuable criticism.

³ Determination of the pose is complicated by a horizontal trace at the left side of the neck, oddly suggestive of a block statue, a type which is surely unknown in double form. Presumably the pose was seated and some object held before the figure.

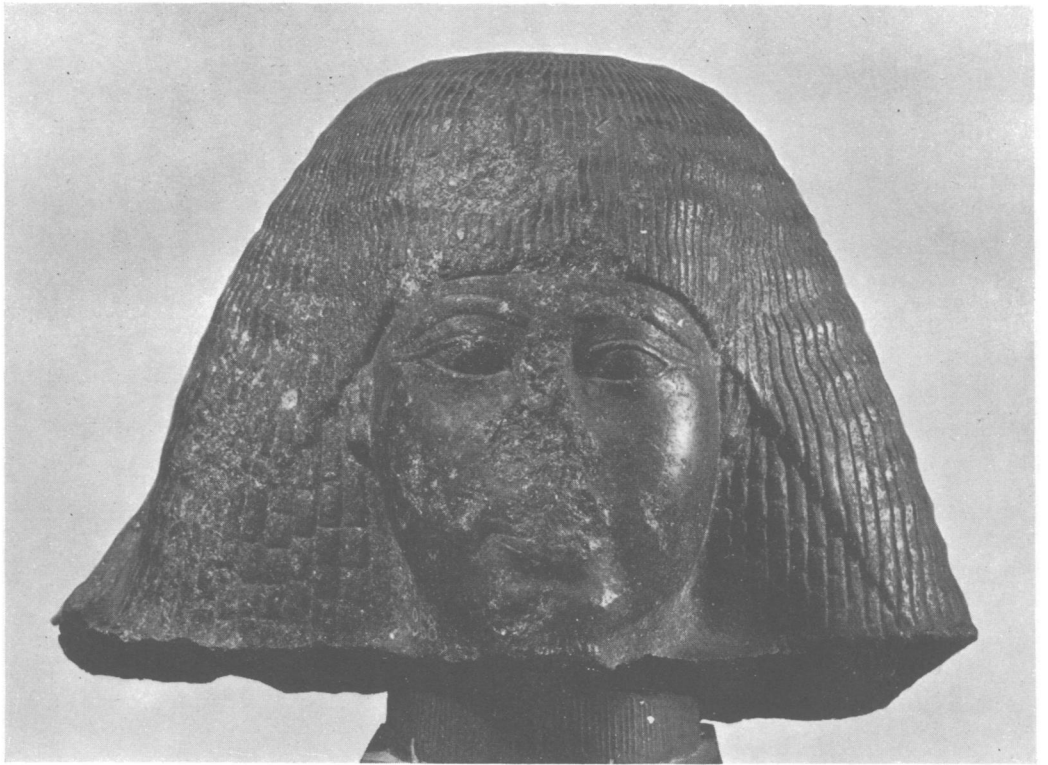
⁴ The man is normally on the right of the group. Exceptions are, however, by no means rare.

⁵ Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, pl. 91; Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*, VIII, pl. 13.

⁶ B.M. 826; Edwards, *op. cit.*, 24 ff., pl. 21; Varille in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 25 ff.; Garnot in *JEA* 35, 63 ff.

⁷ Inscribed horizontally from right to left.

⁸ The height of the completed columns would be rather short for a seated statue. Possibly the lower part of the plinth bore a separate inscription (cf. Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. 37, middle).



HEAD OF STATUE WITH SUN-HYMN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

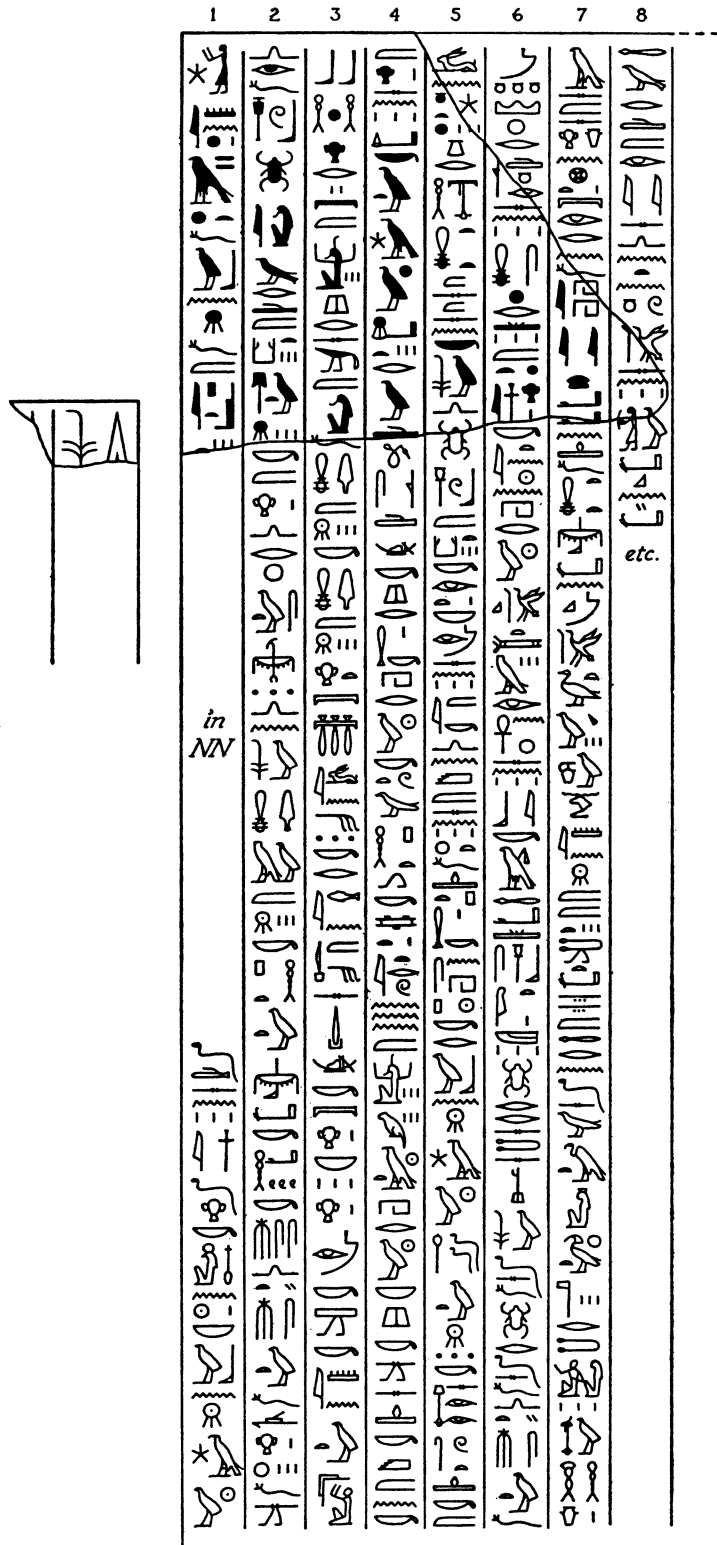


FIG. 1

FIG. 1. The signs blocked-out in black are those preserved on the statue.

'Amārna period solar hymns¹ on private monuments are not uncommon, and occur even as early as the Second Intermediate period.² Most are, however, somewhat rudimentary, and it is not until late in the reign of Tuthmosis III that they appear in an extended form.³ So far, no other parallels to the text of Suty and Ḥor have been found which can with any certainty be dated earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty,⁴ when solar hymns feature prominently in tomb inscriptions and funerary papyri. There, however, the closest analogies⁵ show a new redaction incorporating only five lines (ll. 2–6) of the earlier text with a characteristic change in the sequence of phrases.⁶ As the fragment published here represents at least ten lines (ll. 2–11), preserves the original order, and seems, so far as it goes, to be virtually a duplicate, there is some reason to believe that it may be of about the same period—a conclusion which the sculptural style of the monument would favour.

It is possible, therefore, that the hymn on the stela of Suty and Ḥor was, when inscribed, already a standard funerary text and was not simply a personal expression of beliefs held by the court of Amenophis III.⁷ This would accord with other evidence of universalist⁸ ideas in the orthodox cult well before the 'Amārna period.⁹

Translation

(1) Adoring Amen-Rē^c-Ḥarakhti, when he shines in Karnak. . . (2) without ceasing, Khepri, weary ^a with toil. [Thy] rays . . . (3) who journeys eternally, who is over ^b millions of (roads) ^c in his divine form ^d . . . (4) from their sight. Thou presentest thyself at dawn every day. Vigorous . . . (5) . . . the hours of night likewise. Thou hast regulated it without there occurring . . . (6) . . . they [will] sleep in the manner of death. Hail, . . . (7) . . . (men) acclaim him at rising . . . (8) . . . they [are without] number. A he[rdsman]. . . .

Commentary

(a) The absence of a negative as in the parallel text confirms that this is the correct reading. Breasted's suggested amendment (*Development of Religion and Thought*, 315) must, therefore, be discarded.

(b) The determinative $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$, previously lacking, invalidates Garnot's proposed restoration of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ in its place (*JEA* 35, 64).

(c) $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ is omitted after *hry*.

(d) The use of the determinative $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ suggests that a special meaning—presumably 'divine form' rather than 'guidance'—was intended.

¹ For a representative selection from all periods see Scharff, *Ägyptische Sonnenlieder*.

² *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*, IV, pls. 18–21 (cf. *Proc. SBA* 18, 272 ff.).

³ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 942 ff.

⁴ Piehl in *Rec. trav.* 2, 71 ff.; Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (1898), Text, 9 (last line)–10, 41–42; Marucchi, *II Museo egizio vaticano*, 120 ff. (= Botti and Romanelli, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano egizio*, 77, pl. 60).

⁵ As above with the exception of Budge, *op. cit.* 9–10.

⁶ In this form it seems to have remained until Ptolemaic times (cf. Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Aegypter*, 15).













⁷ Varille in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41. 30.






⁸ The expression is discussed in Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, 314 ff.

⁹ Papyrus Boulaq 17: Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Ra*; Erman & Blackman, *Literature*, 282 ff. Cf. Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, 157 ff., noting, however, that the universalist phrases in this damaged early version of the Boulaq text are not actually represented.

THE READING OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL TERM

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

EVER since Sethe published his justly celebrated article¹ on the words for 'south' and 'north', 'Upper' and 'Lower Egypt' it has been the accepted view that the geographical term indicated in the title of this paper is to be read *Tp-Šmꜣw*, i.e. 'the Head of Upper Egypt'. That reading is given *Wb.* IV, 472-3 and again *Wb.* I, 287, 10, in the latter place in the name of the administrative department where the term is introduced by ; previously Erman² and Griffith³ had transliterated as *tp rs* or *tp rsy*. Sethe, perhaps the first to propound the reading *Tp-Šmꜣw*, was doubtless influenced chiefly by two occurrences in the Aswān tomb of Ḥarkhuf, where his *Urkunden*, I (123, 14; 124, 2) both times writes ; but he also quoted (*ZÄS* 44, 16) a very careless tomb-inscription of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty which apparently gave  or at all events a monogram containing .⁴ If three examples in the Theban tomb of Rekhmirē^c really possessed the form  ascribed to them in *Urk.* IV, 1112, 9; 1120, 3; 1124, 6 the case for *Tp-Šmꜣw* would be very strong, or at all events it might be necessary to admit the co-existence of a term *Tp-Šmꜣw* with the term *Tp-rs*, the reading which will soon be proved by incontrovertible evidence. But it seems apparent that for these Rekhmirē^c passages Sethe used Newberry's publication of 1900,⁵ and in doing so altered Newberry's  in all three cases (3, 22; 5, 4; 5, 2nd register, left) to suit his own preconceived opinion. However, Davies's later work *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēc at Thebes* has  in each case (pls. 27, 22; 29, 1; 30, second register), employing the sign for *rs* as it does regularly and rightly in , where Newberry at least sometimes (2, 1; 3, 18. 23) offers us the ambiguous . Particularly significant in corroboration of Davies's copies is his version of *Urk.* IV, 1112, 9, where he gives  marking a clear distinction between the word *Šmꜣw* (despite its incorrect  at the base) and *Tp-rs* in close proximity. The first draft of this article had already been written when I found in my old collation of the Rekhmirē^c inscription made about 1910 exactly the same reading with the two all-important signs marked with a *sic*. There can thus be no question but that the scribe responsible for Rekhmirē^c's inscriptions read the geographical term  as *Tp-rs*.

It is a regrettable fact that the Egyptian pundits were none too scholarly in their employment of these closely similar signs, and confusions between , ,  with even  and  are very frequent. On attempting to settle once and for all the question here occupying us I have consulted various colleagues and friends, for whose scrupulously careful replies I am very grateful. With regard to the Ḥarkhuf passages Dr. Edel points






¹ *ZÄS* 44 (1907), 1 ff.











³ *Hieratic Papyri from Kahan and Gurob* (1898), p. 21.



⁵ *The Life of Rekhmara*.

² *ZÄS* 29 (1891), 120.

⁴ Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. 8.

out that the photograph appears at first sight to favour , the small straight appendage, not , at the bottom being certain; however, he is inclined to think that the much more lightly engraved strokes which would represent the flowers may be mere accidental scratches. The natural conclusion is that the Harkhuf evidence, taken in isolation, does favour the reading *Tp-Smꜣw*, but that, if all the other testimony demands it, we should be justified in attributing this admittedly early writing as due to either ignorance or carelessness. To Dr. Edel I am deeply indebted for details of the writings in the Heracleopolitan tombs at Asyūt. Here great confusion prevails. Griffith in his early days was doubtless less well aware of the need for precise palaeographic accuracy than he was in riper years, and in *The Inscriptions of Siūt and Dêr Rîfeh* III, 18. 28. 33. 35 he wrote  with the same sign that he used for  'Upper Egypt' in III, 35; IV, 11 and for *rs* in III, 37; in the tomb itself Edel found , but without the small horizontal stroke at the bottom, in III, 18. 28. 33; however, the same sign is used in III, 16 for *rs* 'south' and in III, 37 in 'the southern nomes'. I have abbreviated Edel's information a little, but it is clear that the Asyūt evidence is useless for my purpose.

To continue with cases from which little or nothing can be learned. In Lange and Schäfer's catalogue of the Cairo stelae of the Middle Kingdom they print  in 20311, and this is confirmed by the photographic plate. In Hammāmāt 87 (Cuyat and Montet, pl. 20) we find  just as earlier it had , and though the latter title has *Smꜣw* in its composition (see below), that does not warrant the reading *Tp-Smꜣw* in the former. In spite of the equivocal nature of  we might perhaps be tempted to read *Tp-Smꜣw* in  of the stela Leyden V3,¹ were not the same hieroglyph immediately afterwards used for *rs* 'south' in the phrase 'south to the Tentyrite nome'. This shows how dangerous it would be to draw any conclusion from  in *Urk.* IV, 196, 7, where we have to take Sethe's reading on trust. Perhaps Sethe could have invoked in favour of his reading the phrase  'the gods of Elephantine in the *Tp-Smꜣw*' or '*Tp-Rs*'(?) in the coronation proclamation of Tuthmosis I, *Urk.* IV, 80, 15, but Lacau's publication² shows , i.e. neither a certain *smꜣ* nor a certain *rs*. The only other instance which might be regarded as support for *Tp-Smꜣw* is the Berlin stela 1198 dating from the reign of Ammenemes III, where according to *Äg. Inschr.* I, p. 177 an official is said to have come 'to choose goodly youths (recruits) (in)  the Thinite nome of the *Tp-Smꜣw*(?)'. But it needs to be shown that here the engraver rightly chose the sign .

As against this doubtful evidence in favour of *Tp-Smꜣw* must be set the many passages where *Tp-rs* is clearly written. The oldest appears to be the Sixth Dynasty false-door Cairo 1406.³ Here an official who had among his titles that of *imy-r* 'overseer of dragomans' and may consequently have had duties in the Nubian direction is said to be  'over the secrets of *Tp-rs*'; the photograph shows the sign .

¹ Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*, I, Stelen, pl. 2; de Buck kindly examined the original for me, and reported that in the first occurrence of the geographical term there are small flowers everywhere, while in the second there are flowers only at the top, as also in the word for 'south' following the first example.

² *Stèles du nouvel empire*, p. 12; the sign for *sw*, but with a small stroke at bottom.

³ Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches*, pl. 18; so too in the text, p. 68.

quite clearly. From unspecified dates in the Middle Kingdom come two stelae of officials belonging to the 𓂏𓂱𓂰 'administrative department of the *Tp-rs*'; one of them (Cairo 20240) was a 'scribe with the seal' and the other an 'overseer of *tm*-lands' (Cairo 20491); in both cases Lange and Schäfer print the crucial sign as 𓂏 , and in the one case (the former) where a photograph is given, that writing is duly confirmed. Perhaps next in date is the scarab from the fortress of Uronarti in the Second Cataract reproduced in the accompanying figure;¹ it is not clear whether its inscription should be rendered 'Office of the Vizier of the *Tp-rs*' or 'Office of the Vizier *and* of the *Tp-rs*'. Passing on to the Thirteenth Dynasty we have from the reign of Kha'neferrē' Sebekhotpe IV a stela found by Chevrier at Karnak and communicated to Kees² by Lacau; this text names four administrative departments each of which supplied an ox for certain offerings instituted by the king, one of the departments being the 𓂏𓂱 ; the reading is confirmed by a copy kindly made for me by Clère. Several dubious cases from the Eighteenth Dynasty have been mentioned above, but the three from the tomb of Rekhmirē' seem absolutely decisive; besides these there is the dedicatory inscription of the temple of Ptaḥ at Karnak³ speaking of the solemn entry of the god 'when he proceeds to the treasury of the *Tp-Rs*', and here Sethe marks 𓂏 with a *sic*. Again the Ethiopian conqueror Pi'ankhi, addressing the people of Memphis, exhorts them to look at 𓂏𓂱𓂰 'the nomes of the *Tp-rs*, where no one had been slain except rebels who blasphemed against God'. Lastly, the kneeling statue in the British Museum⁴ of the important Saite officer Wahibērē' gives him the title 𓂏𓂱𓂰𓂏𓂱𓂰𓂏𓂱𓂰 'commander of all the soldiery of the *Tp-rs* and the north', this title being repeated in almost exactly the same form on a statue in Alexandria.



Thus we have no less than eleven hieroglyphic examples where the reading *Tp-rs* is a certainty, but even more decisive testimony is forthcoming from the hieratic P. Boulaq XVIII, which writes 𓂏𓂱𓂰 a number of times in unmistakable fashion.⁵ The hieratic signs for 𓂏 *rs* and 𓂏 *šmw* are quite different,⁶ as may be seen from the title 𓂏𓂱𓂰𓂏𓂱𓂰 'great one of the tens of Upper Egypt'.⁷ As already hinted, there is just a possibility, in my opinion a very slight one, that beside the geographical expression *Tp-rs* there was another to be read *Tp-Šmw* 'Head of Upper Egypt', but for the latter the evidence is very scanty, while for the former it is superabundant.

There remain, however, two problems concerning which I have no positive opinions to offer. It seems natural to translate *Tp-rs* as 'Head of the South', but according to Sethe⁸ the old word for 'South' was *rswt*, only later to be replaced by the masculine *rs*. Another possibility is that the second element in our compound term is the adjective

¹ Boston, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, xxviii, 51, fig. 4.

² *ZÄS* 70, 87.

³ *Urk.* IV, 765, 11.

⁴ Brit. Mus. 818, verified on the original. For full discussion and bibliography see Gauthier's excellent article *Ann. Serv.* 22, 81 ff.

⁵ For sake of convenience I quote the paragraphs and the line numbers used by Scharff in his autographed plates in *ZÄS* 57; see for *Tp-rs* 2, 2; 10, 1; 34, 1; 45, 14.

⁶ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, nos. 290, 291.

⁷ *ZÄS* 57, loc. cit., I, i. 15; ii. 16, 22 and elsewhere.

⁸ *ZÄS* 44, 2.

rs(i), *rs(y)*, in which case *tp* here might not be the word for 'head', but rather the strange formative seen in *tp-nfr* 'a good start' and *tp-šw* 'empty condition' or the like. Against this second suggestion is the writing in P. Boulaq XVIII, see above.¹ Still more in need of elucidation are the twin questions as to what part of Egypt the term *Tp-rs* refers and over what area the administrative department *Wcrt Tp-rs* exerted its authority. On these latter points scholars will naturally consult the two articles devoted by Kees to the subject.² I also recall, though without agreement or contradiction, the definition given by Sethe in his *Urgeschichte*, § 58: 'Dort (i.e. in Asyūt) endete der Kopf Oberägyptens (*tp šmꜥw*), d. i. der beim Katarakt von Elephantine beginnende südlichste Teil des Landes, die Thebais der griechischen Zeit, und begann die Heptanomis, die schon im Neuen Reich zu Unterägypten geschlagen war.' Hayes has similarly recently³ reverted to the view first expressed by Eduard Meyer that from the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty three departments (*wcrt*) were charged with the administration of the provinces of Egypt and called, respectively, 'the Northern *wcrt*', 'the *wcrt* of the South' and 'the *wcrt* of the Head of the South' (*tp rsy*), and he then develops a theory of his own not unlike that finally adopted by Kees, if I understand the latter's view aright. As my own contribution to the subject I will only add the following: (1) So far as our material goes, it is certain that Elephantine was always included in the *Tp-rs*,⁴ and there is no passage which places its northward extension farther north than Abydos.⁵ In the Asyūt tomb of Tefibi the *Tp-rs* (Griffith, op. cit. III, 28), no less than 'the southern nomes' (III, 16, 37), clearly means the enemy territory against whom the Heracleopolitan confederacy was fighting. (2) the evidence for $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'the southern *wcrt*' (not 'wcrt of the South') is confined to two mentions at Illahūn,⁶ where the writer would presumably have no interest in using the expression 'Wcrt of the Head of the South'. My personal tendency is to see in the term *Tp-rs* a flexible expression analogous to our 'the Far South', which could be used by an Egyptian scribe, according to his own particular situation, to refer to any stretch of the Nile Valley in its more southerly part from Elephantine northwards, and similarly I imagine that the range of the 'Administrative Department (*wcrt*) of the Head of the South' will have varied at different historic periods.

¹ See, however, the same writing in *Niwt-rst*, 44, 5 of the same papyrus.

² (a) 'Beiträge zur altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung', in *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1932, pp. 102 ff.; (b) 'Zu einigen Fachausdrücken der altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung', in *ZÄS* 70, 86 ff.

³ Op. cit., p. 138. In his footnote 487 Hayes corrects the statement made previously by him in *JNES* 12, 32 that in his papyrus the expression 'wcrt of the south' occurs. He subsequently found the reading there to be *niwt rst*.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 80, 15; 196, 7; 1120, 3-4.

⁵ Berlin 1198; Leyden V3; *Urk.* IV, 1112, 9.

⁶ Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pls. 16, 10; 35, 41, see too pp. 21. 80.

THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF QUEEN TIYE

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

I

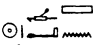
THE history of excavation in Egypt presents, side by side with much splendid work, an almost continuous series of disasters. The greatest disaster of all is when the results have remained completely unpublished. But it is also a disaster when the publication is incomplete or inaccurate. This is unfortunately what has happened with Theodore M. Davis's volume entitled *The Tomb of Queen Tīyi*, London, 1910 (abbreviated below as Dav.). Egyptologists owe so much to the extraordinarily kind and generous Maecenas to whom the said volume is due that it would be unjust and ungrateful to judge it too censoriously. Who knows what difficulties or obstacles may have prevented the all too early defunct E. Ayrton and his patron from producing a more satisfactory record? Still, the fact remains that the book, though containing a catalogue by G. Daressy of the objects found, gives no plan and wholly inadequate explanations, and that the accounts given by the various contributors show ambiguities and discrepancies which we cannot but deplore. Scholars wishing to investigate the problems afresh will need to consult A. E. P. Weigall's *Life and Times of Akhenaton*, revised edition, 1922 (abbrev. Wei.), which owes its importance to the fact that the author was an eye-witness.¹ Much more valuable, however, are a paper by G. Daressy entitled 'Le cercueil de Khu-en-aten' in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 12, 145-54 (1916, abbrev. here as Dar.) and another paper by R. Engelbach, 'The so-called coffin of Akhenaten' in *Ann. Serv.* 31, 98-114 (1931, abbrev. Eng.), with the supplementary article by D. E. Derry on the skeleton found in the coffin, *ibid.* 115-22. Of secondary interest are Ayrton's brief account *Proc. SBA* 29, 85-86 and a charmingly written *feuilleton* by Maspero reprinted in his *Causeries d'Égypte*, 343-50. Needless to say, there have been other statements and allusions in abundance, but no attempt can here be made to enumerate them.²

The reproach which I venture to make is that the coffin and the mummy which it contained have been discussed too much in isolation, and without proper attention to the rest of the finds. My concern being solely with the historical aspect, I shall deal with the archaeological details only in a summary fashion. So far as I can see, the general layout of the tomb bore a close resemblance not only to that of Queen Tiye's parents Yuia and Tjuiu, but also to that of Tut'ankhamūn, the main difference being that the last had four different rooms, while the first had only one, if we disregard the niche in the west wall where the Canopic jars were found. Concerning these Canopic

¹ The Preface incorporates, practically unaltered, Weigall's earlier account *JEA* 8, 193-9.

² Other abbreviations which I shall use are *Amarna* for N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, 6 vols., London, 1903-8; Sandman for M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, Brussels, 1938; *CoA* for T. E. Peet and others, *The City of Akhenaten*, 3 parts in 4 vols., London, 1923-51; Carter for H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, 3 vols., London, 1923-33.

jars, or rather concerning the ill-fitting but exceedingly beautiful heads with which they were secondarily furnished, I shall offer no opinion, incompetence as an art critic forbidding me to propound any identification of my own.¹ Since the outer door was sealed with the same style of seal (jackal above nine foreign prisoners)² as served to close Tut'ankhamūn's tomb,³ since there were found 'numerous fragments of small clay seals, some of which bore, besides the device, the cartouche of Neb-khepru-ra (Tutankhamen)',⁴ and since one of the folding doors of the shrine later to be described was found in the entrance corridor, whither it had evidently been dragged out and separated from its fellow in the interior chamber,⁵ it is evident that, as in Tut'ankhamūn's tomb, intruders had penetrated and had worked their will with the contents, leaving it to later priests or to some still not wholly unfaithful Atenists to insure this hurried royal burial against interference for the next three thousand years.

But whose burial was it? Owing to the frequent mention of Queen Tiye in the inscriptions, Theodore Davis and his collaborators jumped to the conclusion that not only was the tomb hers, but that the mummy was hers also. The latter illusion was, however, shattered when Elliot Smith established the fact that the body was that of a man,⁶ this convincing him as well as Weigall⁷ that they were in possession of the mortal remains of none other than the heretic king Akhenaten himself. Nearly twenty years later this view was strongly contested, after a re-examination of the bones, by D. E. Derry,⁸ who argued from the completely ununited state of the epiphyses that their owner could have been no older than twenty-four years of age at the time of his death and consequently could not have been Akhenaten with his reign of seventeen years; Derry also denied the hydrocephalic character of the skull, on the contrary declaring it to be markedly platycephalic like that of Tut'ankhamūn. He therefore conjectured that the young man buried in Theodore Davis's tomb might have been a brother of Tut'ankhamūn, who could of course only be Smenkhkarē. This verdict, emphatically supported by Engelbach in his later article, appears to be generally accepted nowadays,⁹ and at all events it is not for a mere philologist to arbitrate between two such distinguished physiologists. None the less the absence of the name of Smenkhkarē from any of the furniture in the tomb would be extremely strange. There is only one exception, a fragment of gold plate bearing the words  'beloved of Wa'enrē', i.e. of Akhenaten, these words being an integral part of the nomen of Smenkhkarē as found on a box found in the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn, see Newberry's article *JEA* 14, 5.¹⁰ According to Dar. p. 150 (under D);

¹ Daressy first thought that they portrayed Queen Tiye, but in Dar. p. 159 declared his conviction that they belonged to Tut'ankhamūn; Borchartdt, *Der Porträtkopf der Königin Tiy*, 27, agrees with an article of Maspero's inaccessible to me that the heads are those of Akhenaten, as was also Weigall's view (loc. cit. 232); C. Aldred, in a valuable paper showing that the wig may have belonged equally well to a man or to a woman, suggested Meritaten as his personal choice, *Bull. MMA*, Feb. 1957, pp. 141 ff.

² Dav. p. 8; Wei., p. xxvi.

³ Carter, I, pl. 14.

⁴ Dav. p. 10.

⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

⁶ *The Royal Mummies*, Cairo, 1912, pp. 51 ff.

⁷ Loc. cit. Elliot Smith says that gold bands bearing the name of Akhenaten were found upon the wrappings, but these had probably fallen from the coffin, see below, p. 15, n. 3 and p. 20.

⁸ See his article quoted above, p. 10.

⁹ Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 3rd edn., p. 373, n. 1.







¹⁰ It is also found as part of the prenomen on scarabs found at El-'Amarna, see Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. 15, nos. 94-96.

Eng. p. 100 this epithet formed an original part of one of the inscriptions of the coffin in which the mummy was found, but on this point I shall have more to say later, when I shall also discuss Weigall's theory that the tomb had seen two burials, first that of Queen Tiye, and ultimately that of Akhenaten.

2

Let us, however, leave for the present the question of the coffin and its contents, and turn to the great object partially (but only partially) depicted in line Dav. pls. 31-33 and in photograph pls. 27-29. That no more satisfactory publication has been given is doubtless due to the infiltration of water through a crack in the roof which had been only imperfectly cemented (Dav. pp. 3. 9); this had rotted all the gold-covered woodwork, much of which it proved impossible to preserve (Dav. p. 13); still we might fairly have expected more details and for some measurements to be given. The captions to the plates, as well as Daressy's text, give a large variety of names to the object here in question; it is not only a sepulchral canopy, but also 'a great sarcophagus, or, more precisely, a hearse which must have served to protect the coffin during its transport to the necropolis' (Dav. p. 13); in the next sentence a 'catafalque' and elsewhere a 'shrine'. Weigall curiously calls it an 'outer coffin' (op. cit. 161). Since Ayrton (Dav. p. 8) speaks of 'a large wooden object resembling a broad sled in shape', 'covered with gold-leaf with a line of inscription running down each side', and lying upon it 'a wooden door with copper pivots still in place', this also 'covered with gold leaf and ornamented with a scene in low relief of a queen worshipping the Sun-disk' we gain the impression of a shrine like those which in the tomb of Tutankhamun enclosed the quartzite sarcophagus, this in turn containing the three coffins that protected the mummified body of the king; cf. the picture of the third shrine in Piankoff-Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-ankhamon*, pl. 23; I confess I am not quite clear about the sled mentioned by Ayrton, but I imagine it to have been like that seen carrying the Canopic chest, op. cit., pl. 10, or that being used in the funeral procession, Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pl. 27. Neither of the folding doors is depicted in Th. Davis's publication, but the scene of which Ayrton speaks will hardly have added any information of value to what is given in Dav. pls. 31. 32.¹ The scene on the back (Dav. pl. 32) is shown in a drawing by E. Harold Jones, as well as in the photograph, pl. 29; it must be mistakenly that the caption to pl. 32 describes it as representing a 'side of the sepulchral canopy'; one of the long sides, very much damaged, is seen in the photograph, Dav. pl. 28, cf. p. 15, and its sole interest for us is that the nomen of Akhenaten, erased everywhere else on the shrine, has here been carelessly left intact. It would be useless to devote more words than are necessary to the scene on the back which Harold Jones's drawing enables students to see for themselves; Akhenaten, his figure completely obliterated, is depicted making a burnt offering to the Aten, while behind him, left undestroyed, Queen Tiye pours incense on the flames of a second altar; the sun's disk on the left sheds its rays on both altars and both royal officiants. The inscriptions at top and sides merely repeat what is better read on the 'upper traverse' and the doorpost reproduced from the front

¹ Daressy (Dav. p. 13) says that Queen Tiye was figured offering flowers to the Aten.

of the shrine, i.e. around the folding doors, in pl. 31, with p. 13. On the left jamb a vertical column gives first the two cartouches with the name of Aten in its later form, then without a break 'the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living on truth, [Akhenaten]'¹ and finally 'the king's mother Tiye, may she live eternally'; in the words for 'truth' and 'mother'  and  replace  and  owing to the heretic king's abhorrence, towards the close of his reign, of attributing any degree of divinity to any being except the Aten. The horizontal band above the doors has two symmetrically arranged legends starting from a central ; on the right *the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living on truth, [Akhenaten]; what he made for the king's mother, the great king's-wife Tiye*; on the left *the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Nebma'rē, the king's mother, the great king's-wife Tiye, may she live (eternally)*. There are two important points here to be observed: first the explicit statement that the shrine was made for Queen Tiye, Akhenaten's mother, and that it was he and none other who caused it to be made; and second, the prominence given to her husband Nebma'rē, i.e. Amenophis III. The dedication to Tiye is confirmed by the repetition of the words *irt·n·f·n mwt·nsw*, etc., on one of the long sides (Dav. p. 15), as well as by the engraving of her name on the four 'bronze tenons' serving 'to fasten the cover to the sarcophagus' (*sic*), see loc. cit. and pl. 23.² There can thus be no shadow of a doubt that the shrine was intended to house the mummy of the queen, though whether at Thebes or at El-'Amārna remains to be considered later. The presence of the prenomen  of Amenophis III here and several times more on the shrine³ re-opens a controversial issue on which I have, I confess, strong views. These are far from the only cases where Tiye's husband is named in conjunction with Akhenaten on an object dating from the second half of the latter's reign. The evidence has been collected with meticulous care and with, on the whole, judicious comments by Fairman in *CoA* III, pp. 152 ff., but at the end of his discussion he still inclines 'to think that a coregency is the only satisfactory explanation' (p. 156). In this he agrees with the verdict more emphatically pronounced by Pendlebury⁴ and Engelbach.⁵ I find it strange that Fairman makes only one passing and irrelevant reference to the El-'Amārna letters,⁶ to my mind far better historical evidence than the highly ambiguous pictures on tomb-walls. A letter from the Hittite King Suppiluliuma⁷ and others from Tushratta, king of Mitanni, show that Akhenaten succeeded only after the death of his father and when he himself was but a mere youth. In 'Amārna letter 23⁸ we find Tushratta sending to Egypt the image of Ishtar of Nineve in the hope that she will restore the old king to health. A letter to Queen Tiye (no. 26)

¹ Daressy perhaps wrongly restores the erased cartouche as *Nbm:rtrr*, i.e. Amenophis III, but I am not sure whether Akhenaten was here and below referred to by his nomen or by his prenomen.

² Wei. 161 writes: 'Many of the nails which held the woodwork together were made of pure gold'; Daressy's catalogue knows nothing of these.

³ Wei. 247 wrote: 'The inscriptions showed the erasure of the name of Amenophis III, and the substitution in red ink of that king's second (*sic*) name Nebmaara'. Daressy has a similar remark (Dav. 13), but perhaps by a slip wrote 'Amenôthes IV' for 'Amenôthes III'. For this substitution see below, p. 14, n. 8.

⁴ *Tell el Amarna*, pp. 10-13.

⁵ *Ann. Serv.* 40, 134, *ad finem*. A further adherent of the coregency is Hayes, *JNES* 10, 37. 180.

⁶ Fairman, *op. cit.* III, p. 152, n. 5.

⁷ Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, I, p. 301, no. 41, ll. 13-17.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.

without explicitly referring to Amenophis III's death, cannot be rationally understood except on the assumption that she was a widow, for she is there urged to impress upon the mind of her son Naphurria, i.e. the later Akhenaten, the good relations which had subsisted between his father and Tushratta. What appears to have been the first letter from the Mitannian king to Naphurria (no. 27), bearing a hieratic docket dated in the latter's second year and stating that he was then residing in the Southern City (i.e. Thebes),¹ twice mentions (ll. 100. 104) 'the celebration of mourning',² which can surely refer only to Amenophis III's funeral, and there is every reason to think that he was actually buried in his tomb of the Bibān el-Molūk. Our information concerning Tiye's subsequent history is scanty. In the tomb of Huya at El-'Amārna³ she is depicted, accompanied by a small daughter named Beketaten, feasting with Akhenaten and his spouse Nefertiti, the two elder daughters of the royal pair being present on this occasion. Its date, however, together with that of another scene of the kind where the third daughter Ankhesenpaten is shown,⁴ is doubtful, since the Year 12 mentioned in another part of the same tomb refers only to an exceptional concourse of foreign princes or envoys to bring tribute to the Pharaoh.⁵ The tomb itself belongs to the latter half of the reign since here again the name of the Aten is given in its later form. It is important to note the absence of Amenophis III from the two banqueting scenes; had he still been alive and in good health, surely he would have accompanied his spouse. Nor can any objection be based on his presence together with Tiye and their little daughter in the right half of a lintel in the same tomb,⁶ balancing Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and their four daughters in the left half, for there the intention must have been to illustrate the cordial relations existing between the senior and the junior branches of the family. Neither Tiye nor Amenophis III was subjected to the fanatical rage which Akhenaten vented upon the deities and the human votaries of the older generation. For my part I am convinced that the juxtaposition of the names of Amenophis III and of Akhenaten, wherever it occurs, was due merely to filial piety, probably coupled with the fact that a reference to *mꜣt*, the 'Truth'⁷ so much in the forefront of Akhenaten's creed, forms a part of Amenophis III's prenomen.⁸

There is some ground for thinking that after the convivialities at El-'Amārna Tiye

¹ The facsimile in Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna*, p. 21, no. 11, makes it certain that Year 2 was written, not Year [1]2, as Erman (*ZÄS* 27, 63) at one time thought possible. That the entire series of Tushratta's letters covered only a relatively brief space of time is shown by their mention throughout of the same envoys both on the Mitannian and on the Egyptian side.

² It is, however, only fair to note that there is some doubt about the meaning of the word *kimri* here used, see Knudtzon, p. 1587, on 28, 20.

³ *Amarna*, III, pl. 4; for Beketaten see Davies's important note *ibid.* p. 5, n. 4.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. 13. The same event and date are recorded in the tomb of Meryrē II, *op. cit.* II, pl. 29.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pl. 18.

⁷ The rendering of the Egyptian word *mꜣt* by 'Truth' is unavoidable, but misleading. As R. Anthes has shown in *JAOIS* 1952, Supplement, the meaning at El-'Amārna is 'rightness' or 'orderly management', and is in no case to be understood as an attachment to matter-of-fact reality, though love of realism is apparent enough in the 'Amārnian art.

⁸ There exist cases where the nomen of Amenophis III has been changed into the prenomen *Nbmꜣtrꜣ*, so that the latter occurred twice in the same titulary, e.g. at Sedeinga, Leps. *Denkm.* III, 82, e; at Aswān, De Morgan, *Cat. d. Mon.* I, p. 40, no. 174. Cf. the like substitution on Tiye's shrine, above, p. 13, n. 3.

may have stayed on in that city; indeed, she may have taken up her residence there even earlier. The name of Baketaten suggests that the child was brought up under the influence of the Aten cult, and it may be significant that she had on the site a house of her own.¹ Less evidential value can be attached to the fact that Tiye likewise had a house, since El-'Amārna possessed also houses of Tuthmosis I, Amenophis II, and Tuthmosis IV, who obviously can never have been their occupants. For a like reason no argument in favour of the coregency can be based on the existence at El-'Amārna of several buildings connected with Nebma'rē Amenophis III.²

3










Further discussion of Tiye's shrine must be deferred until I sum up my results. These will depend in no small measure upon the view to be taken of the coffin, at once the most interesting and the most enigmatic object emanating from Theodore Davis's remarkable find. This, as he himself tells us (p. 2), was 'made of wood, but entirely covered with gold foil and inlaid with semi-precious stones'. I shall not repeat the details given by Daressy both in the original publication and in his French article, these being irrelevant to my present purpose. Dav., pl. 30, exhibits the deplorable condition of the coffin when first seen, and the photograph Eng., pl. 1, displays it as it appeared after restoration in the Cairo Museum. These illustrations, combined with the verbal descriptions, show its close resemblance to the second or middle coffin from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn, for which see Carter, II, pls. 23. 24 and Penelope Fox's *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, pl. 29. It is needless here to dwell upon the face and the gold mask with which it was covered (Dav. p. 16), but it is worth while noting that the bronze uraeus attached to the forehead (Dav. pl. 2, 5, with p. 19) bore the name of the Aten in its later form. We shall be concerned here only with the inscriptions, of which the main ones consist of polychrome hieroglyphs inlaid upon gold foil, those on the foot-end, however, being finely incised upon the gold, while in the two columns of the interior (D and E, see below) the signs were 'engraved in the wood, and the gold pressed down to receive the imprint' (Dav. pp. 18-19). The sheets of gold on the inside of the coffin had become unstuck, and those of the cover or upper half had fallen upon the mummy, so that, to quote Dar. p. 146 with n. 1, 'il pouvait y avoir hésitation sur la place à assigner a quelques-uns des débris'.³ But this is not all. Subsequent study showed Daressy that there had been many deliberate alterations in the texts, replacements of words previously cut out. All these he noted carefully, using as his criterion that 'la feuille d'or ajoutée est généralement plus mince et les hiéroglyphes sont gravés avec moins de soin' (Dar. p. 152). Re-examination by Engelbach and Brunton, recorded Eng. pp. 100-1, confirmed almost all Daressy's observations, though a few of the gold



¹ *CoA* III, p. 200, under 3 (iii).

² The evidence for all these houses has been admirably collected by Fairman, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 ff.

³ Weigall (*op. cit.* 231) writes that 'over the linen bandages on the body there were placed ribbons of gold foil encircling the mummy . . . inscribed with Akhnaton's name and titles'. Since our other authorities know nothing of these I can only imagine that they were the fallen bands for which the correct positions were later found in the restoration of the coffin, see below.

plates were not found and there were some minor divergences. Clearly we must accept this consensus of opinion, though I shall differ widely in my interpretation.

Previous commentators have concentrated their attention mainly on the inscription of the foot-end here reproduced in fig. 1. I, on the contrary, shall deal primarily with the other five bands of hieroglyphs, but for the sake of convenience quoting them only piece-meal; they are given *in extenso*, with the added pieces duly marked, Dar. pp. 149–50; Eng. p. 100. The positions as stated by Daressy are as follows: A down the centre of the lid, see Eng. pl. 1; B and C beneath the edge of the shell or box; in these three cases the arrangement is that seen in the above-quoted coffin of Tut‘ankhamūn;¹ D and E are single columns ‘down the middle both of the coffin and of the lid’, i.e. on the gold lining the interior of box and cover (Dav. p. 19). Now all five bands show a central portion marked in both publications as original and unaltered; it reads  (varr. D , E ) (cut out)  (var. C, D, E )  (D, E insert ) . That the name in the mutilated cartouche was that of Akhenaten is of course certain, and the writing on the El-‘Amārna boundary stelae shows that it was probably the prenomen . Both Daressy and Engelbach strangely state that the epithet *pꜣ šꜣꜣ nfr n pꜣ ꜥtn ꜥnhꜣ* is never given to Akhenaten, but it is so found, with only trifling variations, *Amarna*, I, pls. 30. 38; IV, pl. 8; VI, pl. 20 and doubtless in other places. The following words refer to the future, as do in Late Egyptian all clauses beginning with *nty iwꜣf*, see my note *JEA* 19, 27, n. 1. The whole of this laudatory rigmarole is repeated in the last three lines on the foot-end, these again given by Dar. and Eng. as original and unaltered. We may now translate: *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, living on Truth, lord of the Two Lands, [Neferkheprurē-waꜥenrē], the goodly child of the living Aten, who shall be (here) living for ever and ever.* On the strength of these words Weigall (op. cit. 231) and Schäfer (*ZÄS* 55, 4) took it for granted that the coffin had been made for Akhenaten, and for this it would be difficult to find more persuasive evidence, UNLESS—and here are two formidable objections which will have to be answered—valid grounds to the contrary can be found (*a*) in the nine first lines of text on the foot-end, or (*b*) in the secondarily changed words before and after the portions of the five bands which name Akhenaten so unmistakably. It will now be seen that the former objection can be easily disposed of, and disposed of in such a way as to render my proposed conclusion practically inevitable.

(*a*) To Daressy belongs the merit of having recognized that several times in the nine lines in question the suffix-pronoun of the first person singular had originally referred to a woman, but had subsequently been altered so as to refer to a man.³ The decisive example is in  *rnꜣ* ‘my name’ (l. 7), where the divided tresses of the sign  leave no room for doubt (Dar. p. 151). Daressy then observed that in l. 6 the masculine

¹ Eng. speaks of all five bands as ‘vertical inscriptions’ but surely B and C are vertical only in the sense that they started at the head-end and continued in the direction of the foot; in that case they were arranged so as to be read horizontally.

² Sandman, 120 ff.

³ Schäfer (loc. cit. 4, n. 3) unfortunately dismissed without consideration the evidence which led Daressy to think that the coffin had been made for a woman.

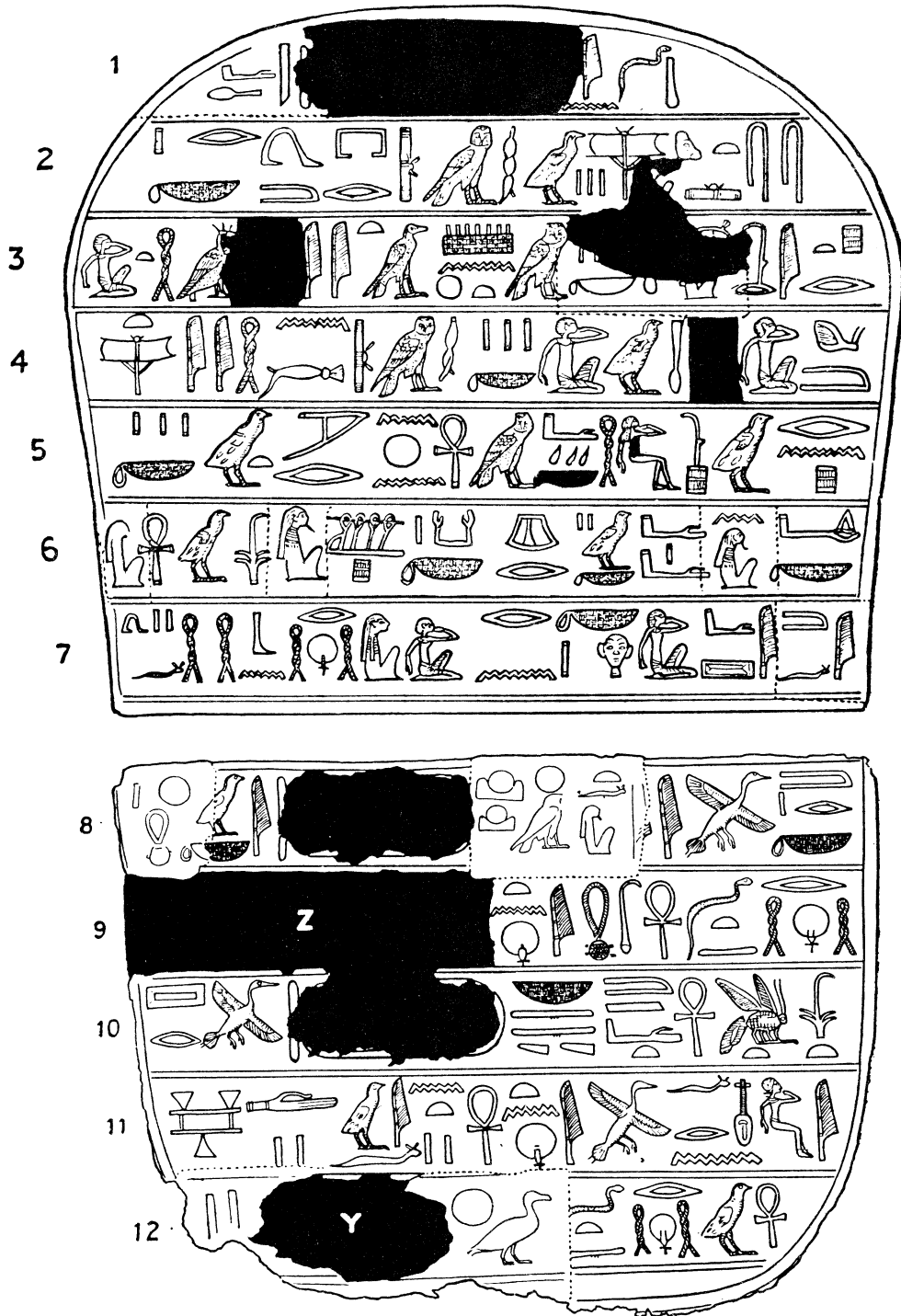








FIG. 1. FOOT-END OF AKHENATEN'S COFFIN

From *Ann. Serv.* 31, pl. 2, opposite p. 100
 Later inserted signs or groups are indicated by dotted lines

suffix  occurred twice, if not three times, on an added piece of gold foil, and that in ll. 3 and 4 the suffix had been cut out, but that replacement had been carelessly omitted. As regards the above-mentioned suffix in *rn-i* he says: 'L'oubli de la substitution ayant dû être reconnu trop tard, ou s'était contenté de masculiniser le personnage en lui ajoutant sommairement une barbe'. Unhappily the beard added to  is not seen in the otherwise very careful facsimile of these lines made for Engelbach (see fig. 1), but it must be supposed that Daressy's statement on this point was accurate. Acute and valuable as were the French scholar's observations just described, the deductions drawn by him from them were unfortunate. He quite gratuitously assumed that the female speaker whose name has been cut out in l. 1 was Queen Tiye, and that the coffin had been originally made for her; the masculine suffix *·k* in her words he took to refer to the Aten, as did Wei. 248; and lastly, the substituted  for  he claimed as indicating that Akhenaten usurped the coffin from his mother. He summed up his verdict thus (Dar. p. 155): 'Khu-n-Aten s'est approprié un cercueil qui était destiné à sa mère'. Engelbach's theory was quite different; he believed that Smenkhkarē was the original owner, and that the words *pꜣ šri nfr n pꜣ Itn*, instead of belonging to Akhenaten, were an epithet of the former, whose name will have followed at the ends of the lines; unhappily this view forced him to regard the feminine suffix in l. 7 as an 'orthographical error' (Eng. 104). In the latest writing on the subject that I have come across, K. Seele (*JNES* 14, p. 173, n. 40) returns to Daressy's view that the coffin was made for a woman, though, he adds, not for Queen Tiye; his own candidate is the heretic king's second daughter Meketaten. I shall not linger over these three hypotheses, since I am convinced that my own solution of the problem, when rightly understood, cannot fail to receive acceptance.

The first thing to be noticed is that the woman whose name has been wilfully destroyed in l. 1 of the foot-end is presented not as the owner of the coffin, but merely as a speaker. The second point is the place which she and her speech occupy, a fact which my three predecessors have completely overlooked. Now every Egyptologist knows that in the funerary procession and in the deceased's subsequent existence in his tomb the goddess Nephthys was stationed at the head-end of the sarcophagus and coffin, and the goddess Isis at the foot. For ocular confirmation I need only quote the already mentioned (p. 12) funeral scene from the tomb of the vizier Ra'mose.¹ But the hieroglyphic texts are equally decisive. At the foot-end of the sarcophagi of the Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs it is regularly Isis who speaks,² though not on the lid, where the heaven-goddess Nut is naturally the speaker; on the box itself Isis is represented kneeling on the sign  presumably symbolizing the conquered enemy Seth of Ombos, and with her hands protecting the emblem  doing duty for the royal cartouche;³ the accompanying text addresses the king and describes the speaking goddess as his sister;

¹ For Isis 'the big kite' and Nephthys 'the little kite' in the same positions see (e.g.) *Theban Tomb Series* I, pl. 12; II, pl. 19.

² Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, pls. 5. 7. 13 for the figure of Isis, pp. 189-90, nos. 20. 22 for her words.

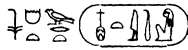
³ Hayes, pp. 90-91 admirably explains the 'gold' sign, but I am not quite clear as to his interpretation of the *šmw*-emblem.



FOOT OF TUT'ANKHAMÜN'S GOLD COFFIN

the tersest and most eloquent words are as follows: *Recitation, O king Menkheperre, son of Re, Dhutmoseneferkhepru* (i.e. Tuthmosis III), *I am thy sister Isis*.¹ After the Aten period the old habit was resumed; I am happy to be able to quote from Carter's notes in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, some unpublished facts about the three coffins in the tomb of Tutankhamun, and I reproduce in pl. III the foot-end of the splendid innermost golden coffin. In all three cases Isis is depicted exactly as on the above-mentioned royal sarcophagi, but the accompanying texts are more extended, differing in each case, but always addressing the king and assuring him of his sister's protection. I translate the words on the golden coffin:

Recitation by Isis the great, the god's mother. I come and hover around thee, my brother Osiris, the king, lord of the Two Lands Nebkheprure, justified, the son of Re Tutankhamun Ruler of Southern On, justified. Thou shalt not tire, these thy members shall not weaken, O Osiris, king, lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheprure, that thou mayst be brilliant in heaven, powerful on earth and justified in the necropolis, being with all the gods in the presence of Onnophris in Djedu, king of Manu. Homage to thee in the mouth of the common folk, duration in the mouth of the living, and may thou follow Sokar in Rostaw on that day of procession (round) the walls, an onion on thy neck, joy in thy hand as the sole one at the head of the crew of Re when he travels across the heaven, thou being in front of the spirits (the *kas*) of all living on earth.

These representations and speeches leave not the slightest doubt as to how our inscription in fig. 1 is to be understood. In the Aten period, great as was the spiritual reform which Akhenaten imposed upon his subjects, the outer forms prevailing in earlier ages could not be discarded; the king's own sepulchre at El-'Amarna still contained *ushabti*-figures though no longer bearing the time-honoured summons to field-labourers to till the fields as substitutes for their lord, and there exist large scarabs of the period which no longer appeal for mercy in the weighing of the heart before Osiris. Schäfer has quoted with useful comments other examples of ancient forms being retained but interpreted in a new and wholly different manner.² Accordingly the question which we have to put to ourselves is: Who was the royal lady that in the time of Akhenaten (for it is clearly he who is addressed) stood to him in the same relation as Isis to her brother and husband Osiris? The answer must of course be: his spouse Nefertiti. Whether the hieroglyphs  are precisely those which once filled the gap in our top line is open to doubt, the shortened form of the queen's name being suspect; but I am personally persuaded that it was she who is here presented as voicing her hope to enjoy her husband's company in the hereafter. An additional reason for holding this view is that—unless I am mistaken—Nefertiti was the sole female relative of Akhenaten who ever fell into such disfavour that her name was erased.³ But now I must proceed to translate ll. 1–9 of our fig. 1 in the light of what has just been established.

Recitation by [Queen Nefertiti]: I shall⁴ breathe the sweet breath that comes forth from thy mouth, and shall behold thy beauty daily. [My] prayer is that [I] may hear thy sweet voices of the

¹ Hayes, p. 189, no. 20.

² *ZÄS* 55, 2–4.

³ See Gunn in *CoA* 1, p. 154; Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29. Nefertiti's name was here replaced by that of her daughter Meritaten, the wife of Smenkhkare.

⁴ The future sense is guaranteed by *bn hhy:f* in l. 7, this being of the pattern of Middle Egyptian *nm sdm:f*.

north wind,¹ that (my)² flesh may grow young with life through thy love, that thou mayst give me thy hands bearing thy spirit (lit. *ka*) and I receive it and live by it, and that thou mayst call upon my name eternally, and it shall not fail from thy mouth [my beloved(?) brother . . .]³ thou being (with me)⁴ to all eternity, living like the [living?] Aten . . .⁵

Clearly what we have here is no empty conventional formula, but the expression of a wish the fulfilment of which Akhenaten had indeed himself planned. In the longer proclamation of the boundary stelae⁶ he declared his intention to have at El-'Amarna a sepulchre where not only he, but also the queen and their eldest daughter Meritaten could in due course be buried. That actual preparations in that direction were made is shown by the royal tomb discovered by Barsanti far out in the desert.⁷ Later excavations by the French revealed that the short-lived second daughter Maketaten had actually been interred there. Further investigation by Pendlebury⁸ brought to light more funerary furniture, including Akhenaten's Canopic chest which, Engelbach tells us,⁹ 'has been wonderfully restored from small fragments, and is now exhibited in the Cairo Museum'; but this, he adds, 'was certainly not used for him or for anyone else'. Eng. 102, n. 2¹⁰ reports the existence in the same museum of what he believed to be the remains of four separate red granite sarcophagi: 'three of them seem to have been covered with scenes of Akhenaten worshipping the disk, and fragments bear the car-touches of Akhenaten and Tyi and Akhenaten and Nefertete; in the latter series of fragments the Queen herself stands at the corners of the coffin in place of the four goddesses'. As long ago as 1923 Schäfer had published from the Berlin Museum the fragment of such a sarcophagus with Nefertiti in one corner.¹¹ The impression which one gathers from all these accounts is that Akhenaten's original intentions as regards his 'Amarna tomb were far from all being finally carried out, and that in particular the wish expressed on the boundary stelae as regards his own and his wife's burial was never fulfilled.

(b) In dealing with the excised words and their later replacements formidable difficulties confront us, and I have no desire to minimize the speculative character of the suggestions which I am about to make. I incline to think that we need not rack our brains too much over the later inserted words when these make no sense in their context; it is possible that the ancient restorer may have sought to fill up ugly gaps with any inscribed strips of gold or inlay which came to hand; some indeed may have been taken from another coffin, for we must remember that Tutankhamun had three. In our

¹ Sense rather obscure. Can it mean that she wishes to share with her husband the same sound of the pleasant north wind?

² The masculine *·k* is obviously faulty and was cut out for that reason.

³ Probably restore *pꜣy·[i sn]*, the word 'brother' serving equally well for actual brother and for husband. But some qualifying phrase must have followed.

⁴ Very possibly restore [ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ].

⁵ The letters Y and Z in fig. 1 signify that Engelbach and Daressy were not in agreement as to the scrap of gold to be placed here. I have no idea what can have been the original endings of ll. 9 and 12.

⁶ *Amarna*, v, pl. 30, l. 17, with p. 30; also Sandman, p. 114, l. 15 to p. 115, l. 16.

⁷ Bibliography, see Porter and Moss, IV, 235.

⁸ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁹ *Ann. Serv.* 41, 135, n. 2.

¹⁰ See further, Pendlebury, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Kunstwerke aus El-Amarna*, II, pl. 15. More completely *ZÄS* 55, p. 3 with pl. 1, 5.

the preceding and following words remains. Nevertheless, it is quite safe to say that the five bands never named any person except Akhenaten, and what is more important, that whoever made the restorations just discussed, was anxious to renew in them their reference to Akhenaten, whose cartouche had not yet been cut out, since the cutting out is found also in the restorations of B and C. To sum up this discussion, there is no reason to believe that the coffin ever belonged, or was ever intended to belong, to anyone other than Akhenaten.

We must, however, hark back once again to the inscription on the foot-end. It seems unlikely that the restorer would have taken the trouble to change into masculines all the feminine first person suffixes unless he had wished the affectionate address to Akhenaten still to be taken seriously. But what male except Smenkhkarē^c could have hoped to dwell for all eternity beside the heretic king? The deep attachment of Akhenaten for his daughter Meritaten's husband is an established fact, and if a stela apparently showing the two together as kings¹ tells a truthful tale, their association on the throne would be a certainty. Furthermore it seems indispensable to believe that their intimacy was at Nefertiti's expense, since both on the box found in Tutankhamūn's tomb² and on a stela at University College, London,³ Smenkhkarē^c's nomen contains the epithet Nefernefruaten which had earlier belonged to Nefertiti; also references have been given in a footnote above⁴ for the replacement on monuments at El-'Amārna of her name by that of Smenkhkarē^c's wife Meritamūn. It is, however, important to recognize that the possible allusion to Smenkhkarē^c on the restored foot-end of the coffin has no bearing whatever upon the coffin's ownership. The owner was indubitably from first to last Akhenaten, as was believed by Weigall and Schäfer before the observations by Daressy and Engelbach turned scholars' thoughts in a different direction.

4

At the end of this long article we are left with three claimants to the tomb discovered by Theodore Davis, and these we must discuss in turn. At the outset it was generally believed that Queen Tiye had been the original occupant, but Elliot Smith's investigations having shown that the mummy was that of a man, opinion veered in favour of Akhenaten. There still remained, however, the problem of the great golden shrine, stated by its inscriptions to have been made by Akhenaten for his mother. This fact it was which led to Weigall's theory⁵ that at first Queen Tiye had actually been buried in the tomb, but that it had subsequently been rifled and used for the interment of Akhenaten.⁶ This theory I find impossible to believe, since there is not a vestige of Tiye's coffin or mummy, and the attribution of the Canopic jars is the reverse of certain; Weigall (op. cit. 160-1) speaks in his usual florid fashion of the affection shown by Akhenaten in presenting her with the furniture of her tomb, but Daressy mentions

¹ Berlin, 17, 813 figured *JEA* 14, pl. 4, 1; also earlier Schäfer, *Kunstwerke aus El-Amarna*, II, pl. 7. In his caption Schäfer had described the younger partner as the Queen, but Carter pointed out to Newberry (*JEA*, loc. cit., p. 7) that the *hprš*-crown definitely proved the figure to be that of a king.

² Loc. cit., p. 5.


³ *CoA* III, pl. 107, 2. 3 and 108, at bottom.

⁵ Wei., pp. 160 ff.

⁴ P. 19, n. 3.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 246 ff.

beside the shrine only two small plaques (Dav. pp. 30–31), with the mere fragment of a piece of furniture (Dav. p. 32) and a haematite vase (Dav. pp. 35–36) bearing her name together with that of her husband Amenophis III. It seems in the last degree improbable that she should have ever occupied the tomb without more traces having survived. It must be remembered that Queen Tiye never suffered from the hatred incurred by her son. If the tomb had belonged to her, it is incredible that it should ever have been depleted in so ruthless a manner.

As regards the rival claims of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē both suffer from the disadvantage that hardly a scrap of the usually so opulent store of funerary belongings remains to attest either occupancy: on the part of Smenkhkarē only half of his hieroglyphic cartouche and possibly his skeleton, if Derry's observations are correct; on the part of Akhenaten mainly his coffin, and this a battered and disreputable object, for all its pristine magnificence. It is almost humiliating at the end of so long an investigation to become aware that all the time there has been staring us in the face the clearest possible evidence that the persons responsible for the burial believed it to be that of the heretic king himself. I refer to the four 'briques magiques'¹ found *in situ* or as nearly so as matters, these having the sole function of protecting from harm the person around whose mortal remains they were stationed as sentinels. Two of the four bricks (Dav. pp. 26–27) are in bad condition and have not preserved the name; the other two (loc. cit., with pl. 22) are inscribed with Akhenaten's prenomen , and though it is true that the photographs suggest some tampering with the cartouches, no other name has been inserted to exact the right to supernatural protection. As regards the assertion above that these talismans were found *in situ*, Ayrton for once (Dav. p. 10) offers valuable testimony, giving the positions as (a) in the north-west corner; (b) under the mummy-couch;² (c) in the small side-chamber; and (d) against the east wall at about 7 feet from the north-east corner.

In conclusion I will advance a makeshift hypothesis of my own which seems to account for most of the complicated facts. At the tragic end of Akhenaten's life the tomb at El-'Amārna which had been prepared to receive his own body and the bodies of his nearest and dearest was mercilessly ravaged. The sarcophagi already placed there in readiness were smashed to bits. Similar maltreatment was inflicted upon the other funerary equipment, this including the king's own splendid Canopic chest, which the excavators inform us was never used. There still, however, remained at El-'Amārna some loyal worshippers of the Aten who were unwilling to see their adored sovereign left a prey to the beasts of the desert. These men, finding the noble coffin which had been designed to receive his mummy, hastily repaired it and placed in it the mummy which, rightly or wrongly, they believed to be his. Among the debris of the 'Amārna sepulchre they found also the shrine which Akhenaten had caused to be prepared for his mother Tiye, and this too they took with them to Thebes to serve the unfortunate

¹ See Mlle Monnet's admirable article *Rev. d'Ég.* 8, 151 ff. On p. 162 she returns to the subject of the four here interesting us, but fails to draw the right conclusion.

² Of this couch or bier on which the coffin rested nothing seems to have survived, since it is not mentioned in Daressy's catalogue. But Wei. 248 refers to it.

monarch for shelter in his final resting-place. At Bibān el-Molūk they were lucky enough to find available an empty tomb such as might in earlier days have been granted to some distinguished non-royal personage. Here they bestowed the royal mummy, together with Tiye's shrine and the other funerary equipment discovered there by the modern explorers. There are powerful reasons for thinking that as yet Akhenaten's cartouches had not been removed from the coffin; to use for his burial a coffin thus mutilated would have been a mockery, indeed almost an insult. Similarly with the shrine: Akhenaten's figure there so prominently displayed provided the sole excuse for its employment at his funeral instead of that of his mother Tiye for which it had been intended; when once the figure had been cut out there could be no excuse. Consequently we must attribute the said destruction to the intruders who later forced their way into the tomb (above, p. 11). Those intruders we may picture to ourselves as sworn enemies of the heretic king, though perhaps partisans of the re-converted Smenkhkarē; we may even go farther and guess that they found and destroyed the mummy of Akhenaten, substituting that of his son-in-law; possibly also they were responsible for the scratchings seen in the cartouches of the *briques magiques*. I should be less than honest, however, if I failed to acknowledge the existence of other difficulties for which I have no explanation, for instance the replaced words and phrases on the coffin. The true facts may have been much more complicated than I have supposed, and all that I ask for my tentative reconstruction of events is that it should be allowed to stand until superseded by a better.

POSTSCRIPT

At the last moment the kindness of W. R. Dawson enables me to add some first-hand information with regard to the appearance of the tomb when first discovered. The sketch in fig. 2 and the accompanying descriptions are extracted from the diary of Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, who at the time was staying at Thebes as the guest of Mr. Theodore Davis. The diary is now in the possession of the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and for the loan of it Dawson is much indebted to the Curator Dr. William C. Hayes.

1907, Jan. 19. At the Valley. Dr. Wiedemann and wife and Mr. Sayce were over and lunched with us in the lunch tomb. I went down to the burial chamber and it is now almost easy of access; and saw the poor Queen as she lies now just a bit outside her magnificent coffin, with the vulture crown on her head. All the woodwork of the shrine, doors, &c. is heavily overlaid with gold foil and I seemed to be walking on gold, and even the Arab working inside had some of it sticking in his woolly hair. Here is a sketch of the tomb and situation of objects.

No. 1, mummy of Queen, partly overlaid by coffin No. 2, both on the floor. 3 3 3 3 doors or panels, very large and heavily overlaid with gold, the one with the x has a beautiful portrait of Queen. All of them beautifully inscribed on the gold leaf. *Aten* rays on all and Khuenaten's cartouche followed by an inscription 'I made this for the great Queen Tyi, royal mother.' The 4 x's against the wall are 4 large panels, all gold and inscriptions.

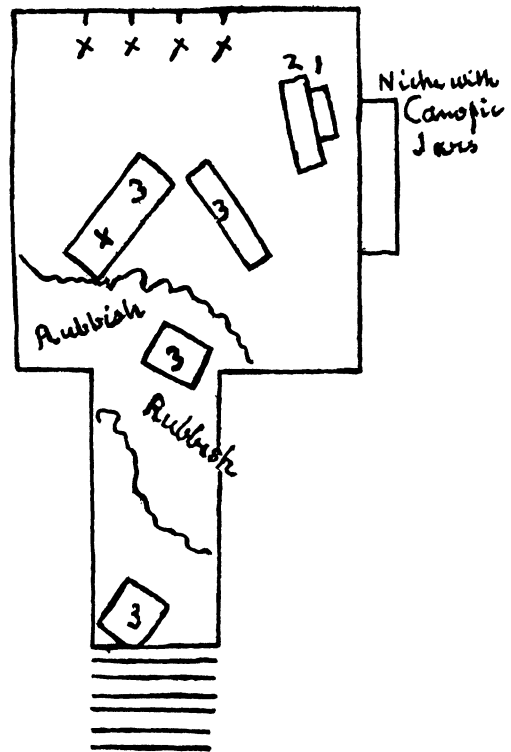


FIG. 2. Extract from the diary of Mrs. Emma B. Andrews in the Egyptian Dept., Metr. Museum, New York.


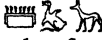
Dawson adds the comment: 'From Mrs. Andrews' plan it appears that the shrine was never erected, nor the coffins laid in order, but everything was simply dumped. This disorder cannot be due to thieves, for had any robbers entered the tomb, the gold leaf would certainly have been all carried away, and also the vulture pectoral, which Mrs. A. mistakes for a crown'. Due consideration must be given to Dawson's opinion; for my part I merely observe that the positions noted by Ayrton for the four 'briques magiques' suggest that the chamber was a real tomb, however hurriedly its contents had been deposited there.

SOBKEMḤĒT, A VIZIER OF SESOSTRIS III

By WILLIAM K. SIMPSON

THE institution of the vizierate appears as one of the corner-stones of the central administration of Egypt in the Twelfth Dynasty. In recent years a list of the successive holders of the office in the Old Kingdom has been established through the studies of Kees and others, but for the Middle Kingdom the often inaccurate list of A. Weil in *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, published in 1908, has remained the most useful basis for study. For the New Kingdom and successive periods a list of viziers and some information as to their duties and the function of the office are also generally available.

In investigating several of the political institutions of the Middle Kingdom, the writer has had occasion to observe the scarcity of material on the vizierate and also to note, possibly for the first time, the existence of the vizier mentioned in the title of this article. A study of the available sources suggests several general conclusions respecting the viziers of the Twelfth Dynasty and the development of the office.

North of the north-east corner of the pyramid enclosure of Sesostris III at Dahshūr there lies a secondary, rectangular enclosure, in the southern half of which lies the mastaba to which de Morgan assigned the number 17. The location of the mastaba and its position relative to that of the pyramid complex can be best understood by reference to the excavators' plan as redrawn in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, III: *Memphis*, 230. De Morgan was impressed by the size and workmanship of the monument: 'Ce tombeau est le plus vaste de tous ceux découverts jusqu'à ce jour dans la nécropole. Il fait partie d'un groupe de mastabas entouré d'un mur d'enceinte tout comme l'est la pyramide de briques. . . . Cette tombe, déjà remarquable par les dimensions de son mastaba, est également intéressante par diverses particularités de sa construction.'¹ The importance of the owner of the mastaba was also recognized: 'Ces fragments nous apprennent que le tombeau appartenait à un haut personnage de la cour, mais ne nous disent pas son nom.'² De Morgan did not realize, however, that the offering table and fragments of relief revealed not only the name of the owner but also his key titles. The offering table preserves in part the titles *iry-pct*, *hsty-r*, and *imy-r sdyt* with the first two elements of a proper name, *Sbk-m*.³ The second and third elements of a name, *-m-hst*, occur at the end of a column of text on another fragment.⁴ Hence it is logical to assume that the owner's name was Sobkemḥēt. Among the titles preserved on these fragments are  on one,⁵ and  on another.⁶ Since these are the traditional titles of the vizierate, and since all the fragments are said to derive from the same structure, mastaba no. 17 can be assigned with a fair measure of certainty

¹ *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894*, 31-32, cited below as *Dahchour*, 1.

² *Dahchour*, 1, 33.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 67, upper right.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 67, top centre. The text is arranged vertically with only the base of the first sign preserved.

to a vizier named Sobkemhēt. The vizier does not seem to be otherwise attested, and the name does not occur in A. Weil's *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, which remains the standard list although very much out of date.¹

Sobkemhēt was not the only vizier to have merited a tomb near the pyramid of Sesostris III. Mastaba no. 2, to the north-west of mastaba no. 17, was built for the vizier Khnumhotpe (Weil, no. 11).² Fragments of a biographical text inscribed on the casing of the structure were found at the site by de Morgan.³ The location of the two mastabas near the king's pyramid indicates that they should probably be dated to the reign of Sesostris III. Although there are a number of examples in the Twelfth Dynasty of later burials near the royal pyramids, these are usually of members of the king's family and court who survived him by one or more reigns, officials attached to the mortuary cult of the pyramid, or minor officials of later times. It seems unlikely to the writer that the mastabas numbered 2 and 17 could have been built for viziers whose tenure in office should be dated to a reign other than that of Sesostris III. Indeed, the enclosure in which the latter mastaba was built is well dated to this reign (see n. 2).

If the date of these viziers is then correctly interpreted, the location of their mastabas near the king's pyramid is not without a measure of historical significance. Students of the Twelfth Dynasty have frequently noted the loss of power suffered by the nomarchs in this reign. This situation certainly requires further study and perhaps reappraisal, but it cannot be seriously questioned.⁴ The construction by Khnumhotpe and Sobkemhēt of their tombs at Dahshūr is an indirect indication that the viziers owed their loyalty to the king and not to the province from which they may have come. Neither vizier holds the title of nomarch, and thus it seems that the office was an appointment made by the king, perhaps on the basis of the official's administrative ability. The viziers of the Twelfth Dynasty evidently belonged neither to the ruling family, as was the case at the outset of the Old Kingdom, nor to the class of hereditary nomarchs, as did the viziers of the end of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period (the El-Bershah-Ĥatnub series).

The limited material concerning the vizierate in the Twelfth Dynasty permits us to

¹ The name is frequent at the time.

² *Dahchour*, I, 18-23; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III: *Memphis*, 229, and plan, 230. Weil assigns this vizier Khnumhotpe to the reign of an Ammenemes, but this is certainly a misunderstanding of a fragment of relief (*Dahchour*, I, 19, fig. 22) with the name of Amenemhēt'ankh in the offering formula. The context suggests that this individual may have been deified, for he appears in the offering formula. A king's son of this name is known from *Dahchour*, II, 69, fig. 111, and 85, fig. 128 left. For the deification of private persons, see E. Otto, 'Gehalt und Bedeutung des ägyptischen Heroenglaubens', *ZÄS* 78, 28-40; H. Goedicke, 'A Deification of a Private Person in the Old Kingdom', *JEA* 41, 31-33; and L. Habachi, 'Hekaib, The Deified Governor of Elephantine', *Archaeology*, 9, 8-15. The vizier Khnumhotpe may possibly have been related to the family of the Beni Hasan nomarchs, as suggested by Jéquier in *Dahchour*, I, 23, but the grounds for this view are indeed slight. There is evidence for assigning the vizier Sobkemhēt to the reign of Sesostris III. Within the same brick enclosure de Morgan partially excavated mastaba no. 18, and the relief from this structure contains a cartouche of Sesostris III in a context which indicates that the mastaba should be assigned to this reign (*Dahchour*, I, 33-34; 34, fig. 68). The relief further suggests that the mastaba had an interior chapel; in this respect it would differ from those of Dahshūr and resemble mastabas of Middle Kingdom date at Lisht and elsewhere.

³ *Dahchour*, I, 21, fig. 26.

⁴ The *locus classicus* for this view is Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*³, I, § 285; see also Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*³, 253.

make two further observations. The first is that there is no reason to believe that the title was honorific, as assumed by Helck for the period immediately following the Old Kingdom. For example, Helck considers the well-known *Šmry* of the Koptos decrees as a 'Titularvezir' in contrast to the earlier 'amtierende Vezire'. His view in this case has not won unqualified approval and is at variance with that of William C. Hayes, a recent editor of several of the decrees in question.¹ In the case of the known viziers of the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Dynasties there is every reason to believe that they were all active holders of the highest office in the administration. If the title became honorific at the end of the Old Kingdom, it had ceased to be so by the advent of the Eleventh Dynasty.

A second aspect of the vizierate which deserves mention is the likelihood that it was frequently held by a single individual during the transition between reigns. The evidence for this lies in the probability that Inyōtefokre (Weil, no. 10) held office in the reigns of Ammenemes I and Sesostris I,² and that a Senwosret (Weil, no. 8) known from a stela dated in year 8 of Ammenemes II (Louvre C 4) also served under Sesostris I (text from the tomb of Ameny-Amenemhēt at Beni Hasan).³ This situation might not be worthy of note were it not for the circumstance that a continuity in the direction of the administrative branch of the government was thus achieved which is comparable in part to that achieved in the kingship through the institution of co-regency.⁴ In the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty there are instances of the vizierate passing from father to son, unlike the kingship at this time, and the well-known 'Ankhu held office under at least two and perhaps as many as five kings.⁵ This extraordinary development in the vizierate seems to have been made at the expense of the power of the kings.

To the best of my knowledge, the holders of the vizierate in the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty are otherwise not known, with the exception mentioned below. In suggesting that Sobkemhēt and Khnumhotpe be assigned to the time of Sesostris III, the writer believes that a step can be made towards filling this gap in our sources. The only other vizier who can be assigned with certainty to the last part of the dynasty is an Akhtoy cited by Griffith, in *Kahun Papyri*, 13, 10, a document dated in year 29, almost certainly of Ammenemes III, and executed in the vizier's office in his presence.⁶ Although Weil includes this Akhtoy as no. 13 of the Middle Kingdom viziers, he mistakenly assigns him to the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty on the basis of the

¹ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (*Ägyptologische Forschungen* 18), 142; J. A. Wilson in review of same in *JNES* 15, 264; William C. Hayes, *JEA* 32, 21-23.

² The references are cited by the writer in *JEA* 41, 130, notes 2 and 3. The north mastaba at the pyramid of Sesostris I at Lisht, the owner of which remains unidentified, might better be assigned to the vizier Mentuhotpe, who is chiefly known through his large stela (Cairo Cat. Gen. 20539) and the series of imposing seated statues in the Louvre (A 123, 124, and 125) and Cairo (Cat. Gen. 42037). By tentatively assigning the mastaba to Mentuhotpe, one avoids crediting Inyōtefokre with two mastabas at no very great distance from each other. For this question, see A. Lansing in *Bull. MMA* 28 (Section II, Nov.), 25-26, and 31, fig. 38; William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Part I, 183; W. K. Simpson, *JEA* 41, 129-30.

³ *Urk.* VII, 15, line 9.

⁴ For a recent discussion of the institution of co-regency in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, see the writer's account in *JNES* 15, 214-19.

⁵ William C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 146-8.

⁶ F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, Text, 35-36.

royal names found elsewhere in the Illāhūn papyri. The vizier is not altogether unknown, however, if we follow Griffith's conjecture that this Akhtoy may be identical with the vizier mentioned in the Rekhmirē^c text.¹ The Akhtoy there cited seems to have been considered as over-zealous to a fault, and if the Twelfth Dynasty vizier was meant, it is intriguing to speculate whether this conduct might be evidenced by his witnessing in person the Illāhūn document.

One still looks forwards with anticipation to the eventual publication of the Illāhūn papyri in the Berlin Museum, which may confirm the dates of these viziers and provide the names of others. Information concerning the names, order of succession, and dates of tenure of office of the viziers of the Twelfth Dynasty would serve as a useful and perhaps valuable framework for the study of the institution of the vizierate in the Middle Kingdom. In comparison with other periods of dynastic Egypt the administration of the country in the Middle Kingdom is relatively little understood; this contribution to the study of the vizierate is offered in the hope that it may help to redress the situation.

The preceding discussion can be summed up as follows. In *JEA* 41, 129-30, the writer demonstrated that one of the viziers cited by Weil should be omitted. It is here-with proposed that Sobkemḥēt be added to his list and the name entered in the *Topographical Bibliography* as the owner of mastaba no. 17 at the pyramid of Sesostris III at Dahshūr, always with the reservation that the name and the titles do not appear together on the same fragment of relief. It has also been suggested that the vizier Khnumḥotpe should be dated to the reign of Sesostris III and not to the reign of an Ammenemes (Weil), and that the vizier Akhtoy certainly held office in the reign of Ammenemes III (Griffith) rather than at the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Weil). Several general observations have also been made. The vizierate in the Twelfth Dynasty seems not to have been held by the nomarchs, the title seems not to have been honorific, and there is evidence to show that the office was at times held by the same individual during the change from one king to his successor. Finally, the development of the office from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasty indicates an aggrandizement of the vizierate at the expense of the kingship.

¹ 'He would appear to have been long remembered for the oppressive exercise of his authority.' Griffith, 103. The fault of the official seems, however, to have been his excessive impartiality to the detriment of his associates, so R. O. Faulkner's interpretation in *JEA* 41, 22.

THE END OF THE EL-'AMĀRNA PERIOD

I. The Family of Yuya

By CYRIL ALDRED

THERE is evidence at most periods of Egyptian history to show that the ideal of appointing the son to the place of his father was fairly scrupulously followed, and it is to be suspected that veritable dynasties of officials existed side by side with the dynasties of kings or nomarchs whom they served. The phenomenon can most readily be traced in the New Kingdom, particularly in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and we may point as an example to the family of the Vizier 'Aḥmosē, whose son Woseramūn and whose great-nephew Rekhmirē^c succeeded him in turn, if we ignore the interregnum of Ḥapusonb.¹ The office of Chief Priest of the *Ka* of Tuthmosis I, of which the Vizier Imḥotep was probably the first incumbent, appears to have been still in the hands of a descendant in the reign of Sethos I,² and similar instances will probably occur to most readers of this article.³ Where it was impossible for the son to enter into the office either held or vacated by his father, some equivalent appointment was often secured; thus while Rome-Roy under Meneptaḥ held the post of High Priest of Amūn one of his sons was the Second Prophet, and a grandson Fourth Prophet.⁴

Even where it would seem that a parvenu could take an important place in society, such as, for example, in the case of Sennemut, the great steward of Ḥatshepsut, we should exercise some caution in drawing any conclusions, since our knowledge of the intermarriages of the period is really very scanty. Yuya, for instance, another official of the Eighteenth Dynasty, whose rise to eminence is usually regarded as spectacular, is dismissed by Maspero as of 'mediocre position', having owed his preferment to the marriage of his daughter to King Amenophis III.⁵ Yet it is clear that Yuya was primarily an officer of chariotry and in an age when the whole character of the kingship was military, from the days when the Theban war-lords had overthrown the preceding dynasty, such soldiers wielded great influence, as is shown by the example of another military officer who came forward at a moment when the succession to the throne was in danger of interruption and as Tuthmosis I carried on the royal line even though he was not a direct descendant of the reigning house.⁶ In similar crises before the dynasty was

¹ Davies, *Rekhmirē^c*, 101 ff.: Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemḥēt*, 31. According to Helck (*Ägyptologische Studien*, 1955, 107 ff.), Ḥapusonb did not act as vizier.

² Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 21.

³ Norman de Garis Davies intended to compile a 'Who's who at Thebes' from the genealogies he had traced during his work upon the Corpus of funerary cones; and it is a matter of deep regret that with his unrivalled knowledge he never lived to complete such a useful task.

⁴ Lefebvre, *Inscriptions*, 9 ff.

⁵ Th. Davies, *Iouiya*, 17.

⁶ Tuthmosis I is usually regarded as the son of a king by the secondary wife Sensonb; but there is absolutely no evidence that his father was a reigning monarch (cf. Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952), 336). That his personal claim to the throne was very remote may be deduced from the fact that the prince Amenemḥēt, who was evidently a co-regent of Amenophis I, died at a very early age (*MMA Egyptian Expedition*, 1918-20, 7 ff.). Yet Tuthmosis I must have been born in the middle of the reign of Amosis at the latest.

to end, two other soldiers Ay and Haremhab were to play precisely similar roles. During this dynasty when the careers of king's sons are completely obscure, when in fact the very existence of princes has to be inferred from such events as their succession to the kingship, or the finding of funerary material if they died prematurely, the example of Tuthmosis I should encourage us to consider whether there were not always in the military entourage of the Pharaoh collateral descendants who were ready to assume supreme power in suitable circumstances. To argue as some scholars do that the military increased their influence upon the kingship during the dynasty is in the writer's opinion an inversion of the case. Nearly all the Pharaohs, from Amosis to Ramesses III, to go no further, were vigorous war-lords.¹

We know nothing about the ancestry of Yuya; but the existence in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of an alabaster shawabti of unknown provenance in the style of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty of 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 'Father of the God and Master of the Horse, Yey',² suggests that Yuya may well have belonged to a dynasty of such officials and that Yey is an ancestor, perhaps father or grandfather. Yuya has been accredited with a foreign, usually Syrian origin.³ His mummy shows a very unusual physiognomy described by Elliot Smith as more commonly to be found in Europe⁴ and it seems certain that the curious physical traits of the royal family during the 'Amarna period are to be traced to him through Queen Tiy, since the skull of Amenophis III shows no abnormal features.⁵ It may well be that if Yuya's office of Master of the Horse were hereditary, he may have inherited also some non-Egyptian blood, since Asiatics had traditionally been skilled in the care and management of horses and chariotry and we may presume that they took appointments in the Egyptian forces from the time of the



¹ Attention has sometimes been drawn to the paradox that soldiery should be so much in evidence among the bystanders at the Court of the 'unwarlike' Akhenaten. A characteristic of El-'Amarna art, however, is its attempt to discard traditional and out-of-date iconography in favour of one which presented a more truthful aspect of the contemporary scene. If troops appear in El-'Amarna reliefs that must have been because such soldiery constituted so largely a component of the Dyn. XVIII Court.

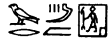

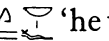
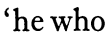
² MMA Acc. no. 45. 4. 7, brought to my attention by Dr. William Hayes. I have profited much from being able to discuss my views with Dr. Hayes during a year I was privileged to spend under his genial direction at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³ Hall, *Proc. SBA* 35, 63 ff. and *History of Near East* (1913), 256, was inclined to accept the questionable evidence of the Towry Whyte faience dish, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, that Yuya was a 'Prince of Djahi'. Meyer dismissed the dish as a palpable forgery (*Geschichte des Alt.* II, 1, 323) in which he was certainly right. I have examined the specimen at Cambridge and find that the inscription is not glazed like the rest of the decoration but appears to be painted on with what must be a modern pigment.

⁴ Quibell, *Tomb of Yuya*, 70. Elliot Smith adds, however, that it would be rash to offer a final opinion on Yuya's nationality.

⁵ Despite the very valid criticisms made by Dawson (*Asiatic Review*, Oct. 1927), Derry in *Ann. Serv.* 41, 259 has repeated the statement which he first advanced in Carter, *Tomb of Tutankhamen*, II, 147 ff., that the mummy of Amenophis III is not of that king but of a person of much later date. To Dawson's arguments and Elliot Smith's insistence (*Royal Mummies*, 49) that the limbs were packed by a method quite different from the technique employed in later times, it may be added that the great damage suffered by the body of Amenophis III is characteristic of the work of the Ramesside robbers. The Dyn. XXI mummies from the Dēr el-Baḥrī cache had merely been rifled in modern times by the 'Abd er-Rasul family, and probably also in antiquity by the embalmers themselves (cf. *MMA Egyptian Expedition*, 1924-25, 25-27), and not hacked to pieces in the process. Moreover, it is clear that Amenophis III closely resembled his father Tuthmosis IV, both these kings having similar facial structures and cephalic indexes of about 76.5, in which they differed from their immediate predecessors and successors.

introduction of the chariot into Egypt.¹ But the reason usually adduced for a foreign ancestry for Yuya is the differing ways in which his name was spelt, suggesting an outlandish-sounding word not established sufficiently long to receive the sanction of a uniform orthography.² The name which appears as  on the marriage scarabs of years 1-2 of Amenophis III, is rendered by  on the cartonnage straps that enclose the mummy of Yuya, and this we may presume to have been its definitive form, since whereas the other funerary furniture could very well have been prepared early in life, the cartonnage could only have been made after death. It is therefore by some such transliteration as Aya rather than Yuya that his name would best be rendered. Tuyu, his wife, on the other hand presents us with a fairly consistent spelling of her name, which indeed was already not uncommon, the wife of Woseramūn, for instance, having had the same name under Tuthmosis III. Tuyu's racial type has never been in dispute, since according to Elliot Smith the appearance and proportions of her mummy were typically Egyptian and she resembled closely the fellah women of today.³

This pair had at least two children who exercised considerable influence at the Court of Amenophis III—the daughter Tiy, Great Wife of the King, and the son 'Anen, who as Second Prophet of Amūn and  'Greatest of Seers⁴ in the temple of Rē-Atum and *Setem*-priest belonging to Karnak', must have held a key post in the hierarchy of the day. He is mentioned on a statue-fragment in Brussels together with the other prophets of Amūn.⁵ His greatly damaged and usurped tomb no. 120 in the Shēkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah gave promise from its painted fragments that it might have included biographical material throwing some light on his duties at Court, but in the absence of inscriptions it is impossible to say whether his relationship to his exalted sister would have been revealed, though it is extremely doubtful.⁶ His mother is known to be Tuyu from the inscriptions on her sarcophagus and coffin naming him as her son,⁷ and it therefore looks as though 'Anen was charged by Amenophis III with the duty of supervising the provision of such funerary equipment from the royal workshops. 'Anen's father, though not explicitly stated, was almost certainly Yuya. With the reticence characteristic of Egyptians in similar positions, he makes no admission of his close connexion with the royal house. Indeed, most of the styles given in the inscription on his statue at Turin⁸ are no more than the usual honorific titles of hereditary prince and treasurer; and his intimate relationship to the royal family has to be divined from such expressions as  'he who may approach near to his lord',  'greatly beloved in the palace', and  'he whose favours endure in the palace'. These epithets, usually regarded as mere empty titles, may yet have indicated some special rank in the Court society of the day and perhaps a more intensive study of such titles and their bearers might not be without its rewards.

Was the dynasty of Yuya, however, content to see its male offspring in the person of 'Anen making a career outside the established family tradition, since there is little basis

¹ Cf. Janssen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 51, 53.

³ Quibell, *op. cit.* 72.

⁵ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, § 931.

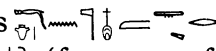
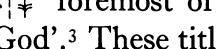
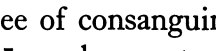
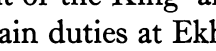
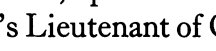
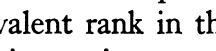
⁷ Quibell, *op. cit.* 18, 19.

² See, however, the remarks of Professor Černý below.

⁴ See below, p. 33, n. 8.

⁶ Davies, *MMA Egyptian Expedition, 1928-29*, 35 ff.

⁸ *Rec. trav.* 3, 126.

for the belief that the position of King's Lieutenant of the Chariotry was less exalted than that of Second Prophet of Amūn, or was there a second son to follow in the place of the father? I think we can see such a successor in no less a worthy than Ay, who not only has a name approximating to that of Yey/Yuya/Aya,¹ but held similar appointments, with the exception of the priestly offices of Ekhmīm—omissions which are quite explicable since Ay served Akhenaten. Both men were Fathers of the God² and Masters of the Horse; both referred to themselves in honorific titles as  'one trusted by the Good God in the entire land', as  'foremost of the companions of the king', and as  'praised of the Good God'.³ These titles, though conventional, may yet have conveyed discreetly some degree of consanguinity to the ruler, as we have already suggested. Although Ay at 'Amārna does not claim such titles, like Yuya, he was also an 'Hereditary Prince' and 'Treasurer'.⁴ The offices held by Ay and not claimed by Yuya were 'Fan-bearer on the Right of the King' and 'King's Own Scribe' (); but the probability is that Yuya's main duties at Ekhmīm kept him away from the Residence where the Fan-bearers discharged their courtly functions, while it is certain that his priestly offices demanded the education of a scribe.⁵ The only important office held by Yuya and not by Ay, on the other hand, apart from the sacerdotal appointment, was that of  'King's Lieutenant of Chariotry', but although no mention of the post is made in the El-'Amārna inscriptions, Ay was also a  'troop-captain' which may have been an equivalent rank in the infantry arm.⁶ It is, in fact, not impossible that Ay could have held his appointments under the co-regent Akhenaten at the same time as Yuya filled comparable offices at the court of Amenophis III.⁷ The exact date of the burial of Yuya and Tuya is difficult to establish but it is not likely to have been after the death of Amenophis III⁸ and was probably before the fourth year of the co-regency. The condition of the chairs of Sitamūn found in Yuya's tomb suggests that the princess had grown up and used an adult's

¹ The recurrence of similar names in this family is perhaps worthy of note. On my suggestion that Aya and Ay, Tuyu and Tiy are synonymous, Professor Černý kindly comments: 'It seems to me that what the varying spellings (of Yuya and Thuyu) intend to express is *Ti* and *Ti* with some attempt at vocalisation without reaching any agreement about this latter. The inconsistency is probably due to the fact that both names were only pet names and abbreviations of some fuller names. *Ti* is directly attested by *Abydos*, II, 41 to be a pet name formed on *Nfrtiri*, for there can hardly be any doubt that the lady was called really *Nfrtiri*, of which *Ti* was a shortening. Yeye, Teye and Teye were perhaps the names pronounced and in view of the fluctuations of spellings it is not impossible that Yuya = Ay, and Tuyu = Tiy, but it is not possible to prove that they were.'

² For a fuller discussion of this title see below.

³ Th. Davis, op. cit. 16; Davies, *Rock Tombs*, VI, 22.

⁴ Newberry, *JEA* 18, 52.

⁵ In the absence of particulars it is impossible to decide whether the bronze cup of 'the royal scribe Iuaa' published in *JEA* 18, 145, could ever have belonged to Yuya.

⁶ Newberry, loc. cit.; Helck, *Militärführer*, 37 ff.

⁷ For the case for a co-regency, see my 'Brief Communication' below, p. 114.

⁸ The probability is that 'Anen was in charge of the burial arrangements. Simut had advanced from Fourth to Second Prophet of Amūn soon after year 34, thus providing a *terminus ante quem*. It is, however, likely that the Third Prophet Amenemhēt had preceded him by year 34 in the offices of 'Anen if the 'Greatest of Seers Amenemhēt' inscribed on a honey-jar label from the Malkata Palace can refer to the same man, as is very likely to be the case in view of the fact that unsealed honey was a local Theban product (Hayes *JNES* 10, 94. 102. 161. 237). Since Meryptaḥ held office as First Prophet from year 20 to year 36 at least, the assumption is that 'Anen died about year 34.

chair for some years before her furniture was bestowed on her grandparents as a funeral gift. Hence the date of the interment is likely to fall somewhere in the last fifteen years of the reign of Amenophis III and there is nothing that would exclude the possibility that Ay was carrying out his duties at the Court of Akhenaten while Yuya was performing like services for Amenophis III. We may point to the parallel of Bek, the chief sculptor of Akhenaten, whose father, Men, apparently held a similar office contemporaneously under Amenophis III.¹ Indeed, it is likely that with the establishment of two royal households and residences on the creation of Amenophis IV as co-regent, the sons of many of the Theban dignitaries secured equivalent posts at the new Court, if they had not already been attached to the entourage of the Crown Prince. It has often been claimed that Akhenaten surrounded himself with upstarts, 'new' men free from the prejudices and influences of his father's Court, but in the absence of any knowledge of the genealogies of his henchmen, this viewpoint cannot be supported. It is exceedingly improbable in fact that Akhenaten would have been able to draw upon any cadre of educated and trained officials outside the old families. In one case at least it is evident that the son under Akhenaten succeeded to the offices of his father under Amenophis III and it is to be suspected that more extensive research would reveal other examples.²

The chief priestly offices of Yuya as prophet and superintendent of the cattle of Min were held at Ekhmīm and it is probable that these important duties would demand his residence there. The fact that Yuya was honoured by the gift of a tomb in the holy ground of the royal necropolis at Thebes has encouraged the belief that he lived where he was buried, but that by no means follows: and it is perhaps at Ekhmīm that further evidence must be sought to throw more light on the career of this particular magnate. According to Engelbach, Ay also appears to have had a tomb in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, subsequently used for the burial of Tutankhamūn, about 150 yards from where Yuya was interred,³ and although he held no appointments at Ekhmīm yet he had a close connexion with that town, later building a rock-chapel there to Min, presumably because it was his birth-place, or the family seat, and he wished to honour his city-god. It is noteworthy that in the reigns of both Tutankhamūn and Ay, references to the god Min and names compounded with Min become more common in Court circles. Surely it would be too great a coincidence if two contemporaries whose titles and careers offer such close parallels as those of Yuya and Ay, and who both hail from a small provincial town, should not have a connexion with each other.

How close this relationship may in fact have been can perhaps be shown from the strong physical resemblance between them. It is true that we lack the mummy of Ay from which to make comparisons, but representations of him, though rare and somewhat varied, are sufficiently individual to provide some indication of his appearance.

¹ Fairman, *City of Akhenaten*, III, p. 154.

² Ipy succeeded to the offices held by his father Amenhotep as Chief Steward of Memphis (Hayes, *JEA* 24, 24.) It is also significant that the owner of the large tomb no. 14 at El-'Amārna, May, held nearly all the offices claimed by Amenophis-son-of-Ḥapu. Since May was a family name (cf. Davies, *Ramose*, 17) there is every probability that a near relative of Amenophis-son-of-Ḥapu held a similar position under Akhenaten. Parennefer, who looks remarkably like a parvenu at El-'Amārna, is much more respectable at Thebes (Davies, *JEA* 9, 136).

³ *Ann. Serv.* 40, 136.

Apart from the reliefs in his 'Amārna tomb, there is the striking portrait head of the colossus at Berlin (no. 1479) which, however, has a critical feature, the nose, entirely restored.¹ The relief on the throne-base at Boston (Acc. no. 50.3789)² showing the Nile god with the face of the king, probably furnishes the most reliable side-view. The chief features of Ay's physiognomy evident from these various representations are a large nose, a receding forehead, protruding cheek-bones, prominent lips, and fairly deep jaw. These are precisely the characteristics of Yuya's facial structure, and if the profile of Ay from the Boston throne-base be superimposed upon the profile of Yuya's mummy³ the points of resemblance are too striking to be fortuitous, especially in view of Elliot Smith's description of Yuya as having a peculiar and most un-Egyptian appearance.

It is unfortunate that in the present state of our knowledge, the theory that Ay was a son, and probably the second son of Yuya, has to rest upon evidence which is no more than circumstantial; but if the relationship be accepted, with its corollary that Ay was a brother of Queen Tiy, it will explain much that is otherwise obscure in the history of the last years of the Eighteenth Dynasty as the writer hopes to show. It will, for instance, account for the importance of Ay and his wife at the Courts of Akhenaten and later of Tutankhāmūn; and it will also explain why Ay was more influential than Haremḥab and in a better position ultimately to secure the kingship.

II. The Family of Ay

The title which appears on the funerary equipment of Yuya in preference to any other is that of *it ntr*, 'Father of the God'. In short inscriptions, where there is no room for any other epithet, it is *it ntr* which is selected in thirty-one out of thirty-nine examples.⁴ In only two places, on a shawabti figure (no. 51028) and in the funerary papyrus, is the phrase qualified by *nb tꜣwy*. Ay, too, shows an equally strong predilection for the same title, by which he is known above all others. He even incorporated it into his nomen when he was elevated to the throne.

Some years ago Borchardt, arguing that the title *it ntr* could on occasions mean 'father-in-law of the king', drew attention to the close parallels in the use of this term by both Yuya and Ay, and concluded that the latter was to be regarded as the father-in-law of Akhenaten.⁵ Despite some support from Davies,⁶ this view has won no wide acceptance.

The most recent discussion of the title *it ntr* is that conducted by Gardiner in his article in *Onomastica*, I, no. 127, where, after a full exposition of the problems, he advances the hypothesis that 'Father of the God in the temples may have been any priest of sufficient age and standing for him to expect the Pharaoh to adopt a filial attitude towards him'. He also quotes with approval a suggestion of Faulkner's that the

¹ Holscher, *Medinet Habu*, II, 105.

² BMFA Bull. 40, 43.

³ Quibell, *op. cit.* 78.

⁴ The remaining eight examples give *hsy n ntr nfr*.

⁵ Borchardt, *Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.* (1905), 254.

⁶ Davies, *Amarna*, VI, pp. 23-24.

title of *it ntr*, mostly accompanied by the epithet *mry (ntr)*, has the significance of 'Elder Statesman'.

There are, in the writer's opinion, grave objections to these views. It is incredible that the Pharaoh who was a god incarnate should have been regarded as owing filial obligations to any human male simply because the latter was old enough to be his father, especially when the myth was sedulously cherished in so many ways that he was the young and living Horus, or the son of the Sun-god. Twice at least in the Eighteenth Dynasty an elaborate representation was sculptured at Thebes designed to show that the ruler was not even the child of a divine king but of Amūn, the King of the Gods, himself. In the case of someone not born to the purple, like Ḥaremḥab, it is made clear that even as a private person he was already hedged by divinity.¹

Again, in any situation in which the Pharaoh stands in need of advice, it is his heart only that he consults, or sometimes he may take heed of the oracle of a god. If he summons a council it is to impart instructions to it, not to seek guidance.² In the Karnak stela of Tutankhamūn, the king, for all his tender years, is in no need of human counsel for any of his divinely inspired decrees.³ If the fiction was scrupulously maintained in these ways, why should it be vitiated by recognizing the need, let alone the existence, of 'Elder Statesmen'? If, too, anyone of sufficient age, experience, and importance could become an Elder Statesman, there are some notable absentees from the list such as Amenophis-son-of-Ḥapu, Ḥaremḥab, and Praḥmesse, all of whom attained positions of supreme importance in their mature years, and the first of whom was deified, whereas the others were elevated to the kingship.⁴

The hypothesis which to the writer best seems to explain the various nuances of the phrase *it ntr* is, briefly, that originally it was a title recognizing a rare state of honour or privilege, a kind of sanctification, which had been conferred upon someone of non-royal blood by the marriage of a son to the royal heiress, or of a daughter to the divine Pharaoh; and that in time this same distinction was extended to those priests who had entered into a similar relationship with a king-like deity by placing their daughters in the harem of the god.⁵

That *it ntr* in the case of Yuya is to be translated as 'father-in-law of the king' as Borchardt suggested is not in dispute, since the fact is known from the marriage scarabs of year 1-2 that he was the father of Tiy, the wife of Amenophis III; but that the same significance should be attached to the title in the case of Ay has received little support. Pendlebury, for instance, rejects the suggestion without discussion.⁶ Seele, on the other hand, refuses to accept it by a curious *non sequitur*.⁷ Yet the title *it ntr* borne by Ay

¹ Gardiner, *JEA* 39, 14-15.

² For some examples see Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* I, §§ 501-5; II, §§ 303. 420-3.

³ Bennett, *JEA* 25, 9-11.

⁴ An even more curious anomaly is the case of the High Priest of Amūn, Menkheperraḥsonb, who on his earlier statue in the British Museum (no. 708) is described as *it ntr* (Hall, *JEA* 14, 1) but lacks this title in both of his later tombs (Davies, *Tomb of Menkheperrasonb*, 13, 21). The presumption is that while Menkheperrēḥsonb was an *it ntr* of Tuthmosis III he did not stand in that relationship to his successor.

⁵ I cannot here take space to develop this hypothesis at length, but hope to make it the subject of a separate article at a later date.

⁶ Pendlebury, *Tell el-Amarna*, 34.

⁷ Seele, *JNES* 14, 170.

cannot refer to any priestly office since he held no sacerdotal appointments at El-'Amārna, where, moreover, he is the only dignitary who bears this title.¹ Nor even in his case can it mean 'Elder Statesman'. On the contrary, it was the king who imparted instruction and Ay who followed his teaching, as the latter makes clear in his tomb inscriptions.² Since Ay employs the expression *it ntr* in his cartouche when he attained the kingship, for which the prime recommendation was divine descent, not 'statesmanship', it must have had some close connotation with 'royalty'. Would not a virtual usurper, who had only a slender personal claim to the throne, and who did obtain the succession mainly by virtue of his marriage to the royal heiress 'Ankhsenamūn,³ emphasize his intimate connexions with the ruling house by retaining the title *it ntr* in his cartouche?

The inference drawn by the writer from all this is that there is little doubt that Ay was the father-in-law of Akhenaten. He was freely referred to as such, and the vital role he played in the politics of the day also points to the special significance in his case of the title *it ntr*, which otherwise has no meaning.

If Ay was the father-in-law whom Akhenaten held in so much honour and esteem, it follows that his daughter must have been an important wife of the king, and she can be no other than Nefertiti. This, too, has been strenuously denied. Pendlebury sees a family likeness sufficiently strong to postulate that she was a daughter of Amenophis III by Tiy.⁴ Taking into account, however, the conventions of El-'Amārna portraiture, what resemblance there is between Akhenaten and Nefertiti (and portraits of each have sometimes been confused),⁵ the fact that they were cousins, if Ay were her father, would account for some family likeness. Seele also categorically rejects the idea on the ground that Ay could not be her father because his wife Tiy is nowhere referred to as her mother.⁶ For both these scholars Nefertiti was the daughter of Amenophis III. Yet she is never described as a king's daughter, and since the royal family at El-'Amārna is particularly sensitive to claims of royal parentage, as witness the genealogies quoted wherever the names of the princesses appear, it may be presumed that if Nefertiti had had a king as her father that distinction would have been claimed somewhere. Even in the scenes from the tomb of Ḥuya, where the equipoises of the two royal households and the presence of Queen Tiy afford several chances for Nefertiti's full titles to be proclaimed in order to balance those of her mother-in-law, she is given no higher position

¹ Even Meryrē^c The High Priest of the Aten, and Penḥasi the Chief Servitor, laid no claim to the title of *it ntr*.

² Davies, *Amarna*, VI, p. 29.


³ Newberry, *JEA* 18, 50. Seele (op. cit. 180) attempts to dismiss the evidence of the Blanchard ring but he does not completely explain it away.

⁴ Pendlebury, op. cit. 9.

⁵ A curious case of such mis-identification is the fragment, now in the Brooklyn Museum, showing a head in relief which its excavator describes as of a king, and adds that it suggests the work of Dyn. XIX (*JEA* 21, 133). In *City of Akhenaten*, III, 65, no. 167, this error is repeated. It would be interesting to know what king was referred to, since this particular fragment is part of a column from the Broad Hall of the Great Palace at Akhetaten and must have been carved before year 9. It is not of a man, but shows Nefertiti wearing the 'short Nubian coiffure' (see *Bull. MMA*, 1957, 141 ff.), as is proved by the fact that the Aten rays do not pass behind her to shine upon a figure in the rear.

⁶ Seele, op. cit. 170.

than 'heiress' which is also applied to both the Queens Tiy, neither of whom was the daughter of a king.¹

Another theory regarding Nefertiti's origin, is that adopted by Petrie and other scholars who claim that she was the Mitannian princess Tadukhipa, basing their arguments on her alleged 'foreign' cast of countenance and on the significance of her name, 'a beautiful woman has come'. Recently Drioton and Vandier have lent their weighty support to this view.² Seele, however, following Meyer, has pointed out that the title  held by Tiy the wife of Ay, must be translated in its context as 'wet-nurse of the queen', and this would dispose of the idea that Nefertiti can have been a foreign princess brought to the Egyptian Court at a mature age.³

There is a further argument which may be conclusive to show that Nefertiti is quite a different person from Tadukhipa. The betrothal of the Mitannian princess to Amenophis III must have been arranged near the end of that king's life since on his death part of her bridal-price was still unpaid.⁴ Indeed, a letter from her father, Tushratta, to Amenophis III in which he first speaks of his daughter as being at the Egyptian Court is dated by a hieratic docket to year 36 and it cannot have been long before this that she had arrived in Egypt.⁵ We must also accept that she was not espoused to Akhenaten until on his father's death he took over the responsibilities of the entire harem of the old king, including the duty of looking after his mother Queen Tiy,⁶ and this cannot have been more than a year or so at the most after his sole rule, since a letter, which clearly from its context must have been one of the first written by Tushratta to Akhenaten, is also dated by a hieratic docket to year 12.⁷ But by year 9 Nefertiti had already borne her six daughters to Akhenaten.⁸ It is obvious in fact from the El-'Amarna letters that marriages between the Pharaohs and foreign princesses were arranged purely for diplomatic reasons, and there is nothing to show that these foreign women egyptianized their names and assumed positions of importance. On the contrary, what evidence there is seems to be against such assumptions.⁹

If Nefertiti was not the daughter of either an Egyptian or a foreign king it is only reasonable to suppose that her father was a man of some importance in the entourage

¹ E.g. *Ann. Serv.* 4, p. 177, pl. 2; Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 113.

² Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952), 384.

³ Seele, loc. cit.

⁴ Knudtzon, *Tafeln*, no. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 23.

⁶ For such duties cf. the scene in tomb 226 at Thebes (Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pp. 38. 39) where on the accession of Amenophis III Mutemwiya takes the part of the consort which Nefertiti plays at the similar function on the assumption of sole rule by Akhenaten. Presumably the marriage of Amenophis III to Tiy took place after his coronation sometime in year 1. Again, a number of princesses of the harem of Tuthmosis IV were buried in a communal tomb in the Shêkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah at the expense of Amenophis III, who gave some at least of the burial equipment, since a seal of his from a box or document was found among the debris in the tomb (Rhind, *Thebes*, 83-87; Birch, *Facsimilies of Two Papyri*, pl. 12).

⁷ Knudtzon, op. cit., no. 27; Hayes, *JNES* 10, 180.

⁸ A mural painting from the King's House at El-'Amarna shows the king and queen with all six of their daughters. This is dated by the early form of the accompanying cartouches of the Aten to before year 9 (Davies, *JEA* 7, 5). The King's House in the central part of the city must have been completed early in the reign.

⁹ A Babylonian princess, the wife of Amenophis III, lived in such retirement that envoys of that country had difficulty in learning anything of her existence (Knudtzon, op. cit., no. 1). Gilukhipa's marriage was commemorated without any change of name on the scarabs of year 10 of the reign of Amenophis III. Three Syrian wives of Tuthmosis III died without having egyptianized their names (Winlock, *Three Princesses*, 3. 41.)

of Akhenaten. Ay fills such a part better than anyone else. He is one of four 'sole companions' who carried the fan on the right of the king, and the unique title of *it ntr* is applied to him exactly as it was to Yuya and not as a concomitant of other titles. Moreover, the large and imposing tomb, which was begun for him at El-'Amarna and intended as the finest in the whole necropolis, would not have been bestowed on anyone except a near relative of the king, certainly not a mere Master of the Horse. Perhaps it is not without significance that it is only in this tomb that Nefertiti is closely associated with Akhenaten in the prayers and petitions of the owner and receives a special apostrophe in the first of the hymns to the Aten.¹

In some of the earlier tomb reliefs at El-'Amarna there appears the figure of a lady-in-waiting who is placed somewhat in advance of the other fan-bearers in the entourage of the young princesses. She is usually distinguished by the presence of two dwarf attendants and is described as the 'Queen's sister Mutnodjme'.² She, too, does not lay claim to the title of 'king's daughter', another indication of the non-royal parentage of Nefertiti, and it would appear that her father must also have been Ay, particularly as she figures most prominently in his tomb and those whose decoration is influenced by it.³

At El-'Amarna everything is orientated towards the royal pair on whom alone the life-giving rays of the Aten shine, and it is from them that lesser mortals take their station. Thus Mutnodjme is referred to as the sister of the queen, though it is apparent from the important position she assumes among the retainers of the princesses that she was almost certainly their chief nurse or governess, discharging a similar function in fact to that which Tiy, the wife of Ay, performs in respect of Nefertiti.

It is tempting, therefore, to see in Mutnodjme a daughter of Ay and Tiy, rather younger than the queen, her half-sister, for it would appear that the mother of Nefertiti was not Tiy, who is given no higher titles than those of great nurse, or foster-mother and governess. We must presume, therefore, that the mother of Nefertiti died soon after giving birth to her daughter, an assumption surely not over-bold in the case of Ancient Egypt where the infant and maternal mortality rates even among royalty must have been very high.⁴ The orphan would naturally be brought up by the next wife of Ay and it is perhaps as 'stepmother' that her title of *mnct n ntrt* should best be rendered.

Some scholars have drawn attention to the unusual prominence given to Tiy in the tomb of her husband Ay and have sought to draw from this the conclusion that she was the dominant partner.⁵ Her importance as revealed in the tomb reliefs, however, is sufficiently explained by her position as the stepmother of the queen. Ay, too, follows

¹ Davies, *Amarna*, vi, pp. 18, 29.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 18.

³ The size and position of Ay's tomb suggest that it was one of the first to be started in the necropolis at El-'Amarna, an assumption which strengthens recognition of the importance of its owner. It is probable that its iconography influenced the decoration of a whole group of contemporary tombs. In such features as the full renderings of the various hymns to the Aten, it was evidently a pioneer.

⁴ In a random sampling of seven royal women of the ruling caste at Thebes in Dyn. XXI, two certainly died in childbirth or soon after, one probably so died, and no data were available in the case of two others (Elliot Smith, *Royal Mummies*, 101. 103. 108).

⁵ Seele, *op. cit.* 171.

the common practice of all the El-'Amārna personalities from Yuya to Ḥaremḥab, in having his wife associated closely with him in his undertakings.¹ It is perhaps, therefore, as a joint tomb of husband and wife, like that of Yuya and Tuyu, no. 46 in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, that the sepulchre of Ay at El-'Amārna should properly be regarded. If the hymns and petitions in this tomb are any indication there is no doubt that Ay is the senior partner;² but this is not to deny that Tiy was a woman of consequence, and her name and position suggest that she was closely related to the ruling house; she may, in fact, have been an aunt of Nefertiti.

We may at this stage ask whether Ay and Tiy had other children besides Nefertiti and Mutnodjme,³ though to this question no satisfactory reply can be made. It seems clear, from a comparison between the tombs at Thebes and those at El-'Amārna, that it was the practice for the magnates as far as possible to complete their tomb chapels during their lifetimes. The burial arrangements and the finishing touches would have to depend upon the piety of a dutiful son or successor, who would doubtless add his own title and name to an appropriate figure, until then anonymous⁴ in the sculptured scenes, particularly in the shrine and in those reliefs showing the last rites before the tomb or the funeral repast, if he did not actually provide something of his own.⁵

It is therefore among the onlookers and attendants upon the chief protagonists in the main scenes that we must look for their sons and daughters, but as the tombs were never completed it is only in the exceptional case of Mutnodjme that any label is attached to the offspring. Thus if Ay and Tiy had any other children, we have no means of identifying them from the material at present available.

III. The End of the El-'Amārna Period

If the foregoing attempt to establish the relationships of the various protagonists in the El-'Amārna drama has any validity, it will be seen that the history of the period tends to devolve into a repeating pattern in which Amenophis III and Akhenaten each marry the eligible daughter of a family which was not in the direct line of descent, and make her his principal consort. The presumption is that the precedent was set when

¹ Wives are by no means rarely represented in the El-'Amārna reliefs. They are usually shown congratulating their husbands at the scenes of investiture, as in the tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, Penḥasi, and both Meryrē's. In addition, the wife of Meryrē I figures quite prominently in his tomb, whereas wives, daughters, or successors, or other relatives can be identified in the funeral scenes in the tombs of Ḥuya, Meryrē II, Penḥasi, and Any. Though they are not named, the wife and children of Maḥu appear in his tomb decorations, and the wife of Ramose is named on their double tomb-statue.

² Davies, *Amarna*, VI, pp. 28-31.

³ Seele (op. cit. 179) has postulated that Ay had a son, the father of Tut'ankhamūn, because on an architrave found in the second pylon of the Karnak temple the former refers to the latter as his son. If, however, Ay was the father of Nefertiti, he would also be the grandfather of 'Ankhsenamūn, and Tut'ankhamūn would then be his grandson by marriage and not necessarily a direct descendant. Seele's confidence that the architrave proves that there was a co-regency between Ay and Tut'ankhamūn seems to me entirely misplaced.

⁴ Cf. how the figure of Huya is identified in the scene of foreign tribute in his tomb (Davies, *Amarna*, III, pls. 12-15).

⁵ The only two tombs at El-'Amārna which appear to have been used for the burials of their owners belonged to men who died apparently without male issue. Ḥuya is mourned by his wife and sister (ibid., p. 16). Any receives the last rites from a successor whose relationship is not declared; on the other hand a number of his relatives and a servant presented him with memorial stelae (ibid., v, pp. 8-9).

Tuthmosis IV died without leaving an heiress daughter.¹ It is noteworthy that at a convenient moment both Amenophis III and Akhenaten took one of their own daughters to wife also, apparently so as to conform to the dynastic tradition that the Pharaoh should marry a royal heiress in order to consolidate any claims that he may have had to the throne. In the reversion to orthodoxy after the death of Akhenaten, Tutankhamūn, who was probably a son of Amenophis III, married the royal heiress Ankhsenamūn and the more normal tradition of succession was restored. When he died without issue the crown fell to whoever married Ankhsenamūn, and Ay emerged as the successful contender.² On his death or retirement, Haremhab ascended the throne, but by what pretensions we do not know, though it is to be strongly suspected that his right did not depend upon his temporal power or his personal merits but upon his conformity to what was now the hallowed practice of the dynasty. In other words, it would not be surprising if his claim to the throne lay with Mutnodjme, his wife, who may well have been that second daughter of Ay and Tiy and therefore the royal heiress.³ Certainly her appearance in size and importance equal to that of her husband on his coronation statue now in Turin is most suggestive.⁴ His marriage to her may in fact have been responsible for his initial rise to eminence from a comparatively obscure origin.

The adoption of this thesis will compel us to revise some views of the period that have won a certain tacit acceptance though they have been roundly condemned by Gardiner.⁵ In the writer's view, there is evidence to show that the El-'Amarna interlude was far less revolutionary in its social and political aspects than it has become fashionable to suppose; but to enlarge upon this theme would carry us well beyond the scope of the present essay.

¹ In the 'coronation tribute' scene in tomb No. 226 at Thebes referred to in p. 35, n. 9 above, the young Amenophis III appears with his mother as consort in default of any other heiress.

² Newberry, *JEA* 18, 50-52.

³ Presuming Ankhsenamūn to have disappeared from the scene soon after the accession of Ay, as would seem to be the case.

⁴ Gardiner, *JEA* 39, 13.

⁵ *Ibid.* 11-12.

AN INSCRIPTION ON GEBEL BARKAL

By H. N. CHITTICK

GEBEL BARKAL rises in monumental isolation from the gravel-strewn desert, its sheer east cliff looking over the temples at its foot towards the Nile and the site of Napata on the farther bank. On this eastern face are traces of what are thought to have been four gigantic standing figures, rising almost to the full height of the hill, nearly a hundred metres. These traces can be clearly seen in pl. IV, 1 which is a view from the east,¹ the great Temple of Amūn being situated below the scars of the two northernmost of the supposed statues. It will be observed that the distance between the two central 'statues' is greater than that separating them from the outer ones, which are equally spaced on either side. It has been suggested by Dr. A. J. Arkell that the great quantities of fallen rock at the foot of the hill may hide a rock-cut temple with its entrance between the two central 'statues' as at Abu Simbel.²

The most southerly 'statue' is the only one of which more than a scar survives. Plate IV, 2 is a view of this pinnacle from the top of the cliff, facing south. It is possible without the exercise of too much imagination to see this is the remains of a standing figure, and the upper part has some resemblance to the Egyptian White Crown. Moreover, lying in the ruins of the small temple below and a little to the south is a fragment of a head (about one-quarter of the whole, including an eye and part of an ear) about seven times life size. Though much too small to have come from a statue nearly the height of the hill, it would be about the size one would expect for an attendant figure standing by the leg of the chief statue.

Dr. Arkell has observed two cartouches and some vertical cuts near the top of the pinnacle, and thought he could distinguish the sign Δ at the bottom of one of the cartouches. In September, 1953, I examined the inscription through the telescope of a surveyor's level, and was able to read some of the signs. I returned in December with a powerful telescope³ and spent a whole day examining the rock face in various lights. No writing was seen except on the southern pinnacle.⁴

An area on the east side of the pinnacle has been cut to form a smooth flat surface. Though most of this has been heavily weathered, it is clear that this area has been divided into at least five panels by shallow vertical channels cut in the rock and it seems that the greater part was at one time inscribed. The only part where the signs are legible,

¹ Points of the compass are considered as 'true' throughout, and not with reference to the Nile which flows in a southerly direction in this region.

² See article in *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 13, 1957, pp. 214-15, and his *History of the Sudan to A.D. 1821*, 131. The traces of the 'statues' were first observed by Major G. Titherington.

³ For the loan of which I am indebted to Mr. David Oates, of the Ministry of Education, Sudan Government.

⁴ Dr. Arkell thinks there is another inscription farther to the north, but although I examined the whole face of the hill, I saw no other signs.



1. GEBEL BARKAL



2. SOUTHERN PINNACLE, GEBEL BARKAL

(Photographs by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

however, lies where, it seems, a rather harder stratum of sandstone runs across the pinnacle, and has consequently been comparatively free from weathering. Nevertheless some signs, even in the same cartouche, are much easier to read than others. This last-described area is just visible in pl. IV, 1, showing as a white dot one-eighth of the height of the pinnacle below the summit, and just above the patch of shadow extending across its face.

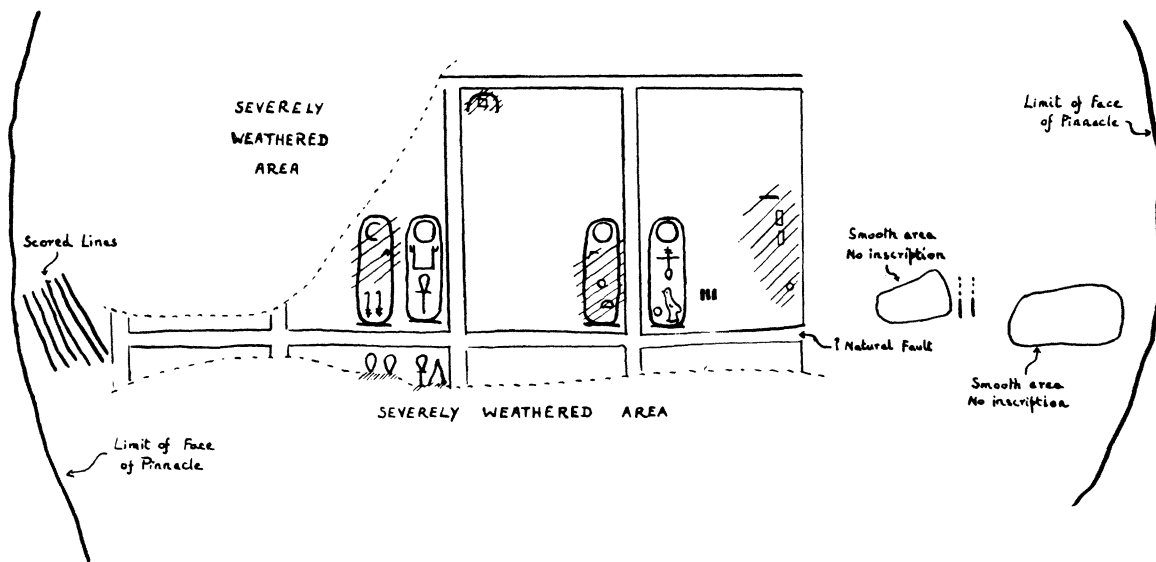


FIG. 1.

A sketch of the whole area in which traces of human workmanship can be seen is shown in fig. 1. It will be seen that in addition to traces of six vertical channels, there are two horizontal ones. That at the top has almost certainly been artificially cut, but does not appear to extend beyond the right edge of the fifth panel from the left. The lower horizontal channel is less regular, and appears to rise at the right-hand end; it seems to be of natural origin, presumably a narrow band of softer stone that has weathered away. The whole of the area left blank in the drawing is fairly heavily weathered; there are traces of signs (except where their absence is indicated) but they could not be read. The weathering is even more severe in the areas delimited by dotted lines.

It will be seen that there are four cartouches visible, together with top of a fifth near the upper horizontal line.¹ The two complete names are $\text{⊙}\text{⊏}\text{⊐}$, presumably Nastasen, and $\text{⊙}\text{⊏}\text{⊐}$, clearly Taharqa. Of the other two, the first from the left will be considered below, the third from the left I have not identified.

It is hard to see from the little that has been read how the whole inscription was laid out. Perhaps the most obvious interpretation is that it is a list of *nsw-bity* names of kings, but there are difficulties in taking this view. First, since the signs read from left to right (presumably in vertical columns) Nastasen appears to be named well before Taharqa, who, in fact, lived nearly four hundred years earlier.

¹ I am not absolutely certain of the reality of this; it may possibly be a line produced haphazardly, by weathering. But a sign (\square or \square) certainly lies within it.

Second, there is no known *nsw-bity* name ending (as the first does) in $\ddagger\ddagger$, and we must be especially hesitant about postulating a hitherto unknown king by reason of the fact that the sign at the beginning of the name is doubtful. The *s* *R*^c name Nastasen does, however, end with the signs $\ddagger\ddagger$, and it is tempting to link it with his adjoining *nsw-bity* name. If we do so, it is nevertheless difficult to see how the two cartouches, written vertically and beside each other, can be fitted into any acceptable scheme for the inscription as a whole.

In effect, the verdict on the nature of this inscription must wait on more of it being read. I doubt whether much more can be made out from the ground, and it is quite impossible to scale the pinnacle or to gain access to it from the top of the main mass of rock. Useful results perhaps might be obtained by photographing from a close flying light aeroplane; observation from a helicopter would be best.

The reasons which prompted the placing of an inscription in such a curious position, presumably in the expectation that it would never again be read, will no doubt always remain a mystery.

Note by Dr. A. J. Arkell

Mr. Chittick only studied this inscription on a single day in September; but the angle at which the sunlight falls on the inscription changes considerably at different seasons. I think it was almost certainly in the winter (December?) that I read part of the Son of Rē^c name of Taharqa. If someone can visit the hill every three months for a whole year and study the inscription through a telescope for the whole of a day each time, I am confident that more of the inscription will be read from the ground. I am certain I have seen part of the cartouche of Taharqa, and now Mr. Chittick has read his *nsw-bity* name. Surely the explanation of the occurrence of Nastasen's name, assuming that it has been correctly read, is that the original inscription of Taharqa naturally occupies a central position and another inscription by Nastasen has been added beside it.

The other inscription I have seen was on the head of this statue, just to the right of the cartouche of Taharqa.

SALE OF INHERITED PROPERTY IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

(P. BRIT. MUS. 10075, EX SALT COLL. NO. 418)

By E. A. E. JELÍNKOVÁ

THE document here studied, P.dem. Brit. Mus. no. 10075, which hitherto has not been published, is one of the demotic documents from Lower Egypt generally known as the 'Memphite Archives'.¹ This document, dating from the eighteenth year of Ptolemy Philopator Philadelphos,² is of light brown papyrus composed of seven sheets; its total dimensions being: height 29 cm., length 89 cm. Its state of preservation is in general quite good. We find small gaps only in the upper part of the papyrus, but its lower part, especially over the whole of the left-hand side, is considerably damaged.

The text, consisting of seven lines, is written on the upper part of the recto only; underneath, there is a Greek inscription and one signature. The signatures of twelve witnesses are written on the verso. The writing is rather small, several letters are narrower than normal, but carefully drawn as in the majority of Memphite documents. The individual characters are easy to distinguish, ligatures are frequent, and the tendency to lengthen either the horizontal or the vertical strokes is noticeable in some frequently occurring cases only.³

Little is known about the history of this document, though its provenance is certainly Memphis.⁴ There is no further information about its discovery. At this point we can only say that this document belonged formerly to the Henry Salt Collection of Egyptian Antiquities.⁵ In 1835 it was purchased by the British Museum, where it is still preserved under Inv. no. 10075.

This document is specifically of legal nature. It contains arrangements for transmission of a share of inherited estate. In this transaction a merchant, together with his sister and his brothers, who lived in the village Anubieion in the Memphite nome, conveyed by sale a share of their mother's estate to their cousin. The transferred share consisted of a house, mill, and granaries which stood in the village of Anubieion. We do not know anything more about the history of this particular property, for our researches undertaken in this direction yielded only a negative result. The above mentioned P.dem. Brit. Mus. 10075 is as far as we know the only document now

¹ We prefer this title to 'The Serapeum papyri', cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* 1, 1, as only a very small number of the native documents come from or refer to the Serapeum itself.

² Cf. Commentary, n. 1.

³ Here we give the outstanding features of this writing only. Further details and peculiarities of this writing are pointed out in the Textual Notes, pp. 52-53.

⁴ Cf. below in the Greek Registrar's docket, p. 54.

⁵ Cf. *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities Henry Salt* (London, 1835), p. 31, no. 418, which gives only a short description of the document. Quoted in Forshall, *Descript. of the Greek Pap. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 68, n. 42.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, on a heavily damaged and stained parchment or leather surface. The text is arranged in several horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The surface shows significant wear, including large areas of discoloration and loss of material.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, on a heavily damaged and stained parchment or leather surface. The text is arranged in several horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The surface shows significant wear, including large areas of discoloration and loss of material.

P. dem. Brit. Mus. 10075.

a) Date:

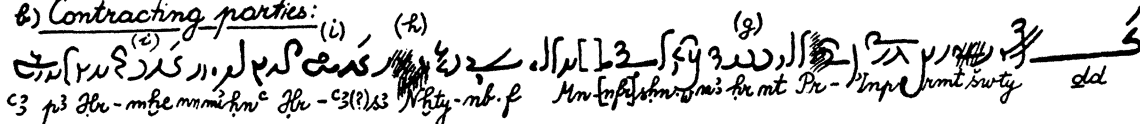
^(c) ^{sic} ^(b) ^(e)


 irum sru me it me ntu p^s s. w. c. Ptulmeyes s. w. c. Pr-^{c3} m 2 asur i be i kd 4 18 h³t - spt

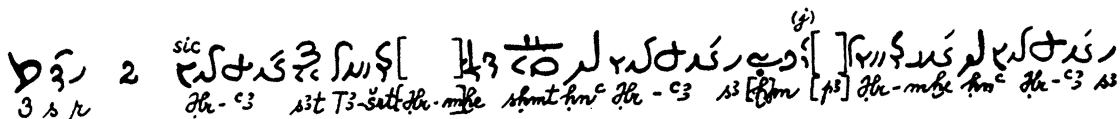
^(f) ^(e) ^(c)


 R^c - kdt m nu - im w s h³ ar - w mt Pr - ^{c3} w - m³ m w⁶ b³ m³

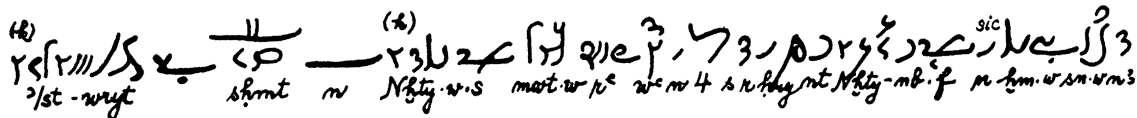
b) Contracting parties:

⁽ⁱ⁾ ^(k) ^(g)


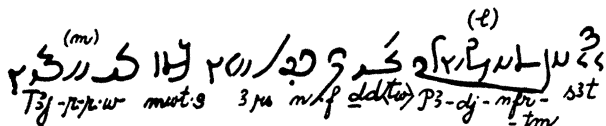
^{c3} p³ h³e - m³ b^e m³ m³ h³ m³ h³e - ^{c3} (i) s³ N³ h³ ty - m³ b³ f M³ w - m³ p³ s³ h³ m³ w³ m³ h³e m³ Pr - Imp³ ur mt s³ w³ ty s³ d

^(j)


 3 s r³ ^{sic} h³e - ^{c3} s³ t T³ - s³ h³ t h³e - m³ b^e s³ h³ mt h³ m³ h³e - ^{c3} s³ s³ [p³] h³e - m³ b^e h³ m³ h³e - ^{c3} s³

^(k) ^(*)


³ s³ t - w³ r³ t s³ h³ mt m N³ h³ ty - w³ s m³ t - w³ r³ c³ w³ m³ 4 s r³ h³ ty mt N³ h³ ty - m³ b³ f m³ h³ m³ w³ s³ m³ w³ m³

^(m) ^(l)


 T³ j - r³ - w³ m³ t - s³ 3 p³ m³ f s³ d³ t³ w³ p³ - d³ - m³ p³ - s³ t³ m³

4.1.13
dmd iwty-w

(§3)

^{tr.....}
[~~ח~~ ~~פ~~ ~~א~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~]
mnu hgy p³ mt p³ he x hgy p³ hgy w m jz w he w m jz w [w mt] m hgy w u³ mwtg - he t³ cy p³ mtwt

^(w) ^{sic}
[~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~]
dj r ur m n dl t³ w x h t iy uf mt p³ hgy r hgy p³ m-t³ jz m w m e-ur wt p³ m m b t m d t m t w m

^(w) ^{sic} ^{sic}
[~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~]
h³ x x w 'a-ur mb h³ mt wt t³ p³ m m b t m d t m b t h³ m b t n b h³ x m t w b w dj m t w r h t w y f

[~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~]
mt p³ [mtw] t h³ p jz w h³ st m t w r m m-im n h³ ur m t m b t h³ m b t n b h³ h³ x x w m n 'a-ur mb h³

^(w) ^{tr.....}
[~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~]
ur f r ur m m w m t ur m dj r m-s t t dj r ur w mt rd w j z h³ p³ c n b p³ m w m m-im p m h³ ur m

(§4)

^(z) ^(x) ^(y) ^{sic}
[~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~]
dd hgy mt 4 s p³ m t p³ T jz n hy m mwt f p³ dj W s s h e - s hgy mt p³ p³ m t s i w t y ur

^(b.b) ^(a.a) ^{tr...} ^(w) ^{tr..}
[~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~] [~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ו~~]
4 p p³ ur b n ur mt p³ h³ g mt m b m d t h³ x m t ur m m-p³ y t w t n m-im w m t e h³ t y h³ g mt m b t m d t e-ur y

preserved which tells us about this estate held by Nekhtaus, daughter of Petemuthis, in the village of Anubieion.¹

There appears to be nothing very new when we consider this document from the general legal standpoint and there does not seem to be any basic difference in this transaction from the normal pattern of contracts dealing with sale of inherited property.² Referring to the date of this transaction we have here good evidence of the unalterable nature of Egyptian customs. This point appears as of special value here with respect to the place of origin of this document. It confirms that the Greek administration in Memphis had in no way affected the old native customs up to the end of the Lagide Dynasty. Two facts should be stressed from the first as of special interest, namely, that (a) this transaction was approved by the father of the *A* contracting party. We observe when studying the Memphite legal documents that the agreement to the transfer by the parents of the vendor regularly appears in the transactions involving inherited estate.³ The most frequently occurring case is the agreement by the mother to the transaction dealing with the father's estate. This fact is easy to understand as the father's estate granted the mother's annual income.⁴ Here we meet an opposite case. The father gave his agreement to this sale. It is very likely that the husband had usufruct rights in his wife's property during her lifetime and probably to some extent as long as he himself was living. Therefore, the aforesaid property might be the dowry which the wife usually brought into the marriage. This was, however, in the majority of cases a small capital sum, except, as Prof. Edgerton already pointed out, the property settlements from Memphis and the Fayyūm.⁵ Thus our document supports this statement. There is no reason to assume a difference in the character of this agreement. The wording of the formula on l. 3 of the contract,⁶ however, alters this interpretation. It is stated there that the aforesaid property was a part only of all that the *A* contracting party inherited in the name of the mother.⁷ It would be wrong, however, to believe that this whole inheritance was only the mother's former estate. It would seem, when referring to the agreement by the father, that this inheritance contained a portion of property which the father previously conveyed to the mother by an alimentary contract.⁸ This part of the father's estate, after the mother's death, fell to the benefit of the children. We assume, therefore, the children in this transaction conveyed a portion of property which belonged in principle to the father's estate and which they possessed in respect of a previous property settlement between husband and wife. Thus the father gave here his agreement only to a further settlement made on his own estate and in respect of which this definite part of his property might furthermore have been kept within the mother's family. The father's agreement appears here as necessary, since as

¹ Cf. the text, l. 3, see below, p. 54.

² See, for instance, the contracts from Djême from the beginning of the Greek period: P.Philadelphia no. 2 (*Mizraim*, II, 15); no. 3 (loc. cit.); no. 7 (ibid. 16); and no. 13 (ibid. 18).

³ See Sethe-Partsch, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, 712 ff.

⁴ Cf. P.Leiden 379, the formulae of ll. 6-8.

⁵ Cf. Edgerton, *Notes on Egyptian Marriage*, 8-9.

⁶ See the text of the contract below, p. 54.

⁷ See Commentary, n. 32, where the different types of this clause are studied.

⁸ See Seidl, *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 56 and *Aegyptus*, 13 (1933), 73 ff.

this property had once belonged to him, he might still have some proprietary interest in it.

We must further lay stress on the fact (*b*) that this arrangement was concluded among relatives. The *A* contracting party sold their inherited share to the daughter of their mother's sister.¹ The ownership of it was no longer kept in the direct line of descent but in the framework of the same family. The conveyance of the property within the family is another outstanding feature of the Memphite property settlements involving inherited estate. The settlements made among the Memphite Necropolis servants offer especially² good evidence of this and are well known from early Memphite contracts.³ These settlements are, however, the only documentary evidence of this convention. We cannot say whether these contracts reveal a custom peculiar to Lower Egypt according to which a given private property could not legally be expropriated from the owner's family by virtue of a personal arrangement, or whether the permanent holding of property within a family was merely a matter of preference to keep it within the family. We can only add that this convention was prominent in Lower Egypt. The legal documents from Upper Egypt do not set this fact out clearly. Thus the interest of this document lies therefore in indicating that this convention which was very probably a survival from the Pharaonic ages,⁴ was in no way altered throughout the whole of Greek times. This contract shows, moreover, that this convention was not a peculiarity of the Memphite Necropolis servants; it seems to have been common among all the inhabitants of Anubieion.

While discussing the general significance of this contract, we must point to other data which are a definite contribution from the historical point of view. This document is, as far as we know, the latest one to be preserved from the whole of the 'Memphite Archives'.⁵ This text also is one of the rather rare Memphite legal documents which do not deal with Memphite Necropolis servants' settlements or any other mortuary matter.⁶ It introduces us to another class of the population who lived in the Memphite nome at that time, the merchants of Anubieion.⁷ There is no doubt that P. Brit. Mus. 10075 is but a small relic of an extensive archive of a single merchant's family. The subject-matter of this contract clearly bears out this hypothesis. This statement will be enlarged when we refer to what we know about the archives of the Memphite Necropolis servants.⁸ We assume the existence of a special department within the

¹ Cf. the text, l. 2, cf. below, p. 53.

² More details on this point are given in the study on P. Leiden 379 which we hope to publish in due course.

³ See P. Louvre 2412, the earliest document from the Memphite Archives, dating from the reign of Alexander Aegus (cf. Spiegelberg, P. Bruxelles, 14), which gives an account of the same conventions which we come across in this text.

⁴ See the same document and also P. Bruxelles 6033 (cf. Spiegelberg, *ibid.*, 12).

⁵ Cf. Commentary, n. 7.

⁶ The main part of the native documents from Memphis is represented by the private documents of the Memphite Necropolis servants in contrast to the more varied repertoire of the Greek texts, cf. Wilcken, *UPZ*, I, 2-3.

⁷ Cf. Commentary, n. 6.

⁸ The organization of the native archives in Memphis is studied in our chief work on the Memphite documents: *Memphite Archives Part I: Archives of the choachytes*.

organization of the late Memphite Archives,¹ which would have had charge of documents relating to the merchant's business and transactions with their permanently held properties in Anubieion. There is, so far, very little proof to support this hypothesis. Two other documents may be quoted as belonging to this hypothetical department: P.Vatican no. 22² and P. New York no. 375.³ Our text and these two together give an interesting account of the activities of the Anubieion merchants and show a picture of everyday life in the neighbourhood of Memphis at the end of the Greek period. Moreover, they contain interesting data for the history of the village of Anubieion. They enable us to reconstitute the general aspect of this place, and should be of peculiar interest inasmuch as we know from Greek sources,⁴ though we possess no archaeological proof, that this place was of importance for the natives dwelling in the Memphite nome during the Greek period.⁵

I should like at this point to express my gratitude to the late Professor S. R. K. Glanville, who kindly assisted me in the study of demotic papyri and of the history of Ptolemaic Egypt. When in October 1955 I came to Cambridge, the text published in this article was one of the first we discussed together. This was also the only one in respect of which he saw the definite form of my studies, only shortly before his untimely death. I am greatly indebted to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum for his kind permission to publish this document and also to my colleagues Professor W. Erichsen of Copenhagen and Dr. C. F. Nims of the Oriental Institute in Chicago for their useful suggestions while preparing the publication of the aforesaid text.

It is hoped that my translation of P. Brit. Mus. 10075 and the accompanying commentary will be printed in vol. 44 of this *Journal*.

Textual Notes

- (a) Very small, usual at that date.
- (b) See Commentary, n. 2.
- (c) *mr* written without ζ . Id. on l. 7. In the second example, *mr* is in ligature with the preceding sign \mathfrak{f} for *sn* which is peculiar to the Memphite writing of that date.
- (d) *wcb*, the lower part of the sign goes under the line. The determinative of the god is unusual here, cf. Erichsen, *Gloss.*, 83.
- (e) *nt* provided with a supralinear stroke.
- (f) ζ possible here, cf. below, n. (o).
- (g) *hr*, in general, is very narrow and simplified in this writing, see also *hr-he* on l. 2 and *hr-rc* = on l. 3.
- (h) Less distinct, see l. 2 at the beginning.
- (i) See Commentary, n. 11 and n. 13.

¹ Up till today, our knowledge of these archives is based only on the Greek sources gathered by Wilcken in *UPZ* 1.

² See Revillout, *Rev. ég.* 3, p. 25, pl. 6. I am indebted to Professor G. Botti who kindly lent me a photographic copy of this document.

³ See Revillout, *ibid.*, p. 26, pl. 7.

⁴ See Wilcken, *UPZ* 1, 14-16.

⁵ Cf. Commentary, n. 8.

- (j) Traces of *h* still visible.
- (k) ϵ used regularly in Memphite writing as determinative of feminine names.
- (l) See Commentary, n. 18.
- (m) Frequently occurring in late Memphite writing, see P. Innsbruck, *passim*.
- (n) Less distinct, but *n* is right.
- (o) The determinative ϵ for \square is quite usual in late Memphite writing. Id. in the words *nwtj*, *cd*, *hfty-he* on l. 3. But *mhr* and *rc* show here *ld*.
- (p) Indistinct, but *n* is right.
- (q) The writing at the end of the line is less distinct.
- (r) *n* is in ligature with *hn*.
- (s) See Commentary, n. 37.
- (t) The determinative of the god is here written out, but does not occur in the instance in l. 3.
- (u) Cf. Commentary, n. 42.
- (v) *mdt* very narrow.
- (w) Rather ν as determinative than the usual η .
- (y) Cf. Commentary, n. 47.
- (x) Not clear, probably ϵ before σ .
- (z) Less clear, but *n* is certain.
- (aa) *ir* is concealed under the lower part of *sh* written on the preceding line.
- (bb) Vague traces of the sign 4 still visible.
- (cc) Indistinct; *n.t* required by the context.
- (dd) Less distinct. For the possible reading see Commentary, n. 51.
- (ee) *he* would be suitable here.
- (ff) Written in the left-hand upper corner.
- (gg) On the whole, this part of the papyrus is in a very bad state of preservation. A few readings only can be considered as probable and several names have disappeared entirely.

Transliteration

(a) Date:

(1) *hst-spt* 18 *ibd* 4 *ihe* *ssw* 2 *n* *Pr-c3* *c-w-s* *Ptwlmyes* *c-w-s* *p3* *ntr* *mr-it* *mr-sn* *irm* *n3* *wcb-w* *n* *n3*
Pr-c3-w *nt* *iw-w* *sh* *n-im-w* *n* *Rc-kdt*.

(b) CONTRACTING PARTIES:

dd *šwtj* *rmt* *Pr-Inp* *nt* *hr* *n3* *shn-w* *Mn[-nfr]* *Nhty-nb-f* *s3* *Hr-c3* *hnc*
m3-nn *Hr-mhe* *p3* *c3* *s3* *Hr-c3* *hnc*
Hr-mhe [*p3*] *hm* *s3* *Hr-c3* *hnc*
shmt *T3-šrit[-Hr-m]* *he* *s3t* *Hr-c3*

(2) *r* *s* *3* *n3* *sn-w* *hm-w* *n* *Nhty-nb-f* *nt* *hry* *r* *s* *4* *n* *werc* *mwt-w* *Nhty-w-s* *n* *shmt* *Ist-wryt* *s3t* *P3-dy-nfr-*
Tm *dd-tw* *n-f* *irs* *mwt-s* *T3y-e-r-w*

(c) MAIN PART OF THE CONTRACT:

(§ 1)

dj-t *mte* *hsty-n* *n* *p3* *hd* *n* *p3y-n* *cy* *nt* *kd* *iw-f* *hbs* *iw-f* *mh* *n* *sbe* *ššt*
nt *ir* *mh-[ntr]* 18 *n* *p3* *rsy* *r* *pr* *mhty* *hr-het* *mh-[ntr]*] *n* *p3* *imnty*
r *pr* *ybty* (3) *hnc*

tʒy·n he·nwoty nʒy·n mhr·w nt kd hr·rc·f nt ir n·f mhty
nt n Pr·Inp hr (pʒ) cd rsy n hfty·he n Inp tpy·tw·f pʒ ntr cʒ
nt hn nt nb e·ir·ph r·hr·n n dnit n rn shmt Nhty·w·s sʒt Pʒ·dy·Iy·m·htp
mwt·s Ist·wryt tʒy·n mwt tʒ snt n tʒy·t mwt

(§ 2)

[*nʒy·w*] *hyn·w*

rsy pʒ cy n shmt[.]·by·(?) 'a·wn·ne·w (4) hr Dd·hr sʒ Hr·sʒ·Pʒ·Rc nt hr nʒ hrd·w
<n> nʒy·f hrd·w

mhty hfty·he n Inp tpy·tw·f pʒ ntr cʒ

imnty pʒ cy n cnh·Hcp 'a·wn·ne·w hr shmt Tʒy·n·Mrwr tʒy·f srit nt hr nʒ hrd·w n nʒj·s hrd·w

ybtʒ pʒ cy n[.]·iht nt hr kt he·rmt iw pʒ hr iwoty·w

r dmd

(§ 3)

mtw·t pʒ cy tʒ he·nwoty nʒ mhr·w[nt hry nt iw nʒy]·w he·w nʒy·w hyn·w sh [hry r·he pʒ] nt sh hry

mn (5) mtw·n mdt nbt n pʒ tʒ e·ir·n·t n rn·w n·ty pʒ hrw r·hry

pʒ nt iw·f iy r·hr·t r·dbʒ·ty·w iw·n r dy·wy·f r·hr·t

mtw·n dj wcb·w n·t r sh nb knbet nbt mdt nbt n pʒ tʒ

mtw·t sh nb 'a·ir·w r·r·w hnc sh nb 'a·ir·w n·n r·r·w hnc sh nb knbet nbt nt iw·n mck n·im·w n rn·w

mtw·t st hnc pʒy·w hp

[*mtw·t*] *pʒ nt iw·n mck n·im·f n rn·w*

pʒ [cn]h pʒ chc·rd·wj (6) nt iw·w r dyt st m·sʒ·t r·dyt·ir·n st n rn·w iw·n r ir·f

(§ 4)

iw swoty rmt (n) pʒ pr nt hry Hr·cʒ sʒ Pʒ·dy·Wsr mwt·f Tʒy·n·Iy·m·htp pʒ it n pʒ s 4 nt hry dd

e·iry mdt nbt nt hry hʒty·y mie n·im·w

tw·tn m·sʒ·y n ir n·t r·he mdt nbt nt hry

pʒ nt iw bn iw pʒ s 4 [nʒy·y] hrd·w nt hry ir·f n·t

iw·y ir·f n·t n·ty [pʒ hrw nt hry r pʒ] ssw rn·f r·he pʒ [nr sh hry]

iw·t [m·sʒ·n r pʒ s] 5 (7) iw·t m·sʒ pʒy·t mr n·im·n r pʒ s 5 n ir n·t pʒ hp n pʒ sh nt hry

e·ir·t mr hpr m·sʒ·n r pʒ s 5 e·ir·t r hpr

(d) NOTARY:

sh Pʒy·he (?) sʒ Hr·mh

(e) GREEK REGISTRAR'S DOCKET:

Ἀρειος [?] ? Αναγέγραπται διὰ [τοῦ ἐν τ]ῶι Ἀνουβιεῖωι (γραφείου) ἔτους ιη Χοίαχ β̅.

(f) SCRIBE OF THE REGISTRY:

sh Hr·cʒ [sʒ cnh·]Hcp

(g) ARCHIVE NOTE:

Ist·wre<t>

(h) WITNESSES (verso):

(1) *Pʒ·dy·Iy·m·htp sʒ*

(2) *Hr·cʒ sʒ Pʒdy·*

(3) *. he*

(4) *Pʒy· sʒ Pʒ·Rc*

- (5) *Hr s3 Ty-m-htp*
- (6) *P3-nfr s3*
- (7) *Twt s3 Twt*
- (8) *s3 rnh*
- (9)
- (10) *Mn-wr s3 Wry*
- (11) *Mn* *s3 P3-dy-*
- (12) *mn (?)*

(To be continued)

BERENICE TROGLODYTICA

By DAVID MEREDITH

BRIEF notices about Berenice appeared in *JEA* 11, 143, by G. W. Murray, and *JEA* 39, 99–100, by the writer, with bibliographical references and a map of the Koptos-Berenice road. The following pages, based mainly on Wilkinson's manuscript notes (1826), with comparisons from the work of others, may add a little to knowledge of this much-discussed but little-known spot. They concern the town and harbour (the former never excavated) and the temple, including such of its surviving wall reliefs as have been seen. Belzoni¹ discovered the site in September 1818.

A near miss in the early discovery of Berenice took place in April 1541. Juan de Castro,² knowing that he was near the ancient port, hove-to in the bay, scanned the encircling coastline for a sight of the ruins but did not land. Several persons during the nineteenth century saw traces of walls and houses protruding slightly above the deep blanket of sand, but only Wilkinson³ drew a provisional plan of the town (pl. VI, from MS. XLV, D. 11) and a map of the town and harbour (pl. VII, from MS. XLV, D. 8). Five people drew plans of the temple, the best being those of Purdy⁴ (1873) and Golénisheff⁵ (1889). Wilkinson's plan confirms certain structural details given by Purdy and Wellsted's⁶ (1836) minor details shown by Golénisheff. A provisional composite plan from all these is given in pl. VIII, 2. Its main measurements are those of Golénisheff, fairly closely confirmed by those of others (including Barth, 1846).

The traditional form Troglodytica (or Trogodytica), coupled with the name of Berenice, does not seem to occur in ancient texts. It seems clear that in Ptolemaic times the people of this stretch of the Red Sea coast were called Trogodytes,⁷ rather than Troglodytes. Variants of Herodotus' text, as well as the accounts of Strabo and Pliny (both quoting from an earlier work by Agatharchides), use both forms. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, obviously familiar with Berenice, does not refer to either Troglodytes or Trogodytes. The name does not occur in the first-century (A.D.) receipts signed at Berenice by members of the Nicanor transport business,⁸ found at Koptos. The name may no longer have been current in the first century.⁹

¹ *Narrative of the Operations*, 330–5; *Atlas*, pls. 16, 32, 33.

² *Roteiro*, ed. Kammerer, 125–6.

³ MSS. xxxviii, 83–84, 91–98, including the Kalālāt stations; v, 50; XLV, D. 8, 11; *Topog. of Thebes* (1835), 418. Reference to the Wilkinson MSS. is by courtesy of the Griffith Institute on behalf of Mrs. Godfrey Mosley, Calke Abbey, Derby.

⁴ Notes of his journey lost, but a copy of his plan of the temple found and published by Daressy, *Ann. Serv.* 22, 169 ff., figs. 1–4.

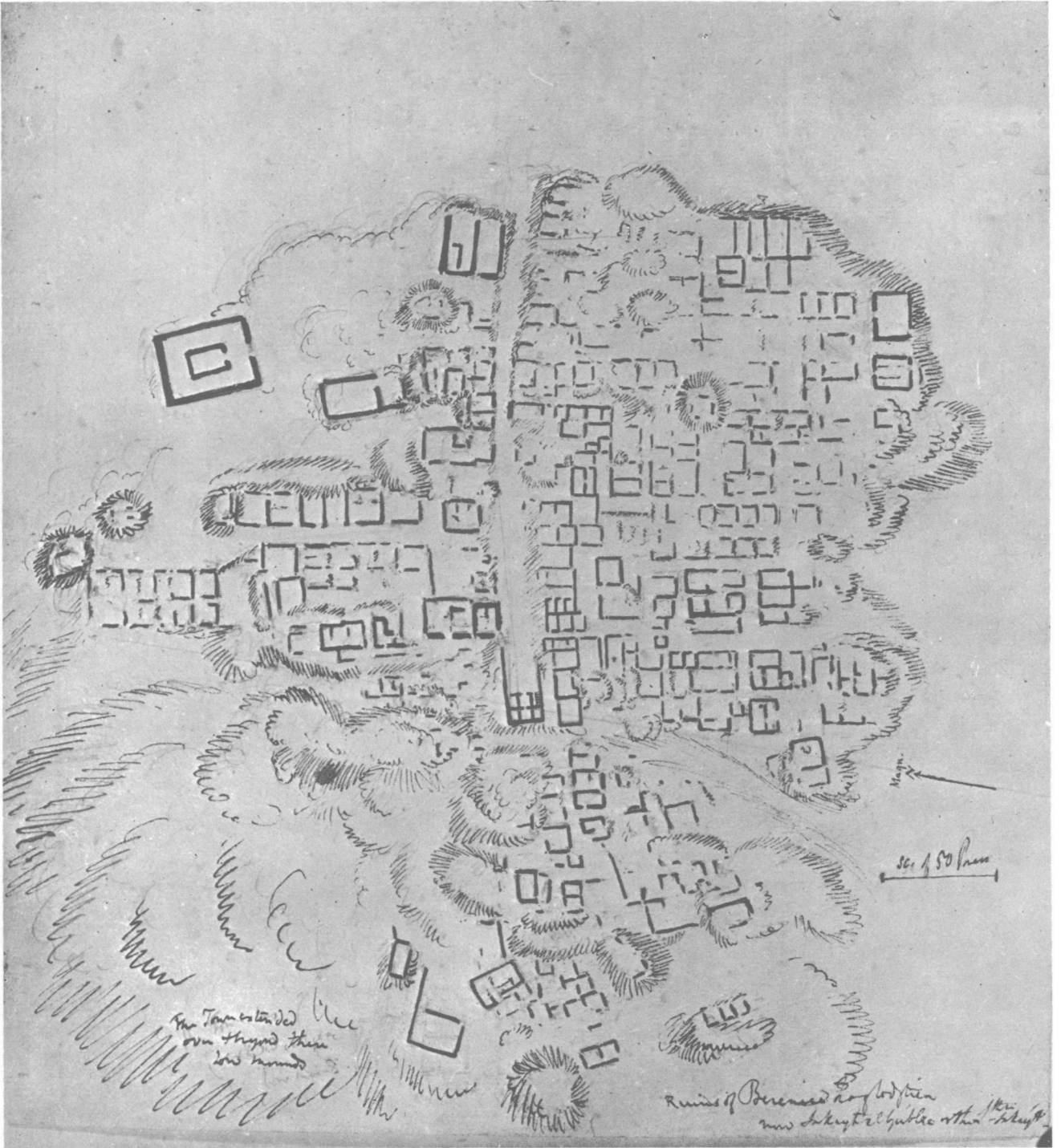
⁵ *Rec. trav.* 13, 86–89, pls. 4–6; plan and reliefs.

⁶ *JRGS* 6, 96–100, with plan of temple, one relief and a view of the temple roof and the bay; reprinted with slight additions in *Travels in Arabia* (1838), II, 333–9.

⁷ *OGIS* 70, 71, with a useful note on the two spellings in 70, n. 5, *SB* 4033, 4049, 4050.

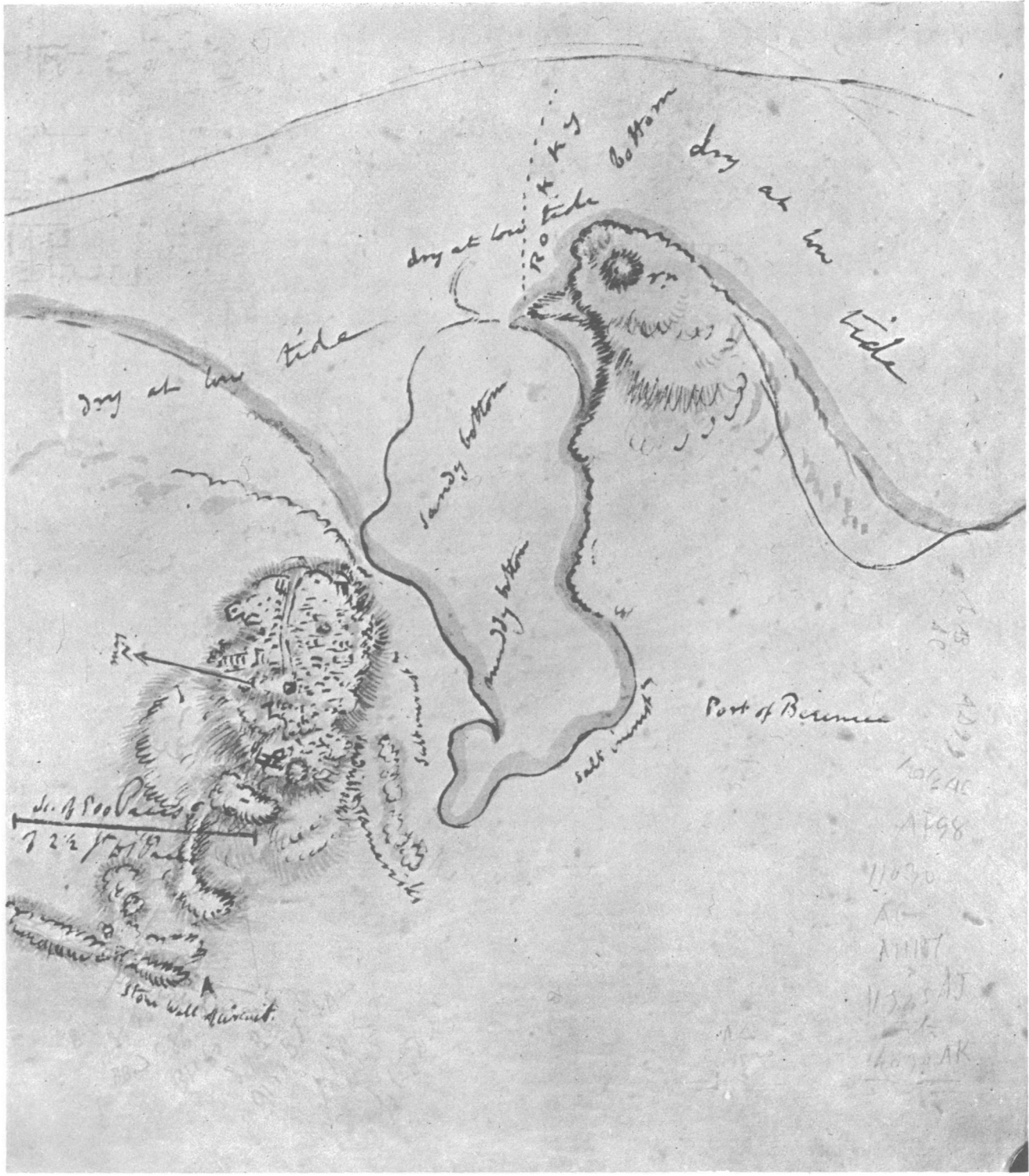
⁸ Tait, *Ostraca from the Bodleian Museum*, I. 110–25, nos. 220–334; II (ed. Tait and Préaux), nos. 1969, 1971; from 6 B.C. till c. A.D. 60.

⁹ Mommsen uses Trogodytes. So does Kortenbeutel in *Der ägypt. Süd- u. Osthandel* (1931), which summarizes

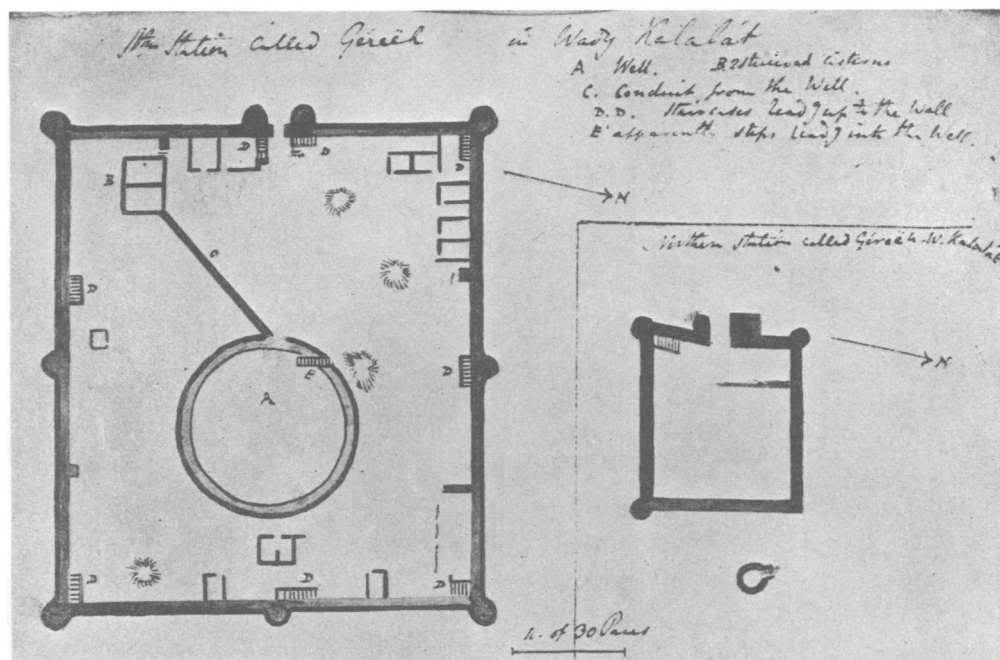


RUINS OF BERENICE TROGLODYTICA

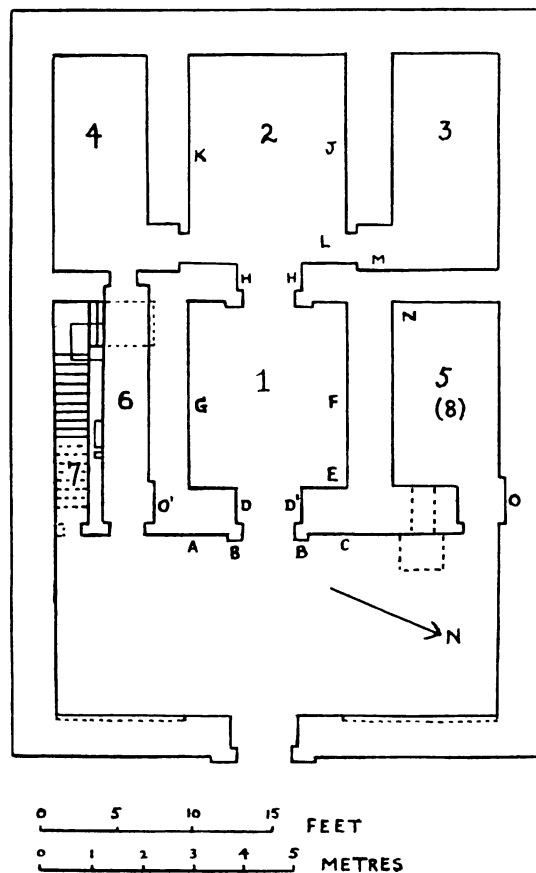
PLATE VII



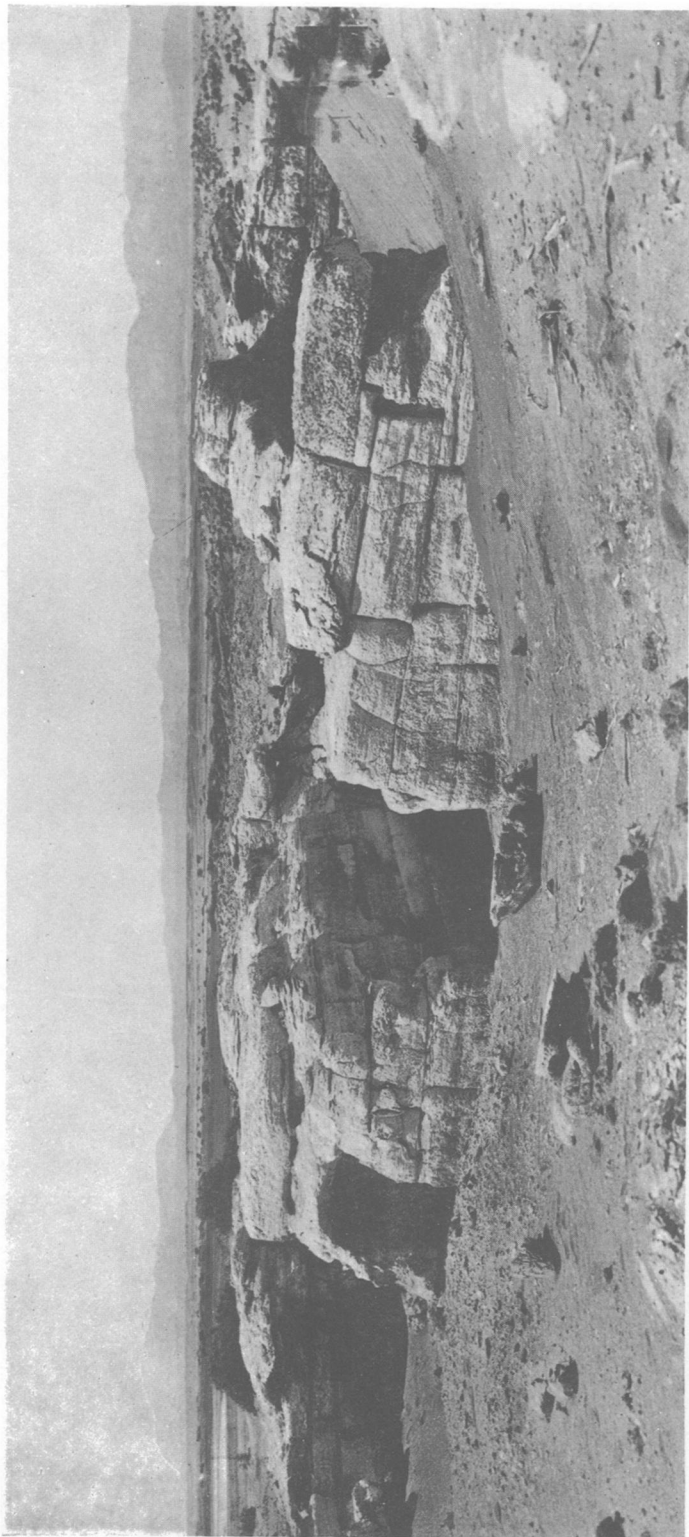
THE PORT OF BERENICE



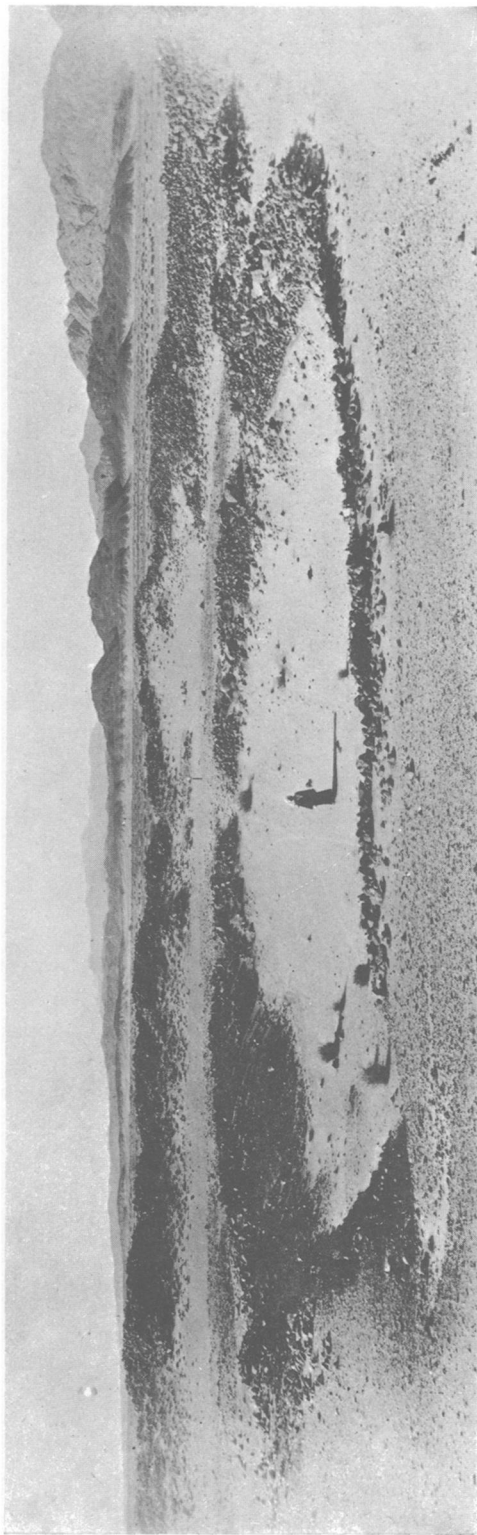
1. FORTS IN WADI KALALAT



2. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF BERENICE



1. FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE OF BERENICE



2. THE LARGER STATION IN WADI KALALÁT

The Town

There is general disappointment among observers at what is considered too small and too poorly built a town (of rough blocks of local madreporal coral) to be the famous port through which passed so much trade between Rome and the East by way of the Nile. The town consists mainly of small houses closely packed on a low eminence. Streets are narrow though well laid out at right angles to each other. Wilkinson's plan shows a broad main street, described also by Wellsted, from the shore (east) end of the town to the temple. These two observers, vaguely confirmed by Floyer (1893),¹ saw evidence of scattered groups of houses outside the main town, on the west side (see Wilkinson's note on the bottom left corner of his town plan). There are no signs that the town had an encircling wall, but Wilkinson, at *A* on his map, notes a 'stone wall of circuit'. The Romans may have used the existing Ptolemaic settlement. To meet the needs of a normal fort, and at the same time to take care of the only near source of water,² they built the two forts in Wādi Kalālāt; the smaller fort just over 7 km. south-west of the town and the large fort about 1,500 yards beyond in the same direction (pl. VIII, 1, MS. xxxviii, 84, right and left). Little can be seen at the first fort except, possibly, what may be a large pot-oven outside. The large station is one of the biggest Roman forts in the Eastern Desert, about 325 ft. long and 270 ft. broad. Its typical interior well excavation is shown by Wilkinson to be specially well constructed, probably stone-lined. This is confirmed by traces of the stone lining still showing above the sand in this century (pl. IX, 2).³ It seems probable that this is the *hydreuma* (with its *laccus*) mentioned in the repair and construction inscription *ILS* 2483.⁴ The Kalālāt forts have never been cleared of sand. The large fort has several staircases leading to the parapet walk, and two plastered cisterns supplied from the well by a normal conduit.

Belzoni guessed the Berenice main town to measure 2,000 ft. by 1,600 ft. Wilkinson's plan shows it to be about 1,120 ft. (east-west) by 900 ft. (north-south), with a circumference of 1,300 yards. Wellsted⁵ estimated the perimeter to be about one mile. Belzoni gives a deliberately conservative estimate of 2,000 houses, with some 10,000 population. Wellsted guessed from 1,000 to 1,500 houses. Belzoni mentions several buildings of considerable size, 40 ft. by 20 ft. Wilkinson's plan shows them to be much bigger; one, on the north side of the town, with an inner enclosure, about 100 ft. by 75 ft., and another (at the shore end of the main street) consisting of two rooms, each 75 ft. by 30 ft. Possibly these were warehouses at the spot nearest to the landing points (5 minutes' walk away, according to Golénisheff).⁶

and discusses previous work on the historical and epigraphic evidence from the Berenice road. L. and S. (1951) regards the two forms as alternative. Cf. PW, T-Nachträge, VII. A₂ (1948), by K. Jahn, s.v. Trogodutai.

¹ *Étude sur le Nord-Etbai*, 11, with photographs of the temple roof and of surrounding coral blocks opposite pp. 10 and 126.

² The alleged absence of wells or cisterns in the town (though more than likely in this salt-laden spot) must be confirmed by excavation.

³ Photograph kindly supplied by M. Couyat-Barthoux (taken in 1908).

⁴ Dated by Mommsen as late Augustus, but possibly later. See *Chron. d'Égypte*, 29, 58, 287.

⁵ Lieutenant in a survey ship of the East India Company.

⁶ See below, p. 59.

Ptolemy¹ gives the position of the town at lat. 23° 50', long. 33° 30', actually 23° 55' N. and 35° 29' E. The distance of Berenice from Koptos is given by Pliny² as 257 Roman miles, in the Antonine Itinerary as 258 miles and in the Peutinger Table as 242 miles. The actual distance is 272 English miles.³

Some tombs have been seen 5 miles away to the north-west. Here a 70 ft. rock, on the west side of the road to the Nile, has caves at different levels. Human bones have been seen here. Other tombs (of piled stones), robbed in later times, occur also west of the town. The human bones are unburnt.

Wilkinson compared Berenice town unfavourably with Myos Hormos in its plan and the materials used in its construction.⁴ There is no comparison as Myos Hormos is a normal Roman fort. The Ptolemaic settlement at Myos Hormos, if there was one, has disappeared without leaving a trace.

Strabo⁵ tells us that Philadelphus was 'said to be' the first to open the road to the Nile, and Pliny⁶ that Berenice was in the name of Philadelphus' mother. No firm date can be given for either foundation, still less for the construction of the temple. The inscriptions from the temple do not provide us with an earlier date than Ptolemy VII (Euergetes II).

Scattered finds in the sand mounds of the town noted by the various observers are as follows: old nails, fish-hooks, nets, old coins (described as illegible, except one 'of Poppaea' by Wilkinson and several of Constantius II by Murray), a large number of emeralds by Wilkinson and by Bent,⁷ potsherds in great quantity everywhere (none drawn or identified except two fragments by Golénisheff, one shown in his pl. VI (3) and another, apparently the neck and shoulder of a Roman amphora, in his pl. VI (2), the latter having vague incised marks on it), glass of various colours in many places, glass beads, 'pieces of agate etc.' (Schweinfurth⁸), 'brass in great quantities' and 'a key tolerably perfect in its form' (Wellsted). Bent (1896) also saw bracelets, Roman coins, knitted work, textiles in scraps (fine and coarse), weaving (plain and coloured), and 'bits of papyrus in Greek cursive hand'.

The Harbour

The outer bay was said by Strabo⁹ to be, as it is today, dangerous for sailing because of its coral reefs and shoals. The mouth of the inner harbour (see pl. VII) is today closed by a sand bar which is dry at high tide, leaving behind it a shallow lake or lagoon. This is no doubt the result of centuries of unhampered silting. The Romans probably kept a channel clear into the inner harbour. Wilkinson notes a fairly tall structure marked 'ruin' on the point of land jutting out on the south side of the inner harbour. He suggests a 'light-house or look-out house'. Similar structures (probably merely tall cairns or towers), often in pairs, occur at other Red Sea anchorages north of Berenice, always at

¹ IV, 5.

² VI, 103.

³ Ancient data conveniently assembled in Ball, *Egypt in the Class. Geographers* (1942), 106, 146, &c.

⁴ *Topog. of Thebes*, 418.

⁵ XVII, I. 45 (815).

⁶ VI, 168.

⁷ *Southern Arabia*, 296.

⁸ *Auf unbetretenen Wegen*, 131.

⁹ XVI, 4. 5 (770); XVII, I. 45 (815). Cf. Diodorus, III, 39. 3. Both call the bay *Ἀκάθαρτος*. The description survives in the modern name 'Foul Bay'.

shallow harbours with a central deep-water channel.¹ Whether this provision dates back to Roman times is not known at present. The Berenice structure is built of madreporé blocks like the town.

Both the outer and inner bays are well sheltered from the strong prevailing north winds by the cape on the north side, stretching out twenty miles to the east. Belzoni and Wilkinson identified this cape (Rās Benās, Cape Nose, with other names at different dates) with Ptolemy's Lepte.²

The estimated distance to the shore varies with different observers. Golénisheff's 5 minutes' walk from the town increases to half a mile in Wellsted and to 20 minutes' walk (possibly from the temple) in Schweinfurth. Wilkinson shows at most 80 yards. It must be remembered, however, that geological changes along this Red Sea coast have been frequent and rapid in very recent times. The water of the inner harbour at high tide may have reached close to the town in ancient times.

Just over 50 miles south-east of Berenice is the peridot island of St. John (Gezīra Zebirged), worked for its high-quality stones in ancient times and as recently as this century. Diodorus and Strabo called the island Ophiodes, producing a stone they called topaz. Pliny called the island Topazos in consequence. The stone will be mentioned in connexion with one of the temple façade inscriptions.³

The Temple

(Plan, pl. VIII, 2)

The temple faces east-north-east. It is built of limestone blocks which were heavily weathered by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Interior walls had suffered in proportion, their hieroglyphic reliefs and inscriptions being either lost or severely damaged.⁴ The view that seems to have presented itself to all observers is that shown in pl. IX, 1⁵ of the roof just protruding above the sand. The height of the rooms is 12 ft.; the outer walls are slightly over a yard thick, the inner walls being a few inches less. Two irregularities in the general plan are reported. (1) Golénisheff finds the temple poorly constructed because the side walls of Rooms 1 and 2 are not exactly parallel. (2) The side walls of the Forecourt, drawn parallel by Golénisheff, converge in Purdy's plan.

The Forecourt

An unusual feature like converging side walls will need to be confirmed before it can be accepted, especially as Golénisheff saw only traces of the forecourt, while Belzoni, Wilkinson, and Wellsted saw nothing of the front (entrance) wall. Purdy's plan, as published by Daressy, has what Daressy assumes to be an enormous, fallen roof slab lying against the south side wall of the forecourt. This is unlikely, as a single slab over 12 ft. long and 3-4 ft. wide is hardly possible. Its position, blocking the entrance to the

¹ Wilkinson MS. xxxviii, 114; he calls them 'landmarks'; e.g. at Mersa Nakari, which he takes to be Nechesia.

² Λεπτή ἄκρα, IV, 4, 5; 23° 40', 34° 5' (actually 23° 54' N., 35° 47' E.).

³ P. 60.

⁴ The writer's gratitude is due to Professor Fairman and particularly to Professor Leclant who have kindly tackled the difficult task of making out Golénisheff's published copies and Wilkinson's manuscript copies of these damaged reliefs.

⁵ Taken in 1908 by M. Couyat-Barthoux, who has kindly supplied the photograph.

staircase, is also difficult to explain. Neither Wilkinson, Wellsted, nor Golénisheff record any such obstruction, but they may not have excavated here, whereas Purdy is known to have excavated the whole temple to below normal floor level.

The Façade

A. Reliefs not seen by Wilkinson. Purdy took squeezes here. These, when found by Daressy fifty years later, were too flat to read, but showed Golénisheff's relief (his pl. 6 (1), see below). They also show that the stone had been covered with a kind of salt incrustation. Upper register: Golénisheff's relief. Lower register: this existed, but nothing could be made of it. Between the two registers there was a narrow band bearing a Greek inscription in letters 1 cm. high (unreadable in the squeeze). Daressy thinks the cartouches cannot be Tiberius but might refer to Trajan or Domitian. The latter can be ruled out and the former is unlikely.

Golénisheff, pl. 6 (1), text p. 88 (g). He thinks the damaged cartouches cannot be Tiberius and suggests Hadrian. He thinks $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ must refer to a place connected with $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$ = 'the green stone, emerald', i.e. from the mining settlement at Sikait some distance to the north.

Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VII, 326, gives 'Tiberius before Goddess and Osiris'. Leclant says that the juvenile curl rules out Osiris. It must be Horus the Child. In front of this figure is $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$, which may be '. . . (X, son of) Osiris', i.e. Horus. The goddess is perhaps Isis with a Hathōr crown, the epithet being *hrt(t)-ib Wsd-wr*. Although there is $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$, we should read *Wsd(w)*. *Wsd(w)* must be a place name: X (deity) 'who lives in the place (or land) of the green stone'. Cf. $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$, 'Neith, mistress of the green stone' (Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, I (1952), pl. 48, no. 121; II (1955), 125 and n. b). For *wsd(w)*, which is the green stone or malachite, cf. *Wb.* I, 267, 9; Newberry, *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), 320, n. 3. On malachite in Egypt and turquoise in Sinai, cf. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 3rd edn. (1948), 456-61.¹

Considerable confusion exists in ancient references to green gem stones. As Wilkinson had recently visited the emerald (actually beryl) mines at Sikait, he must have correctly identified the fragments he called 'emerald stones', found at the Berenice site. No export of Egyptian beryls is mentioned in the *Periplus*. Berenice would be a natural port for the import of Sinai malachite and turquoise, but it would also be the port for receiving the peridots (greenish stones) mined, according to Strabo and Pliny, on St. John's Island. Some of the emeralds seen by Wilkinson and Bent may be explained by Blemmyan-Axumite export to India in the sixth century.²

Compare $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ *Wsd*, a region mentioned with the Oases in an inscription at Kom Ombo, Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* I, 184.³ But, considering the position of Berenice, one might complete the inscription thus: *hrt(t)-ib Wsd-wr*, 'who resides in the Great Green' = the Red Sea. Cf. Gauthier, op. cit. I, 182 = Junker, *Onurislegende*, 80:

¹ On *wsd* see also Sethe, *Pyr. Komm.* III, 64-65; Žába, *Maximes de Ptaḥhotep* (Prague, 1956), 72; commentary, pp. 112-13.

² Cosmas, *Indicopleustes*, XI, 449B; Warmington, *Commerce*, 250, 382; *BSOAS* 16, 237.

³ Cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VI, 185, (51)-(53), 3rd register.

𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐 'the country of the Iuntiu-Sti of the Great Green (i.e. the Nubian Troglodytes living on the shores of the Red Sea)'.

B B¹. Cartouches, Wilkinson,¹ 92 (fig. 1). On the projecting jambs on each side of the entrance to Room 1. On one side are two cartouches (upper line) which are not a pair,

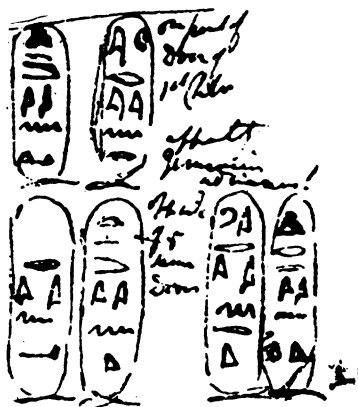


FIG. 1



FIG. 2

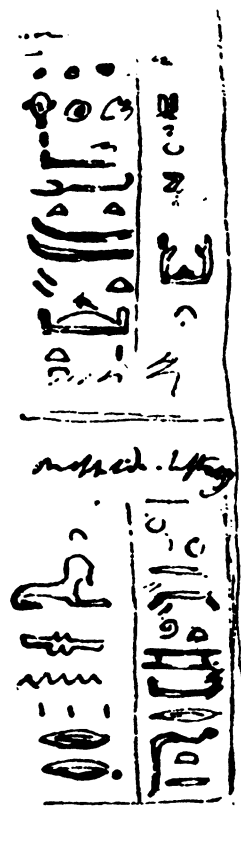


FIG. 3

as they face in opposite directions. The left cartouche, Germanicus; the right, probably Aurelius. Wilkinson suggests 'apparently Germanicus Adrianus' but his copy cannot be Adrianus. 'On the opposite side of the entrance' are the two pairs of the lower line. Left pair, probably Aurelius, Germanicus; right pair, probably Aurelius, Germanicus. In addition to Marcus Aurelius several other emperors have the epithet Germanicus. Of these two have also the name Aurelius: Commodus and Caracalla. Aurelius as a complete cartouche rather suggests Marcus Aurelius and this may be confirmed by the Greek fragment found by Wellsted, naming Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (see p. 69).

This gives A.D. 172-80 as the period within which these Aurelius inscriptions were recorded, the year in which the emperor assumed the title Germanicus and the year of his death.

C. No inscriptions have been recorded on this wall, corresponding to those at A.

¹ Wilkinson's notes on Berenice are from his MS. xxxviii; page references are given in the text.

Entrance to Room 1

D D¹. Lower part of wall, decoration (fig. 2). Wilkinson, 92; Golénisheff, pl. 4 (33), text, p. 88. A pattern consisting of a basket, with the sign *nh* holding on each side of it the sceptre *wss*. Golénisheff shows that the sign is a repeating pattern in two lines. Wilkinson gives the sceptres turned inwards, Golénisheff turned outwards.

Above: a double column of inscriptions on each wall (fig. 3), Wilkinson, 97. Upper columns at D; lower columns at D¹. Unreadable in Wilkinson's copies. The tops of the columns weathered away. Similar columns occur at H H (p. 65).

Room 1 (Hall)

Near the entrance, probably between D¹ and E. Wilkinson, 91. Fragment of 'alabastine stone' with a Greek inscription on each side. One corner of the fragment is intact. The lettering on the two sides suggests two different periods (both Roman). The stone was apparently re-used, this rock not being available near Berenice. Side A: SB 8385



FIG. 4



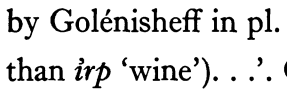
FIG. 5

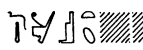
adopts Wilkinson's reconstructed dedication to Serapis in the first line (probable in view of parallels) and suggests for the second *τοῖς συννά[οις θεοῖς ὁ δεῖνα εὐξάμενος]*. From here on the inscription is unreadable. Another dedication to Serapis occurs on the base of a bust found by Wilkinson (see p. 70). Although other gods figure in its wall reliefs (also apparently of Roman date) the temple is often called the Temple of Serapis. Side B: Letronne¹ offers certain comments but SB 8385 makes nothing of this.

E. Ceiling decoration. Wilkinson, 92. A block, fallen from the ceiling, was apparently found here. It had a decoration of 'stars and the usual vulture, with names of the king'. Golénisheff and Schweinfurth also note a fallen ceiling block but mention only five-point stars. The names mentioned by Wilkinson may refer to the cartouches given at the foot of the same manuscript page (below, p. 65; cf. the fallen ceiling block in Room 2 (p. 69)).

Walls F and G: decoration of base (fig. 4). Wilkinson, 92. Golénisheff, pl. 4 (30), and p. 88. Wilkinson shows a pattern, current at all periods, consisting of open umbels

¹ *Rec. des Inscr. Gr. et Lat.* (1840-8), I, 464, no. LVI; *CIG* III, 4842 (d).

by Golénisheff in pl. 4 (28): , *di(i) n-k*, 'I give you milk(?) (*irtt* rather than *irp* 'wine'). . .'. Golénisheff's pl. 4 (29) is part of another scene (Scene C).

Scene B (fig. 6). Golénisheff seems to have missed this scene, as he does not give the text. The king, wearing the crown *hnw* and the false beard and with the uraeus on his forehead, presents two round bowls, no doubt vases of wine. With no cartouche to help us, it is impossible to date this scene. The king offers the bowls to a hieracocephalic god wearing on his head the pschent and holding before him the sceptre *wꜣs*. It is a form of Horus. The goddess behind him is shown to be Isis by the legend written before her, , 'words spoken by Isis. . .'. The drawing has traces showing that she is wearing a horned head-dress. Compare the text from Scene C on Wall G (Golénisheff, pl. 4, 26; see below p. 66).

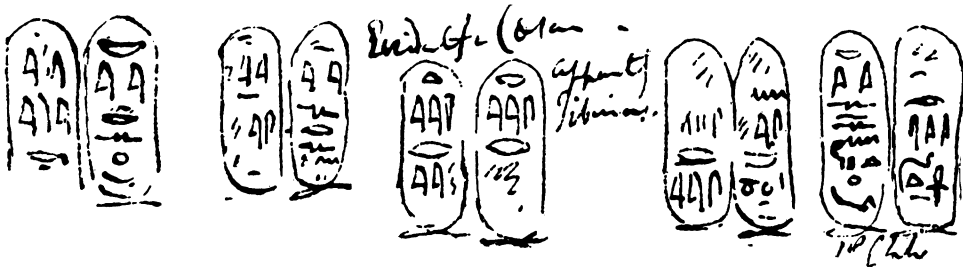
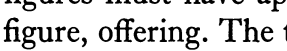
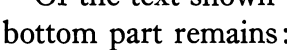

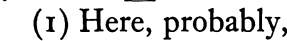
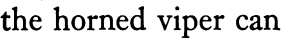




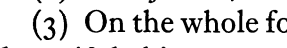
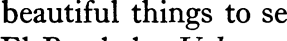
FIG. 8

Scene C (fig. 7). Golénisheff gives its text in pl. 4 (29). Wilkinson saw only the left part of the scene. If this scene agrees with others on both walls of this room, two other figures must have appeared in this scene, another deity and (on the right) the royal figure, offering. The text shown before the god is , 'giving wine to his father . . .'. The god advances holding before him a sceptre *wꜣs*. His composite crown is formed of the *atef* above the red crown. The uraeus appears on his forehead. The crown of the North surmounted by the *atef* is characteristic of the god Gēb in the Ptolemaic period, according to a tradition which is much older (J. Yoyotte, *Kēmi*, 11, 59–61). If it is Gēb here, the Berenice example takes its place in a list already long (*ibid.* 59–60). However, on very rare occasions Horus, and exceptionally Ḥathōr, can be given this head-dress (*ibid.* 61). It cannot be the goddess here because the sceptre *wꜣs* held by the figure evidently points to a god.

Of the text shown under the hand of the god, concerning the gifts offered, only the bottom part remains: . . . . This can be completed thus:  (1)  (2)  (3) 'All things good to see (above all other things).'

(1) Here, probably,  rather than ; in the rather 'round' forms of the late period the horned viper can be reduced to a kind of 'snail'.

(2) For *nfr mꜣꜣ*, cf. *Wb.* II, 255.



(3) On the whole formula, cf. *Piankhy*, 33:  '(messengers come and go bearing) beautiful things to see' and  'it was extraordinarily beautiful to see', El-Bershah, *Urk.* VII, 47, 20 = Lefebvre, *Gramm.*², § 173 (p. 94) and Gardiner, *Gramm.*², § 206, ex. 3 (p. 157).


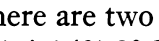

This is no doubt the text given by Golénisheff in pl. 4 (29).


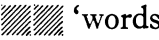
On the possibility of Belzoni's reliefs being from Wall F in Room 1, rather than (as he claims) from Room 2, see Room 2 below.

Wall G. Golénisheff, pl. 4 and pp. 87–88. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VII, 326, Hall, 2. Golénisheff gives the scenes from left to right.

Upper register: almost destroyed. Three scenes can be made out showing a king offering to deities seated on thrones.


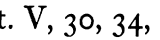

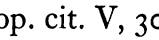
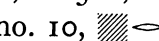
Lower register: Scene A. A goddess (probably Neith with the crown , possibly Mut with the crown ).

Scene B. The king offering to Amūn (with head-dress of long feathers) and to Mut with the crown . There are two texts. (1) pl. 4 (22),  'words spoken by Amūn. . .'. (2) pl. 4 (23),  'words spoken by Mut the Great, mistress of Ishru'. The names above the royal figure are too damaged to read.

Scene C. Tiberius wearing the *atef*-crown, offering to Khem (Min) who has on his head the two characteristic long feathers. Behind Min stands Isis. A pair of cartouches, pl. 4 (24), show the names Tiberius Caesar. Three texts: (1) pl. 4 (25),  'words spoken by Min of Koptos'. (2) pl. 4 (26),  'words spoken by Isis the Great' (cf. Scene B on Wall F, p. 64). (3), pl. 4 (27). These faint traces are between Tiberius and the god Min. They cannot be read.

Scene D. Only the feet of the figures are visible; the king before two deities.

Cartouches: five pairs (fig. 8). Wilkinson, 92, bottom left; repeated in MS. V, 50. These are numbered for convenience from left to right, 1–10. Wilkinson gives 9–10 as being in Room I and the rest are probably (from their position in the manuscript) in the same room.

No. 1, ?; nos. 2, 4, 9,  (or )  Caesar *nty hwy* (sebastos, augustus), Tiberius (Gauthier, op. cit. V, 30, 34, 38–44, 241); no. 3, Tiberius; no. 5,  Tiberius; no. 6, Caesar (Wilkinson, for 5–6, 'apparently Tiberius, evidently a Caesar'); no. 7, probably Caesar; no. 8, ?; no. 10, , '(Tib)erius living for ever'.

General. Purdy (in Daressy's figs. 2, 3) gives sections showing two bands along Wall G and the back wall (on each side of the entrance to Room 1), presumably to mark the upper and lower registers.

'Altar of Libations' (Wilkinson, 93, with sketch p. 96). Porter and Moss, *Topog. Bibl.* VII, 326:¹ 'Ptolemaic offering table with six staircases (uninscribed)', with references to literature on this. Presented to the British Museum by Wilkinson (footnote on manuscript, p. 96). A Ptolemaic date is doubtful; it may be later.

Entrance to Room 2

H H, lower part of the walls, decoration (fig. 2). Wilkinson, 92. The same pattern as at D D¹.

Above: a double column of inscriptions on each wall (fig. 9). Wilkinson, 93. Porter and Moss, op. cit. 326, Sanctuary, 4, 5. Wilkinson does not tell us which double column appears on either side. When Golénisheff saw these columns in 1889 only the

¹ B.M. no. [135], not 1043.

bottom was visible in each case (pl. 4, 31, 32). Wilkinson's copies are almost unreadable. Professor Fairman has made out the following (columns in the order A-B, D-C):

Col. A: '... who marches over the desert cliffs, who crosses the ocean, who comes forth from the desert (?). The chieftains of the land of Wawat¹ (?) ...'

Col. B: '... she loves, who makes a way of life (?), she guards you (plural) from ill, she saves you from strife. ...'



FIG. 9

Col. D: '... the Princess (*hks*t), God's Mother. ...'

Col. C: '... their [p]orts (?), she enriches (?) you with ... to (?) the limits of these for ever.'

Both Wilkinson and Golénisheff show that columns C-D, unlike A-B, have their bottom end complete.

¹ I.e. Nubia.

Scenes (not copied). Wilkinson, 93.

At the same doorway Wilkinson suggests other scenes: 'The gods on this door are Aroeris, Isis, Harpocrates with the emblems of Osiris.'

Room 2 (Sanctuary).

Belzoni, 332, with *Atlas*, pls. 33 (1), 16. Wilkinson, 93. Wellsted, 98 and plate opposite p. 100. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 326, Sanctuary.

L. Belzoni states that he excavated in the north-east corner of Room 2 (i.e. at L, allowing for his slightly incorrect compass points). Wilkinson, because he found an excavation at E in Room 1, insists that Belzoni dug there and found his tablet and roughly drawn relief. Belzoni cannot be credited with not knowing that he was in the Cella,



FIG. 10



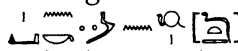
FIG. 11

especially as his description suits the corner L in Room 2. He found a relief on the upper part of the wall and later, having dug down four feet, he found 'the upper part of the door to the inner room', which might be the door to Room 2 or the door to the side Room 3, which was then still roofed.

Reliefs; parts of two scenes. The left scene shows a figure wearing possibly the composite crown (incompletely drawn?) and holding the sceptre. In front of him is a sketchy figure that might be Min. The next compartment shows a female figure. There is a strong resemblance to Wilkinson's Scenes C and B (left to right) on Wall F in Room 1, but to equate them would mean that Belzoni was wrong both in the room and in his compass point. The reliefs are 2 ft. 3 in. high. They are possibly high on the wall above or near the entrance to Room 3. Belzoni shows above the reliefs a band containing small squares each containing a symbol or design.

Tablet. At the same corner Belzoni found a tablet 'of reddish pudding-stone or breccia, not belonging to the rocks near that place'. It shows part of a seated figure, a god (?). Porter and Moss describe it as 'part of the stela of a hereditary prince'. Below the figure are the tops of three columns of inscriptions. These do not refer to the seated figure above as they face in the opposite direction. From right to left; column 1: (*i*)*r*(*y*)-*p**r*t *h**s**t**y*-*r*. . . , the beginning of the title of a high personage, 'The noble prince. . . '.

Column 2: '... of the house of the king, which is in ...' Column 3: 'Master of the palace,¹ the living god. ...' The tablet has nothing by which it can be dated.

'At the end of the adytum' (Wilkinson 93) (fig. 10). Within the top four feet (Wellsted, p. 98, and pl. opposite p. 100). Wilkinson notes 'two mutilated female figures' but draws only one, with a column of inscriptions below the outstretched hand. Wellsted gives both figures, with the same inscription between the two figures. The figure in each case is Isis-Ḥathōr; the text concerns the gift made by the goddess:  'I give you the sight (?) of Rē^c for ever'. *Mss(?)n R^c* does not seem to be known elsewhere; cf. perhaps *mss Hr* 'the sight of Horus', *Wb.* II, 11, ex. 1.

Below the figures Wellsted shows a continuous wall pattern consisting of an open four-petal flower on a long stalk alternating with a bud on a short stalk.

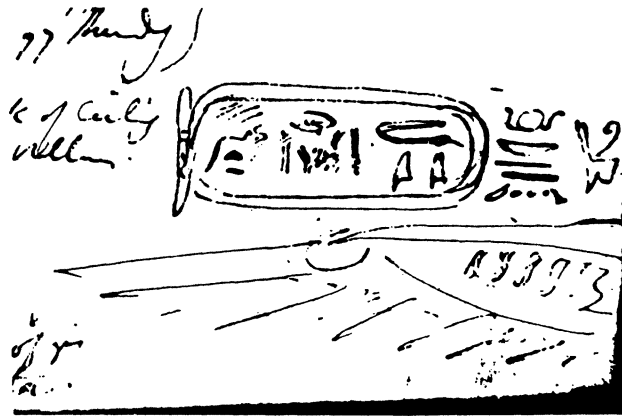


FIG. 12

Walls J K (?). Missing scenes. Wilkinson (p. 93) notes: 'I could not make out many (gods) on the walls except Aroeris and Isis, and Athor at the side walls of the adytum.' Wellsted (p. 98), after mentioning his Isis figures, notes: 'We discovered they were continued at the same level in groups round the chamber.' Later he writes that the walls were 'covered with hieroglyphics', adding that the soft limestone was so weathered that the reliefs were removed 'by merely passing the hand over them'.

Relief; place not given (fig. 11). Wilkinson, 93. Cf. his reference to Harpocrates (entrance to Room 2). The drawing shows a god holding a sceptre *wss* in one hand and in the other, horizontally, a whip and sceptre *hks* turned upwards. His long curl shows the god like a Khonsu or a child Horus: Harpocrates, Ḥarsamtawi or Ḥor-shed. He wears a mortar surmounted by a solar disk and four feathers. The four feathers are characteristic of Onūris (Lanzone, *Diz. di mitol. egizia* (Turin, 1884), pls. 33-34). The latter, however, has no solar disk or curl. If Wilkinson's sketch is correct and there are four feathers all together, it is not Horus-Amūn (ibid. pp. 601-2), who, above the mortar, has the disk and the two double feathers, and who is nude. The four feathers and the solar disk are found in certain representations of Ḥarsamtawi (ibid., pl. 238, 3); the curl and the presence in the god's hand of the whip and the sceptre *hks* held hori-

¹ *nb* *ḥ*, 'master of the palace', a reference to the king (*Wb.* I, 214, 16).

zontally point to Harpocrates (*ibid.*, pl. 228, 1. 3, the crook of the sceptre being, as here, pointed upwards). Cf. Golénisheff's pl. 6 (1) (see Façade, p. 60).

Fallen ceiling blocks (inscribed) (fig. 12).

Wilkinson, 93, with MS. V, 50. 'On the south side of the cella' (near Wall K?). Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 327.

Cartouche and text: 'To the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius living for ever.' Cf. Wilkinson's description of the ceiling decoration in Room 1 (p. 62). Wellsted (p. 98) found 'several stones which had formed the roof'. He does not describe them but notes that 'the hieroglyphics on them were in a beautiful state of preservation'.

Greek fragments found in Room 2

Wellsted (p. 98) at G in his plan, this point being omitted from his plan. No text given. He reported the three inscriptions (perhaps presented both stones) to Wilkinson.

(1) Ptolemaic fragment. Date, Ptolemy VII (Euergetes II). Wilkinson, 93, footnote. Letronne, 1, 383, xxx. *CIG* III, 4841. The right (upper) part of the stone is in Alexandria (Breccia, *Iscriz.* 20, no. 38 (51), with pl. 10 (28)); limestone, 365 mm. high, 30 cm. wide. Strack, *Dynastie*, 257, no. 111, puts the two pieces together and reconstructs the missing bottom piece. *SB* 2039. The bottom line has not been reconstructed.

(2) Two Roman fragments,¹ on both sides of a stone. Wilkinson, 93, footnote. Letronne, 1, 463-4, nos. LIV, LV, with notes and partial reconstructions. *CIG* III, 4841. *SB* 8385 does not attempt these fragments. Nothing can be made of Wilkinson's copies, except the reference to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (see above, p. 61). The lettering on the two sides indicates two different dates, both Roman.

Found in Room 2; broken pieces of a statue, with pedestal. Wellsted, p. 98. No inscription given. This may be Wilkinson's bust, with a dedication to Serapis (see pp. 62 and 70).

Rooms 3 and 4

Still roofed in Wilkinson's time (his plan, p. 83). No details. Apparently never cleared, except by Purdy. The wall projection (at M) in Golénisheff's plan extends till it is even with the wall of Room 3, and therefore wider than the projection on the opposite side. Purdy and Wilkinson make the projections equal.

Rooms 5 and 8

Wilkinson, plan, p. 83. Part of the roof was still intact in 1826. Above it, at N, Wilkinson found a wall which he believed to be part of the upper rooms reached by the staircase. This wall was built of madrepore, like the town, and suggests later construction. Room (8): Purdy's plans (Daressy's figs. 3 and 4) seem to show an underground room below Room 5, and of the same size. From this, under the façade wall, runs a very small corridor to reach a tiny room under the Forecourt. In the absence of Purdy's notes no details are known. The door recess at O, not shown in all plans, is probable in view of the corresponding recess at O¹ (Room 6).

¹ *SB* 218, 219 (from Golénisheff, pl. 7, 75, 76) are not, as stated, from Berenice.

Room 6

A corridor to Room 4, still roofed in 1889. Golénisheff's recess at O¹ is placed some distance forward in the corridor. Others, more symmetrically, show jambs and recesses equal all along the Façade. This arrangement is adopted in the provisional plan. An oval hole (70×90 cm.) has been cut in the roof, not far from the entrance from the Forecourt. Its purpose is unknown.

Golénisheff (pl. 5, right) and Wellsted (plan) show three odd recesses above ground level in the left (south) wall. The first two do not penetrate the partition wall to the staircase. The third, near the entrance to Room 4, passes through the wall and under the staircase to about the middle of it. Purpose unknown.

Golénisheff (pl. 4, 34) found a stone tablet, 52 cm. square, with a groove round the edge and an incised symbol, near one corner, resembling an anchor. He suggests the top of an offering table.

Room 7; staircase

Plans vary. About a dozen steps lead to a small landing from which two steps turn right to reach the roof.

Other finds in the temple

Wilkinson, 97: A bust of Serapis, with an inscription in Roman lettering: *Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι* (cf. p. 62). This may be Wellsted's broken statue, with pedestal, found in Room 2 (see p. 69).

The head of a Roman statue.

A bronze arm.

A marble arm.

Half a full stone figure of bad style.

Another figure holding an animal (?) over his head.

A bad figure of Isis and Horus.

Wilkinson, 93.

Much wood (of doors?).

'Pieces of alabaster and marble, from whence this last I know not.'

A common lamp (terra cotta).

Stones fastened together by leaden cramps dovetailed.

'Some pieces of wood of the same form which I also found for the same purpose in the temples on the Nile.'

Cf. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 327, Finds: Wooden clamps, one with cartouche of Sethos I (?), in British Museum.

COINAGE OF PHARAONIC EGYPT

By COL. JAMES W. CURTIS

ARCHAEOLOGICAL and numismatic literature has maintained a somewhat discreet silence on the subject of coinage by the Egyptian Pharaohs, the reasons for which are not difficult to find. In the first place, coinage (in its modern sense) existed nowhere in the Mediterranean area until the period of Egypt's Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when the Pharaonic Period was nearing its end. In the second place, Egypt's peculiar economic homogeneity¹ discouraged such a development. Finally, little or no conclusive numismatic evidence had been found to indicate such a coinage.²

Scattered bits of evidence now available, however, seem to confirm the existence of a distinctive Pharaonic coinage, struck during the period of the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Dynasties. The author is greatly indebted to Mr. G. K. Jenkins, of the British Museum staff, whose recent article in *The Numismatic Chronicle*³ discussed much of this evidence with remarkable insight. Mr. Jenkins also kindly furnished the museum casts from which the coin photographs in this article were prepared.

In *Media of Exchange in Ancient Egypt*, the author states the case against coinage during most of the Pharaonic period: "Thus it may be seen that the prime requisites for the development of money and coinage were missing in Ancient Egypt. The lack of private enterprise, the homogeneity of the economic structure and of productive efforts, the relative geographic isolation, the royal monopoly of trade, and the marginal economic status of the millions of fellahin who formed the great bulk of the population, were all negative factors.'

At the time of the establishment of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty many of these conditions had undergone change. Economic life, particularly in Lower Egypt, had been modified by the Persian conquest. More important still were the effects of the Greek traders and merchants who, first encouraged by Twenty-sixth Dynasty Pharaohs, had become an increasingly large and significant factor in Egypt's trade and commerce. A catalyst was still needed, however, to precipitate an actual coinage. This was provided by the emergence of the mercenary standing army.

It was Acoris, second king of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty who, during the diversion of Persian military might by the prolonged revolt of Cyprus under Evagoras, built up a quasi-permanent corps of Greek mercenaries. He did not neglect to retain simultaneously a hard core of trained Egyptian troops. Maintained by his successors of the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Dynasties, the military force persisted for some forty-five years, and successfully staved off Persian invasions during the early years of both

¹ Curtis, 'Media of Exchange in Ancient Egypt', in *The Numismatist*, 1951, pp. 482-91.

² Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911), p. 845.

³ Jenkins, 'Greek Coins recently acquired by the British Museum', in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1955, pp. 144-50.

PLATE X



I



2

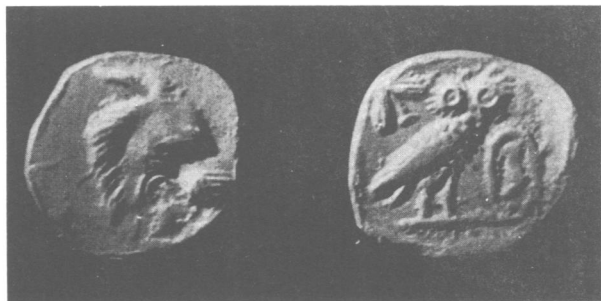
3

4

5



A



B

PHARAONIC COIN-TYPES

Nectanebo I and Nectanebo II. Of primary significance to our study is the fact that these Greek mercenaries would not accept payment in kind, but insisted upon monetary recompense. Thus, a coinage became mandatory.

From the beginning the problem was neatly solved. Acoris, four years after his accession, formed an alliance with Athens coincident with the enrolment of Greeks into his army. As a part of her obligations Athens apparently furnished a supply of her standard coin dies for Egyptian use. A number of such dies have been found in Egypt,¹ but nowhere else outside Athenian territory. The silver for the coins, furnished by Acoris (and his successors), followed closely the fineness of the regular Athenian issues, and maintained the standard weight. These Pharaonic issues of Athenian coins followed so closely their prototypes that they cannot be distinguished from them by fineness, weight, fabric, die-axis, or finished appearance.

At this point, it might be well to state that attempts have been made to differentiate Pharaonic 'Athenian' tetradrachms from the regular issues of Athens on the basis of 'barbarous' design, since a significant variation in artistic quality occurs. Dr. Vermeule (cited above) has clearly demonstrated in his publication of a three-fold Athenian die-block that such artistic variations could occur in a single die-complex, and that the so-called 'barbarous' issues could be found accompanying 'normal' issues at any place of mintage.

Identification of any of these coins found in Egypt as being struck in that country would be possible if either the obverse or reverse could be identified with a coin die that had also been found in Egypt. Less certain identification might be made of coins found in hoards of a type suggesting that they were military chests, or in hoards containing one or more similar coins already associated with a specific die, as mentioned above. The Tell el-Maskhūṭah hoard,² which contained many interesting tetradrachms of the type under discussion, might well include Egyptian issues. A typical example of this hoard, from the author's collection, appears as no. 1, on pl. X.

Mintage of recognizable Egyptian coins apparently began during the relatively stable period of the Thirtieth Dynasty. Four such issues are illustrated on pl. X as numbers 2, 3, 4, and 5. Number 2 might well have been issued during the reign of Nectanebo I, numbers 3 and 4 are probably issues of Teos, while number 5 seems to belong to the reign of Nectanebo II.³

The small silver coin tentatively assigned to the reign of the first Nectanebo appears to be the earliest coin that can be definitely attributed to the Pharaonic period on the basis of style and type. The crude head of Athena on the obverse would hardly have appeared on a coin issued later than the early part of the fourth century B.C. The reverse type is a variation of two different double-owl Athenian reverse motifs. Distinctly Egyptian, however, is the introduction of the hieroglyphs \dagger *nfr* and \cup *nb* on the reverse. *Nfr* appears between the facing owls, while *nb* occupies the exergue. The

¹ Vermeule, 'Ancient Dies and Coining Methods', in *The Numismatic Circular*, 1953, pp. 397-401.

² *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1947, nos. 12-14 on pl. 5.

³ Note, however, divergent opinions in papers included in the bibliography of M. Jungfleisch (*Rev. Num.*, 1931, p. 129).

meaning conveyed by these hieroglyphs may be freely translated as 'all good [silver]' or perhaps as 'good for all [purposes]'. Incidentally, the necessary crowding of coin inscriptions, and consequent over-simplification, does not always do justice to grammatical exactitude.

The above coin, once exhibited at the British Museum, has since been withdrawn, and cannot now be located. The author would appreciate any information as to its whereabouts, or as to the whereabouts of any coin from the same or similar dies. The weight of the coin was 0.56 g. A three-diameter enlargement appears as A on pl. X.

The coins numbered 3 and 4 on the plate can be assigned with some degree of probability to the reign of Teos. Number 4, a gold stater, actually bears most of the name 'Tachos' in Greek letters in the field of the reverse. The obverse and reverse types follow the usual Athenian pattern, and consist of the head of Athena and a standing owl. The Athena head seems to be copied from the contemporary fourth-century style, and the eye is delineated in full profile.

The small silver piece, which is shown on the plate as number 3, is somewhat less certainly assigned to the reign of Teos. The obverse depicts the head of a jackal, which Jenkins identifies with Anubis. The author finds no grounds for disagreement. The coin reverse, in addition to the almost inevitable owl, contains what Jenkins describes as an 'obscure Egyptian cartouche'. A three-diameter enlargement (B on pl. X), however, seems to rather clearly identify this as the hieroglyph β *m:ct*, which in the present instance appears to have the meaning of 'truth'. In other words, the value and quality of the coin is attested as *in truth* what it purports to be, and is hence neither of debased quality nor of inadequate weight. A less probable interpretation is that the circular frame surrounding the hieroglyph is actually a cartouche, and that β is an abbreviated and stylistic rendering of 'true of voice' $\overline{\text{—}}$. Together with the Anubis head on the obverse, this would commemorate the issuer's deceased predecessor who, now 'justified', had joined Anubis. Teos, to emphasize the achievements of his father Nectanebo I and the greatness of his dynasty, prior to embarking on his Asian adventure, would have been the most likely issuer. One must not overlook the possibility of Nectanebo II having struck such a piece, however, in his desperate need to secure recognition as the legitimate Pharaoh after the severe civil upheavals accompanying his assumption of the throne. One would normally have expected \parallel to have been used, if this latter interpretation be correct, although in late Egyptian, particularly hieratic, β seemed to have been acquiring a broader use.

One additional coin, not illustrated here, can be assigned with reasonable certainty to Teos. This is a tetradrachm newly acquired by the British Museum, which Jenkins¹ describes in his excellent and informative article. The coin resembles the tetradrachm depicted as no. 1 on pl. X, with minor differences in style. However, the Greek letters AΘE in the right field of the reverse have been replaced with a demotic inscription. Unfortunately, the lower line of the two-line legend is incomplete. The visible characters, $\text{Ⲛ} \text{Ⲙ} \text{Ⲛ}$ (top line) and $\text{Ⲛ} \text{Ⲛ}$ (lower line), may be read (according to the late Prof. S. R. K. Glanville) as 'Teos Pharaoh'. Jenkins feels that the two remaining characters,

¹ Loc. cit.

of which not enough is visible for identification, may have identified Teos as standing in some relation to the Pharaoh, rather than leaving him identified as the Pharaoh. He bases this opinion on the style of the Athena head, which is more characteristic of late fifth-century coins than of fourth-century issues, particularly in the frontal representation of the eye. Hence, he suggests that the Teos in question may have been the father of Nectanebo I, or even the Egyptian Admiral Teos who commanded the Persian fleet during the late fifth century. The author prefers the Thirtieth Dynasty Pharaoh, however. Among the Athenian Tetradrachm dies received in Egypt, there was variation in quality and style,¹ and it would be rather strange if some did not include occasional reversion to older representations of details. The earlier artistic style was still commonly encountered on coins circulating in Egypt in the middle of the fourth century, and would certainly be more compatible with the conventions of Egyptian art (frontal eye in particular) than would the later motif. Teos, or one of his Egyptian officials, might well be expected to select the style more closely resembling traditional Egyptian convention when arranging for the mintage of the issue in question. More evidence is required before final attribution can be made with any confidence.

Returning to the coins illustrated on the plate, let us consider number 5. Often referred to as the *nefer nub* stater, this beautiful gold piece seems to have been issued in some quantity. Approximately two dozen specimens are known, representing at least three different obverse dies, and at least two different reverse dies. Carelessly attributed to the early Ptolemies, many years ago, the issue has so been described in sales catalogues as recent as 1956.² Gaston Maspero, however, after a careful examination of the first specimen discovered, pronounced it a Pharaonic issue, and most authorities have agreed in assigning it to the late dynastic period. It seems most probable that this coin was an issue of Nectanebo II. The author³ and Mr. Jenkins⁴ have both so attributed it in recent publications. The excellent die work would be expected only after some previous experience with a coinage, such as preceded Nectanebo II's reign, and it would normally be struck in a period of tranquillity and prosperity such as characterized most of his rule. It has no counterpart in Ptolemaic coinage, and indeed stands in direct contrast to the whole psychology of the early Ptolemaic issues, the designs for which were meant only as propaganda for the new dynasty as legal successors to Alexander, and which were little concerned with native Egyptian ideas or language. It will be noted that the reverse type consists of the superimposed hieroglyphs \dagger *nfr* and 𓏏 *nbw*, together identifying the piece as 'good gold'. The obverse type depicts one of the finest surviving examples from antiquity of a representation of a spirited prancing horse.

We might digress at this point to note that the Pharaonic coinage, devised at first as an expedient for paying mercenary soldiers' wages, and entirely foreign in motif, gradually evolved more and more Egyptianized coins during the Thirtieth Dynasty,

¹ Vermeule, loc. cit.

² M. G. Lee and Fratelli Bajocchi, *Collection de monnaies en or (de Mayer Eliakim)* (Cairo, 1956), p. 15 and pl. 3.

³ Curtis, loc. cit.

⁴ Loc. cit.

until it culminated in the production of an unmistakably Egyptian gold stater of remarkable artistic value. This gradual development seems to have been in response to domestic needs, and apparently was supplementary to the continuing mintage of Athenian type coins, which still were required as the standard pay of the Greek soldier.

As a matter of fact, the *nefer nub* stater itself may have had a military connexion. The 'gold fly' military award for valor, proudly recorded in many Egyptian tombs, was by now obsolescent. An award of gold in more useful and convenient form would be required for the mercenaries, and would be more acceptable to native heroes as well. The *nefer nub* piece may have served this purpose. The spirited horse of the obverse was a symbol of courage and daring in many Mediterranean cultures of the period.

In addition to the small silver coins already described, a number of others have been published in various publications which seem also to be a part of the Thirtieth Dynasty issues. Jenkins in his previously described article, illustrates one of size and fabric similar to the Anubis-Ma'et piece which appears as number 3 on our plate. The obverse, however, bears the customary head of Athena. The reverse owl is much the same, but the hieroglyph 𓆎 appears in the field to the right, together with the Greek letters 'AΘE'. The coin is now in the British Museum. One feels tempted to assign it to the last years of Nectanebo I rather than later, since it still retains so many distinctive Athenian features. Jenkins suggests that 𓆎 *wh* be interpreted as 'endure' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$). A meaning of 'abundance' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ *whyt*) might also be considered. A much smaller silver coin which he illustrates (also from the Museum) bears on the obverse a head of Zeus Ammon and on the reverse a badly executed Athenian owl and a very obscure object in the field to the right. This object could be a very crude 𓆎 *nfr*, or could be a long-necked amphora. Pending discovery of additional specimens in a better state of preservation, little more can be done to place it chronologically. Other scattered small silver coins may bear representations of Bes, and seem to link up with the dynastic issues.

As we review the relatively high number of attributions made to the reign of Teos, it might seem surprising that this short period of approximately two years would result in so much numismatic activity. However, both history and the psychology of the man himself are in accord. Ambitious and turbulent, Teos prepared to retrace the trail of empire blazed by such predecessors as Tuthmosis III, and made feverish preparations for yet another revival of Egypt's Asian conquests. Requisitioning as much of his country's gold and silver as he could find, heavily taxing production and trade, and confiscating swollen temple treasures, Teos amassed vast amounts of precious metal, earmarked to a great extent for wages for his thousands of Greek mercenaries. In such a manner, this penultimate Pharaoh secured the raw materials for a large and hastily struck coinage, but at the cost of the civil resentment that was soon to stultify his campaign and deprive him of his throne. The ego of such a man could hardly have been satisfied with a completely anonymous coinage, but must have required some portion of his issues to bear his name in Greek, for the edification of his mercenaries, and in demotic for the benefit of his Egyptian subjects.

In conclusion, let us present a tentative numismatic chronology for Pharaonic Egypt.

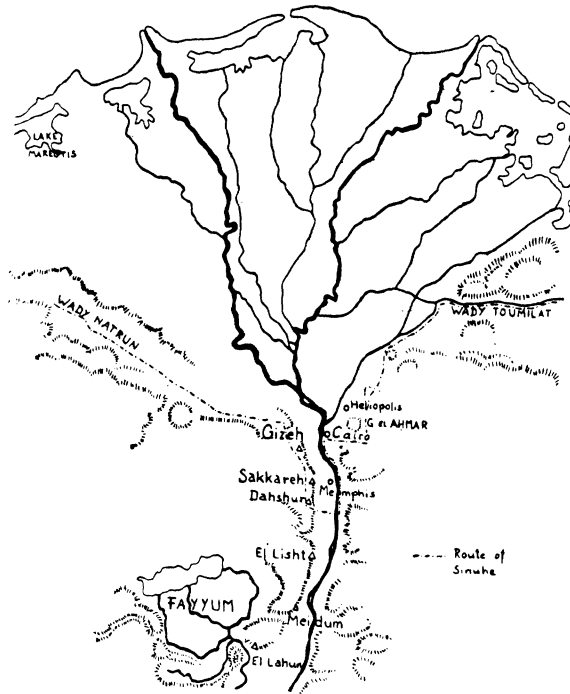
The author would welcome any further evidence, positive or negative, that would serve to shed additional light on the validity of these attributions:

- 398–392 B.C. Neferites I defeats Amyrtaios, establishing the Twenty-ninth Dynasty. Suzerainty of Persia denied, necessitating eventual establishment of mercenary army.
- 392–380 B.C. Acoris actively opposes Persia, forming alliances with Athens and Cyprus. Corps of Greek mercenaries (under Greek commanders) engaged. Coinage of Athenian-type coins from Athenian dies initiated for troop payments.
- 380–378 B.C. Mintage of Athenian-type coins apparently continued during the civil unrest of the reigns of Psamouthis and Neferites II.
- 378–361 B.C. Nectanebo I overthrows Neferites II, establishing the Thirtieth Dynasty. Mercenary troops, prepared by Acoris, hastily augmented for successful defence against Persian satrap Pharnabazos. Coinage of Athenian-style pieces continued. During following period of peace and prosperity, supplementary experimental issues of small silver coins continue some Athenian motifs, but include hieroglyphic representations, and constitute first truly 'Egyptian' coins.
- 361–359 B.C. Teos prepares mercenary and native troops for Asian war of conquest. Large quantities of gold and silver exacted from Egypt for coinage purposes. Inevitable Athenian coins supplemented by gold staters bearing Pharaoh's name in Greek, silver tetradrachms bearing Pharaonic name and title(s), and small silver coins similar to those of Nectanebo I, but bearing Egyptian obverse motif.
- 359–341 B.C. Nectanebo II, with help of Spartan troops, quells civil disorders attendant upon rebellion against Teos, and assumes throne. Two years later defeats Persian invasion attempt with aid of Egyptian, Spartan, and Athenian troops. During succeeding years of prosperity, mercenary army is maintained in sufficient force that sections could be sent to support of allies (e.g. Sidon). Athenian coinage continues. Gold staters of Egyptian style introduced, and apparently minted in some quantity. Experimentation with small silver coins of hybrid style probably continues.
- 341 B.C. Nectanebo II defeated by Persian general Bagoas. Flees upriver with much treasure (including a large quantity of *nefer nub* staters?). Pharaonic period ends.

THE ROUTE OF SINUHE'S FLIGHT

By HANS GOEDICKE

IN his *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*¹ Gardiner expresses himself concerning the route Sinuhe took when fleeing from the expedition of the crown prince as follows: 'The topography of Sinuhe's flight is not unattended by difficulties, most of the place-names mentioned being unknown.' The recent detailed investigation of the story by Grapow,² which considered especially the stylistic build-up of the plot, offered a welcome opportunity to go again into this problem, but Grapow himself did not embark on this question and referred for the details to Gardiner's study. The route, assumed there,




has been generally accepted by all those who have commented on this text. According to it the Egyptian army on its return from the campaign against Libya marched 'along the Mediterranean littoral. Here Sinuhe takes to flight'; he turns southwards and subsequently reaches 'one of the great lakes in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, probably Lake Mareōtis'. 'It is probably the southern end of this across which he wades or swims.' The place mentioned next, the 'Island of Snofru', cannot be identified. Lefebvre³ places it in the north-east of the Delta, as Gardiner implies in his

¹ Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, 165.

² Grapow, *Der stilistische Bau der Geschichte des Sinuhe, Untersuchungen für ägyptische Stilistik*, 1, Berlin, 1952.

³ Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes égyptiens*, p. 7, n. 16.

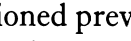



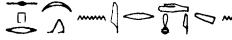
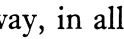
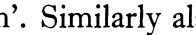
considered much more reliable than the late copies of the Sinuhe text, it appears that the word is feminine. The lack of any determinative after it makes it unlikely to be a word for 'wind', for in such a case  would probably be written after it. In recognition of this fact Macadam renders it as 'force (of the wind)'.

In connexion with the situation as prevailing at Sinuhe's crossing, Dr. W. S. Smith points out to me that there is no regular west wind in Egypt. The only kind coming from the west is the Khamsin, which blows with a considerable strength. This kind of wind occurs most frequently in the early spring, and it is interesting to note that this fits well with the time we have to assume for Sinuhe's crossing.¹

Another detail, likewise not without importance, is the kind of boat in which he crossed. It was a *wshṭ*, a 'broad-ship' or 'barge', primarily for the transport of goods, not of persons. The resulting implication will concern us later.

That he stresses these details, almost interrupting the continuity of his story, implies that he had a reason for doing so. It is certainly not said to increase the impact of the story, but to explain the situation from the geographical point of view. In addition, the dramatic focus of the entire story lies here, as will be shown later.

The lack of any facilities for steering the boat on the Nile made Sinuhe's course on the river uncertain, and it was only by good luck that he landed at the eastern bank. This involves an indication which is very important for tracing his route. Drifting across the Nile involves a relatively long journey on the river until the current, together with the wind, can move the vessel to the other side. This very important information with which Sinuhe supplies us concerning his river journey is of great help in locating his approximate point of embarkation. It is necessary to assume that it was a considerable distance south of his landing point, which we have established as the region of modern Cairo. Having reached this conclusion we can now turn to Sinuhe's route on the western bank of the Nile.

The last place mentioned previous to the crossing of the Nile is called . The term is usually rendered 'town of Gaw'. But none of the copies of the text writes the town-determinative () after *dmi*; instead all use the sign . The variants C and O, and B (though damaged), have  at the end of the compound term, while R omits it. All scholars agree that *dmi* is an additional specification, while the proper name of the locality is Gaw. *Dmi*—for the New Kingdom and later attested to denote a village or town²—has in its early occurrences an entirely different significance. This is especially well demonstrated by *El Bersheh*, I, pl. 14, l. 9  'when I approached the *dmi* of this town'. That in this connexion it is not identical with the settlement, but denotes the adjoining 'river-bank', 'shore', is clear from the context which tells about a journey of inspection of a dignitary through the area of his jurisdiction. In the same way, in all likelihood, is to be understood  (*Leb.* 102,³ *Peasant* B 130), the connexion with the crocodile pointing much more to a meaning like 'river-bank' than 'town'. Similarly also *Peasant* B 1, 179 , which

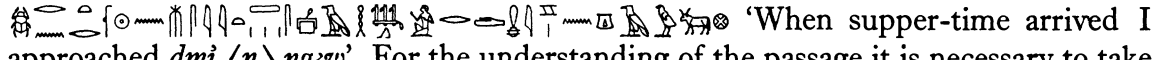
¹ Professor Parker most kindly calculated for me that Sinuhe's crossing took place in February.

² See *AEO* II, 1*.

³ For a different explanation of the *Lebensmüde* passage see *JEA* 42, 37 (85) (Ed.).

hardly can be understood as 'Stätte des ganzen Landes'.¹ That here again the river bank is meant, is strongly supported by a preceding mention of crocodiles. In its only occurrence in the Pyramid Texts (*Pyr.* 303 c), *dmî* seems to have the same meaning. Since the word *dmî* in all its early occurrences has the significance of 'river bank',² this meaning has to be assumed for the passage under discussion as well, and the rendering 'town' can be considered as inadequate.

Accordingly *dmî* <*n*> *ngʷw*,³ the point where Sinuhe left the left bank of the Nile, means literally 'river-bank of the (*ngʷw*-) cattle'.

About the approach of this place and the connected circumstances Sinuhe says:⁴  'When supper-time arrived I approached *dmî* <*n*> *ngʷw*'. For the understanding of the passage it is necessary to take the preceding events into consideration. Sinuhe has set out early in the morning to continue his flight southwards after spending the night near *iw-Snfrw* which, as will be shown later, signifies Dahshūr. Soon after his start he meets a man on his way, but this man runs away from him. Sinuhe is frightened by this incident and, as I understand the passage, hides again. It is not before the evening that he dares to leave his refuge, and then he goes straight to the Nile to look for a way to cross. This reconstruction of events is supported by the use of the verb *sʰh*, which expresses 'arrival' at a destination⁵ and is distinct from *spr*, which denotes the reaching of one of many points on a long journey.⁶ The finality of the move implies that Sinuhe came to the *dmî* <*n*> *ngʷw* not by accident, but intentionally. Since this approach happened *hpr-n tr n msyt* 'at supper-time', it is implied that Sinuhe has spent the day in hiding until the evening, a time which seemed suitable to him for crossing to the other bank.

From the significance of the term *dmî* <*n*> *ngʷw* 'river bank of the cattle', one is inclined to think of a cattle-crossing at this particular point. Although most of the versions of the text use the determinative Ⓞ after the compound expression, there is no necessity to consider it as an inhabited place, but rather, perhaps, a point on the river from which cattle were shipped across. This assumption is demanded by the development of the plot, since it is hard to believe that Sinuhe would approach a 'town' after he had spent all day in hiding out of fear of being seen by somebody. There is further evidence in the text for this assumption. The boat which Sinuhe finds there and which he uses to reach the other side of the Nile is called *wsht*, 'broad ship' or 'barge'. This kind of boat was designed for transporting goods. It was, as its name expresses, rather large and not easy to handle. If Sinuhe had reached a town, he probably would have tried to find a more suitable vessel. So it is necessary to see in the *wsht* a vessel which was used for shipping cattle to the other side and which was moored at this place. The difficulties Sinuhe met on the river because of the lack of steering facilities are all easily explicable

¹ Vogelsang, *Kommentar*, 147.

² Cf. also the figurative expression in *Peas.* B 1, 326 and also *ZÄS* 48, 164.

³ The reading *ngʷw* seems more convincing than the usually accepted *n gʷw* on account of the frequent Old Kingdom word *ngʷw* 'cattle', which is certainly meant here. Since *dmî* is generally construed with an indirect genitive, the element *n* has to be emended; it most likely was assimilated by the following noun.

⁴ B 11-12.

⁵ *Wb.* IV, 20, 12-15.

⁶ This is particularly clear from the occurrence in *El Bersheh*, I, 14, 9, quoted above.

occupations were performed in the region of ancient Memphis, *wnt* likewise must have been located there. The abbreviated writing $\overline{\text{wnt}}$, used in the Old Kingdom, is found in $\overline{\text{wnt}} \left(\begin{array}{c} \overline{\text{wnt}} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right)$ as well, so the term can be read *wnt-Snofrw* 'Residence of Snofru'. That this can be only Dahshūr seems certain. After this identification it becomes understandable why Sinuhe at this point was especially afraid of being detected, which would be unreasonable in the north-west Delta where there was ample opportunity to avoid inhabited regions.

On the same day Sinuhe reached Dahshūr he also passed another point about which he gives us information. The variants differ in some details, thus:

B	
R	
C	
Ashm.	

The main difference is in the spelling of *mꜣꜣty*; C and Ashm. obviously follow the same original, while B and R are likewise rather close. Varied is also the determinative of *nmi*, for which C and Ashm. give $\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}$, B and R $\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}$ respectively. All variants conform concerning *m hꜣw Nht*, C only omitting the preposition *m*.

Gardiner points out in his *Notes*¹ that '*nmi* is never used of crossing land'; this is certainly correct as far as the Old Kingdom is concerned; however, there is an example of the Eleventh Dynasty where $\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}$ occurs for the first time:² *dꜣi.f bꜣꜣ nmi.f hꜣrt* 'May he cross the ocean and travel the road'. In this example *nmi* undoubtedly denotes walking; as in the case under discussion, it is used without a preposition. Its meaning is not so much 'to traverse', which in connexion with a road does not give much sense, but seems rather to be 'to travel along'. This is suggested by *nmiw-šꜣ*, 'the travellers of the sand', which is an expression for Bedouin.³

Sinuhe's route leads him close to a point of interest in the neighbourhood of *Nht*. Assuming that $\overline{\text{wnt}} \left(\begin{array}{c} \overline{\text{wnt}} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right)$ is Dahshūr and taking into consideration that the latter was reached on the same day that *Nht* was passed, the locality of this place seems easy to establish. It can only refer to the well-known Sycomore-sanctuary of Ḥathōr which lay in the vicinity of Gīzah.⁴ The place is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, in particular in those originating from the Gīzah cemetery.

Having thus established the fact that *Nht* was in the vicinity of Gīzah, we now turn to the particular landmark he passed there. Two principal spellings occur in the variants: $\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}$ (C and Ashm.) and $\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}\text{--}$ (B), while R has $\overline{\text{wnt}}$ as determinative. Only the latter could possibly refer to a sheet of water, as is presumed by Gardiner, who identifies this place with Lake Mareōtis. Such an identification is impossible in view of the nature of the district in which, as pointed out above, it must now be assumed to have been situated. It is unlikely that we have here a name for a sheet of water, since there is no lake in the vicinity of Gīzah which could possibly be referred to. The determinatives likewise oppose such an assumption. $\overline{\text{wnt}}$ does not necessarily denote a 'lake'

¹ Op. cit. 16.

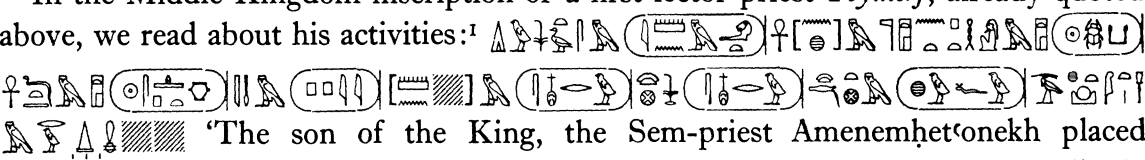
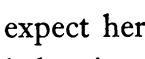
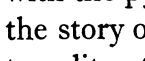
² *AJSL* 21, 3.

³ *Wb.* II, 265, 15.

⁴ S. Hassan, *The Sphinx*, 226.

or 'pool', but is also, especially in earlier times, used to signify a district. The two other variants have no determinative of this form at all but use a completely different group.

Common to all variants is the duality of the word, in B and R expressed by ω , while C and Ashm. show two determinatives. The dual nature being attested uniformly and furthermore the indication being that this place was in the vicinity of the Sycomore-sanctuary, i.e. near Gīzah, one is immediately inclined to think of the two great pyramids of Gīzah, those of Cheops and Chephren. This assumption from the geographical situation as implied by the text seems at first opposed by philological objections, the lack of any attested term of this kind to denote the great pyramids of Gīzah. However, I think an explanation of this term is possible which not only would meet any philological reservations, but in addition will show that we have here a name for the pyramid of Gīzah.

In the Middle Kingdom inscription of a first lector-priest *Ttymstf*, already quoted above, we read about his activities:¹  'The son of the King, the Sem-priest Amenemhet(ōnekh placed me in the sanctuary of Ptaḥ, in the temple of Kheperkarē, may he live eternally, in the temple of Seḥetepibrē, true of voice, in the (pyramid) Pepy[men . . .], in the Southern and Northern (pyramid) Khaṯw-Snofru, in the (pyramid) Akhet-Khufu. . . .'
Unfortunately the end of the last passage is destroyed, which fact increases the difficulty of understanding it. *Wb.* IV 426, 4, where β_1° is transliterated *šwt*, proposes as a rendering (but with a query) 'die Gesamtheit der Pyramiden?, der Rest der Pyramiden?' This translation hardly gives satisfactory sense. Furthermore, this part of the sentence follows directly after *Hwfw-šht*, and is not introduced by a preposition which one would expect here. It seems therefore necessary to consider β_1°  as an epithet belonging to the preceding *Hwfw-šht*. After finding a word β_1° intimately connected with the pyramid of Cheops in Gīzah, it is only a step to relate it to the word *mꜣty* in the story of Sinuhe, especially in its spelling β_1° . From the latter one is inclined to transliterate the Middle Kingdom word β_1° as *mꜣt*, but it seems even more likely that we have here a graphic misinterpretation by the New Kingdom scribe to whom the hieroglyph β was a common abbreviation for *mꜣt*.² For this reason the reading *šwt* seems preferable. This word *šwt*, which is attested only once in the early Middle Kingdom, was obviously obsolete by the New Kingdom and taken as a writing for *mꜣt*. This explanation is supported by the determinative (sun) occurring in C and Ashm., which is meaningless in connexion with *mꜣt*, but gives good sense for *šwt*. It seems therefore that the two variants C and Ashm. have in this point preserved more of the original meaning than B and R. As for the meaning of this word, I propose the rendering 'the shining one' on account of the determinative \odot and the word *šw* 'light'.³ In the indication given by Sinuhe we necessarily have to recognize 'the two shining ones', in all likelihood denoting the two great pyramids of Gīzah. Although all variants indicate a duality I am nevertheless not certain whether this is original or a later transformation. It is not

¹ Quibell, *op. cit.* 113.

² *Wb.* II, 19.

³ *Wb.* IV, 430.

at all impossible that at first only the pyramid of Cheops was meant, and this assumption is highly probable in view of the Middle Kingdom text quoted above. For our purposes this question is of minor significance, the main importance being the fact that β_1 , which is used as a name of the pyramid of Cheops in the Middle Kingdom, has to be recognized as the original word which was misinterpreted by the later scribe as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$.

Gizah is the first landmark which Sinuhe indicates, and we are here already very close to the starting-point of his flight, which, according to Maspero,¹ 'était situé dans le désert Libyque un peu au nord-ouest de Memphis'. After following Sinuhe in his route and having found him very precise in his information, it is only just to let him guide us here again. The prevailing situation is described thus: The crown prince was sent on a campaign against the territory of the Libyans ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$). After having completed his mission successfully he was on his return (*ti sw hm ii:f*). At this point he was met by the messengers sent from the Court to the 'West side' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$),² and it is there that Sinuhe overheard the news about the death of the king. After having composed himself, he makes a plan which results for him in a prolonged exile—a development which he certainly neither anticipated nor intended. He says literally:³ $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ 'I ran away in a hurry to search for a hiding-place for myself'. Here Sinuhe tells us that his intention when he left the army was to hide somewhere until the political situation was safe again; that he never succeeded was not his fault, but due to a concatenation of circumstances. This tragic development, which reached a satisfactory ending by the grace of the Pharaoh, is the deeper meaning underlying the entire story, as we shall see later.

When Sinuhe started his flight he followed the route of the expedition on which the crown prince was rushing towards the Residence. This is indicated by the following sentence:⁴ $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ 'I turned (lit. gave myself) between two bushes in order to leave the way which it (the army) frequented; I went (lit. I made the going) southwards'. Three very important indications for the understanding of the situation are included in this passage. First that it was an accustomed route ('way') on which the expedition was marching homeward.⁵ Second, that Sinuhe followed this route until he turned southwards, after which change of direction (as we have seen) he passes Gizah. Third, that this route did not run north-south, in which case Sinuhe's indication that he turned south when he left it would be unnecessary. Consequently it has to be assumed that the orientation of this route was east. All these indications fit very well together and all point to the Darb el-Hagg el-Magharbe,⁶ an ancient pilgrim route which comes from the Wādi Natrūn and meets the Nile Valley slightly north of Gizah. This route, obviously already used in Pharaonic times as a communication line to the Wādi Natrūn, was used by the

¹ Op. cit., p. xxxviii.

² B 3-4.

³ I wonder in this connexion if $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ is not originally to be read *im imnty* 'western oasis', and represents an ancient name of the Wādi Natrūn; cf. Sethe, *ZÄS* 63, 10. It further appears not at all unlikely that it is identical with *whwt imntt*, *ZÄS* 65, III.

⁴ B 4-5.

⁵ The fact that the troops are marching and not transported on the river already points to a situation in the desert, while in the Delta the use of the waterway would probably have been more convenient.

⁶ Cf. Baedeker, *Egypt* (1929), map opp. p. 7.

THE OLD COPTIC HOROSCOPE

By J. ČERNÝ, THE LATE P. E. KAHLE, AND R. A. PARKER

SINCE Griffith's courageous attempt in 1900¹ to deal with the obscurities of this document it has received little attention from Coptic scholars. Two circumstances have combined to produce this present study. A publication of Greek horoscopes has for some time been in preparation by O. Neugebauer and H. B. Van Hoesen, and the Greek part of P.Lond. 98 has received a fresh treatment from them. For completeness they were very desirous of having the Coptic part included with the Greek and so turned to their Egyptological colleagues for help. By a fortunate chance Kahle had completed a new and carefully revised transcript of the papyrus in preparation for his publication of the Bala'izah texts. This was made available to Parker and Černý, while the latter was Visiting Professor at Brown University in 1954-5, and they, with the ever-helpful counsel of Neugebauer, worked out the rough draft of a new translation and commentary. Finally, Professor E. G. Turner kindly recollated the original for us, unfortunately in a poor light; we accepted some of his suggestions, marking them by his initials, and welcomed his findings wherever they removed the doubts which we felt about our own readings.

The result of all our efforts is set forth in the following pages. We make no pretence of having solved all the problems that the Coptic text poses, but we do feel that we have been able to advance the solution a step beyond Griffith and we hope, at any rate, to have arrived at a transcription of the text which may permit others to go beyond us.²

The glossary has been kept as concise as possible and includes only such words as we thought we could safely disentangle; the letters peculiar to the manuscript had of course for this purpose to be replaced by those of the current fount. We are making no attempt at a palaeography and a grammar of the horoscope, since we feel that these will better be dealt with in connexion with other Old Coptic texts.

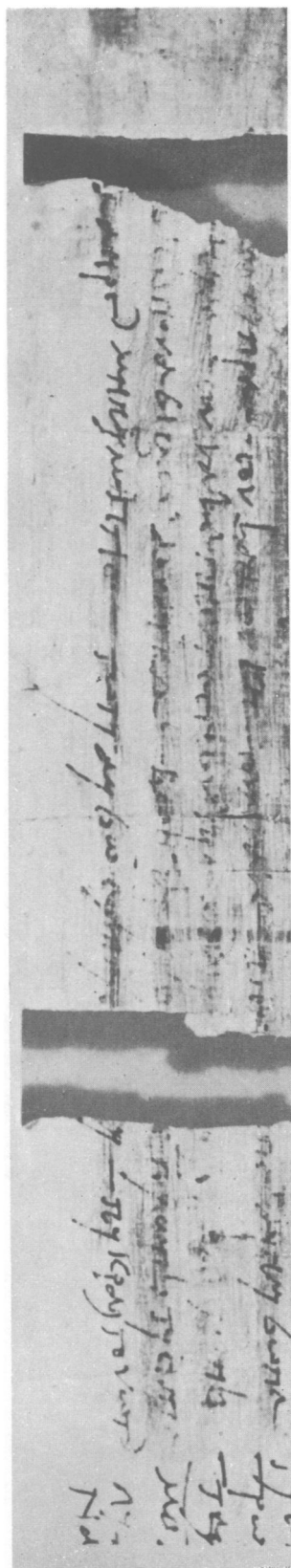
The present state of P.Lond. 98³ has been described by Griffith, and we shall not repeat it. The date of the horoscope itself is in all probability A.D. 95, April 13. Unfortunately the decisive lines in the first column which give the position of the moon have been covered by brown paper in the present mounting and the date cannot be given with certainty. The papyrus was presumably written some years after the date of the horoscope and is therefore second century.

The very detailed information about the positions of the planets is contained in the first two columns and the beginning of column III. Then follows a discussion of the

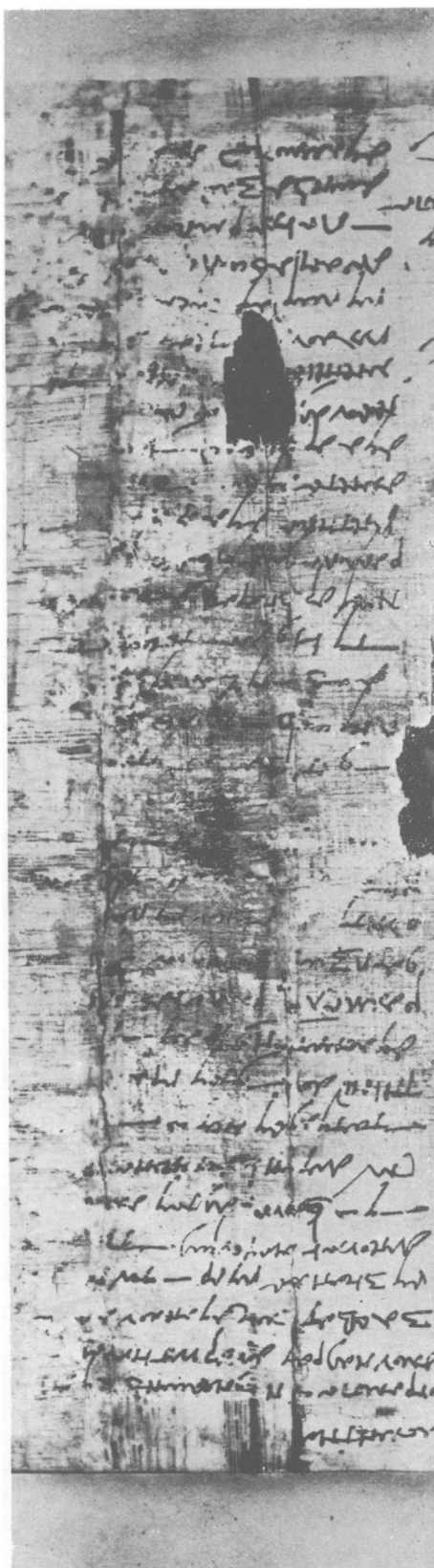
¹ *ZAS* 38, 71-85.

² Besides Kahle's study of the original, we had excellent infra-red and ultra-violet photographs to work with. We found the infra-red the more useful of the two and they were used for the plates.

³ The Greek text appeared in F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1893), 126-30.

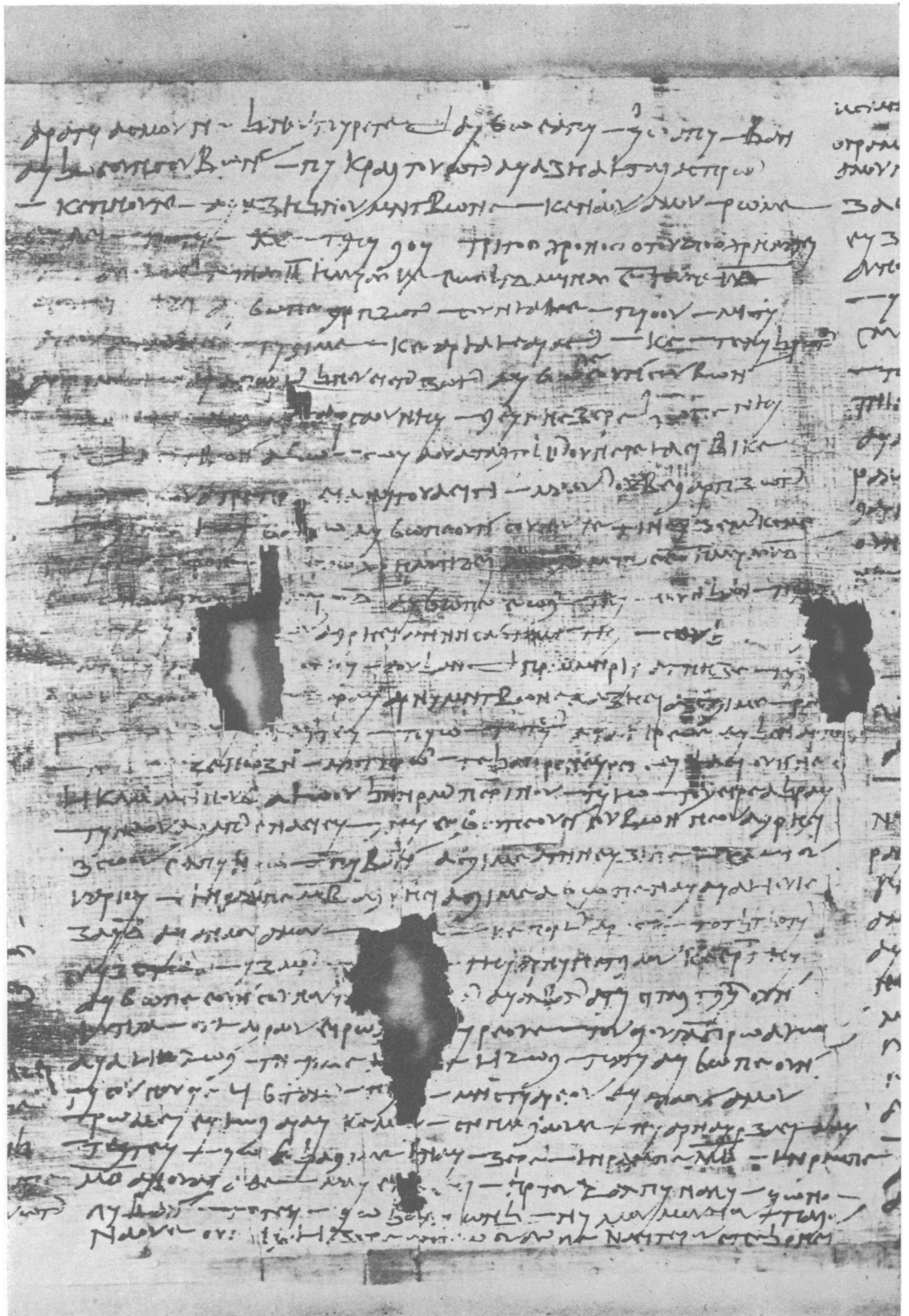


Col. 1



Col. 3

THE OLD COPTIC HOROSCOPE



Col. 2

THE OLD COPTIC HOROSCOPE

astrological 'Lots'. Unfortunately the continuation has been almost completely erased. Only the lower part of column IV is again readable and this contains a discussion, very much in the style of the subsequent Coptic text, of the periods of life. This part must have begun somewhere in column IV. The last line of the Greek text (IV, 117) gives the limits of the second period. With the next line the Coptic text begins, written by a second hand. In this second hand were also written the few Greek lines which interrupt the Coptic text at the beginning of each new period of life.

We give without commentary Neugebauer and Van Hoesen's translation of that part of the Greek text similar to the Coptic so that it may serve as an introduction to the latter. The line-numbering is continuous through the columns. The following symbols are used in the translation: () indicate additions by the translator; [] indicate restoration; 「 』 indicate a varying degree of uncertainty; < > indicate emendation; and { } ditto-graphy.

Translation

Col. IV

(Greek part)

- 105 and if he be slave
 106 and if he be rich he shall become richer and
 107 the sum of his inheritance of whatever kind he possesses as much as the nativity indicates
 108 and his progeny, of whatever sort they are, will fare well and children will be born by any
 wife
 109 will be no other than the nature of the parents and he shall survive conflicts
 110 and be wasted away by the whole array of chills and fevers.
 111 These are the things Mars forecasts.
 112 Venus 「rising」; if Saturn is in trine, (he will be) cold to women
 113 at the beginning and an injury affecting the (seminal) passage of which emission
 114 will be painful. And he will live abroad and for the first
 115 [lot (or period of life)] is a release; the second likewise a release [and the third] likewise a release.
 116 [Second period] (Venus?)
 117 [From ye]ar 6, month 5, day 25 to year 25, [month 2, day 25] decides.

(At this point the Coptic begins. The Greek headings of the periods are in italics. For the Coptic text, see below, pp. 97 ff.)

- 118 [If] he had the Sun as friendly star (and) Mercury, and they were at enmity to this st[ar],
 it shall not be
 119 (effective?) as hostile star. The two gods (are) during his life.
 120 [If] (they were) in *akhēlō*, they shall make twenty-four evils against him of his life (and)
 his occupation,
 121 after thirty-five (evils) from it. If he had M[ercury itse]lf as his *krahtouōt*,

Col. V

- 122 his 「growth」 shall be established in its likeness, 「whether」 it be against his good or his evil.
 123 If there was an evil star as his *krahtouōt*, he shall go to 「man」
 124 or god, (or) he shall go into misfortune, or (he shall) see a man's death.
 125 It shall come through him or through his snake. *Third period: Jupiter decides.*
 126 *From year 25, month 2, day 25 until year 34, month 5, day 24*
 127 *Jupiter decides.* If Jupiter (was) a hostile star on the <day> of his birth,

128 perhaps he shall pass by (= neglect) his wife, or be at enmity to her, or his children shall
 129 misbehave in turn, or he shall part (from them) in mercantile business. If there was an evil star
 130, a wife shall not make a term for him (for ever), a child shall not come to him
 131 for ever. Evil shall happen after him. They shall hiring
 132 and [t]hey shall cause the S[un] to come again, it shining forth there opposite Jupiter,
 133 and a wife shall burn unto (the) hair. If a good star gave to him an omen, you should set
 134 it against me. *Fourth period: [Mars] decides from year 34, month 5, day 24*
 135 *until year 54, month 10, day 4.* If the Moon was a friendly star for him on the day
 136 of his [birth], shall upward. After a closing as friendly star for him on the d[ay]
 137 of his birth, pe[^rrhaps it was¹] a friendly star for him again. The said man, the half of his
 138 shall against him. His evils shall multiply. A woman of
 139 [shall] him, and his heart shall (become good) through her. He shall ^rtake a name¹

 140 service of kingship his kindred, he causing them to appear as those who
 141 take a wreath of gold to their head(s) in the years named, and he shall speak and they shall
 act at his voice
 142 and he shall see a law which is great to his heart. If an evil star was coming up
 143 after them, against his good and for his evil, a woman shall cause him to take shame, or he
 shall be
 144 ^rhunted¹ from year 42 upwards. A woman shall be to him. He shall take one
 145 until year 94. He shall see a [wife's] death or shall be parted from her and (they) shall examine
 him
 146 while he and of his shall make his evils or of his.
 147 If a good star was, he shall escape his place of confusion
 148 to them and they shall cast 31 winters upon them(selves).
 149 He shall take counsel from a woman and [perhaps she] shall take counsel from him. If he had
 150 a good star take closing on the d[ay] of his birth, perhaps he shall see (the) death
 151 of a man who is near to him (or) (the) death of a relative (and) he shall not make new profit
 with him
 152 (but) his heart shall become good for a wife (and) send him to a child from year 42 {from year
 153 42} again and according to the way with him which before it is decided for his good (or)
 154 his evil, and his (heart) shall become good for his life and he shall not have died in a past hour
 (but shall)
 155 see child All these which are below,

Col. VI

156 you shall set the[se]
 157 year life. He shall
 158 death in his presence. They shall make
 159 for six months. He shall see
 160 going away to a town
 161 God said: one (woman) and
 162 become good for one (woman). His heart shall l[ove]
 163 six. His life shall come to
 164 through him. His (heart) shall become good
 165 [pi]ty in his heart
 166 He shall set
 167 year 30

- 168 Jupiter day
 169 he has in flesh. His
 170
 171
 172
 173 to his hand
 174 his life, and he shall fly
 175 and he shall drink his
 176 and he shall take a wife and she shall leave
 177 against him. She shall
 178 year 42
 179 the number. He shall make
 180 West. If there was
 181 he shall make
 182 come up
 183 pity
 184 someone to him
 185 his dream. He
 186 again. I shall become
 187 a scorpion was not dumb
 188 shall live
 189 He shall

Commentary

118–21. The meaning seems to be that the sun and Mercury as friendly planets will ward off the malevolent influence of another planet, but they may change and if they are in a different situation they will add twenty-four evils to the thirty-five coming from the hostile planet to affect adversely the life and occupation of the man.

121–2. Mercury could be either good or bad in its effects and this appears to be a statement of its powerful influence as *krahtouōt*-star, for good or evil, over the development of the man.

123–5. Various specific possibilities are then listed as the result of having as *krahtouōt* an evil planet, probably Mars or Saturn.

129–30. The beginning of l. 130 is quite obscure but it may have expressed the union of another of the malevolent planets with the first, which will prevent his wife becoming pregnant and bearing him a child.

131–2. A very obscure passage which continues the evil results, although normally both Sun and Jupiter are beneficent.

133–4. The writer's predictions of evil may possibly be offset to some extent by the influence of a good planet.

135–7. The Moon is normally a good star but there seems no other way to understand this passage than that there was a period when its beneficent influence was shut off or blocked. What follows seems to be a mixture of good and evil, perhaps the consequence of the intermittent power of the Moon.

139–42. There is much that is obscure in this passage, but the general drift of it

seems to be that the man shall rise to a position of great power, perhaps even second only to the king, and shall be able to elevate the members of his family as well, and shall become a law-giver.

140-1. The reference here is probably to the wearing of gold crowns by the high priests; cf. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, 117.

142-3. If an evil star was coming into influence while the power of good stars was waning.

144. From 42 years to the end of the period at year 54, month 10, day 4.

145-6. All evils, though their precise nature cannot be determined.

147-9. This passage must deal with benefits through the influence of a good star but the first two lines are quite obscure to us.

149-55. As in l. 136 the term 'closing' indicates a weakening or complete failure of the influence of a good star, but this only temporarily. Later the good star again becomes powerful.

155-6. The change in person here may reflect a similar situation to that in ll. 133-4.

156-89. These fragmentary lines seem still to be concerned with the fourth period. In ll. 170-2 it is just possible that there is the Greek heading to the fifth period, but the certain Coptic letters in ll. 170 and 172 make the space barely adequate. Then too the mention in l. 178 of year 42 places us in the fourth period. However, ll. 167-8 with year 30 and Jupiter are concerned with the third period, so that it appears best not to be dogmatic.

Notes on translation

118. [ⲁϥϣω εο] is based on l. 121 and fits the space well. ⲁϥϣω is a frequent abbreviation for ⲁϥϣωⲛⲉ, which we take as equivalent to Demotic *iw-f hpr*. Cf. Sethe, *ZÄS* 38, 147 on the development to ⲉϣωⲛⲉ.

ⲉⲟϥϣⲁⲛ; on this see Griffith.

—ⲧⲟϥⲁⲣ-; —ⲧⲟϥ B Conjunctive; ⲁⲣ- the usual construct form of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ in the horoscope besides ⲣ-.

—ⲛⲓⲥ[ⲟϥ]; if this restoration is correct, the reference must be to the ruling star of this second period.

119. Our guess is that a sentence with nominal predicate follows ⲛⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ.

120. Our restoration supposes the omission of ⲉ after ⲁϥϣωⲛ and of the subject. There must be some transition from good to bad, and here is apparently where it was made.

ϣⲛⲟϥ-; see note to l. 122.

ⲁϣⲛⲓⲗⲟ; an unknown word, which seems to be a technical expression. One might think of 'depression' or 'apoklima'.

121. [ⲉⲁⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ]; we resist interpreting this as *r irt-s* 'in order to do it', since we are fully aware that the latter should be ⲉⲁⲁⲥ or ⲁⲁⲁⲥ.

ⲉⲟⲓⲛⲧⲓⲉ; B ⲉⲁⲁⲃ- and ⲉⲁⲁⲛ-. Fem. ⲥⲉ 'five' is attested in all dialects except B. For 'thirty-five' Coptic would have normally ⲉⲁⲁⲃⲧⲛ, but B ⲉⲁⲁⲛⲥⲟϥ (Crum 161a) shows that -ⲧⲛ is not compulsory.

ⲛⲣⲁⲣⲧⲟϥⲟⲧ; unknown and undoubtedly a technical expression. Apparently a com-

pound, it may consist of $\kappa\rho\alpha\zeta + \tau\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ or $\kappa\rho\alpha\zeta\tau + \omicron\gamma\omega\tau$. In the latter, $\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ could mean 'only, sole'. The term may correspond to the Greek $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$ 'the ruler of the period'.

122. $\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\gamma$; we take this as a noun in the pronominal state from the verb $\rho\omega\tau$, though it is also a possibility that we have instead $\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$, 'foot', with the idea of 'path in life'.

$\sigma\omega\gamma\eta\epsilon$; we take this as a variant writing of $\sigma\omega\eta\epsilon$.

$\xi\eta\omicron\gamma\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$; it is clear that the preposition is $\xi\eta\omicron\gamma$ -, as the indefinite article should not occur before $\pi\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. No examples of the indefinite article are to be found elsewhere in the horoscope, and it would be very strange if it did occur only after $\xi\eta$ -, (here, and in ll. 120, 124).

I ; we take this as Demotic *in* in its conditional use, here introducing what amounts to a second protasis.

$\epsilon\alpha\eta\epsilon\gamma$ — $\epsilon\gamma\omega$; we cannot account for the initial ϵ , which also appears in l. 143; — $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ or $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omega$ we consider a nominal formation from *nfr* after the pattern of $\zeta\eta\omicron$ 'hunger' and 'to become hungry', from *hkr*.

$\alpha\eta\epsilon\gamma$ — $\xi\alpha\eta$; the — before $\xi\alpha\eta$ is superfluous. The correct writing is to be found in ll. 143, 154.

123. $\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\alpha\epsilon$; initial α is for IIIrd Future but we cannot explain what follows. All that is certain is that some undesirable relationship with man or god is to be entered upon.

$\eta\pi\omega$ '; we follow the suggestion of Griffith in seeing here an abbreviation of $\eta\pi\omega\mu\epsilon$.

124. — $[\eta\epsilon]$; it seems likely that the scribe omitted $\eta\epsilon$ unintentionally. We follow Griffith in reading 'or'.

127. $\zeta\rho\eta\psi\omega\tau$; $\zeta\rho$ for $\zeta\alpha\rho$ in ll. 132, 168.

$\eta\epsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma$; surely to be emended to $\eta\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$.

128. $\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon$; a variant of $\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon$.

— $\tau\epsilon$; this must be the Conjunctive, though — $\eta\epsilon$ precedes.

129. $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon$; we take this as a variant of $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon$; with $\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$ cf. Crum 780b.

130. $\alpha\rho\sigma\alpha\omicron\gamma$; we understand this as a period of pregnancy.

— $\zeta\epsilon'\epsilon\gamma$; we suggest an emendation to — $\zeta\epsilon$ as in the next line.

131. J ; here we take this as the negative particle $\alpha\eta$, emphasizing the negative of IIIrd Future.

$\alpha\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\tau\omicron\sigma\eta'$ $\omicron\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$; beyond the IIIrd Future at the beginning of this group we are unable to solve it. It is probable that the sign read ξ is something quite different, but we have no suggestion.

132. We cannot explain the first word in the line.

— $[\tau]\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$; the restoration of the Conjunctive appears certain, but no α would be required before $\tau\epsilon$. It may be the passive which is intended here.

$\epsilon\gamma\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\eta\tau$; with Griffith we emend to $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\eta\tau$.

133. $\alpha\omega\epsilon\gamma$; we take as $\alpha\omega\gamma\epsilon$.

$\sigma\alpha$ - = $\psi\alpha$ -.

$\psi\epsilon\eta\eta'$; we take as $\psi\eta\eta\eta$.

134. $\alpha\rho\omicron\epsilon\eta$ = $\alpha\rho\alpha\eta$.

135. — $\tau\eta\epsilon\gamma$; literally 'with' or 'by' in the less restricted Demotic usage.

136. —[**αιιςτ**]ϥ; the restoration fits the space exactly and suits the context.

αρ-; probably the Third Future before a nominal subject as in l. 138, but we cannot guess what follows.

στααι = ψτααι.

137. **αρ[εογ]**; this restoration is based on the probable parallelism with l. 150; **ωρ** may have followed in the break, as in l. 135.

ϥ; we follow Griffith in taking this as equivalent here to **ον** 'again', written **αν** in l. 129. It is likely that in the dialect of the horoscope the interrogative particle **ενε**, the negative particle **αν**, and the adverb **ον** were all pronounced **αν**.

πρ^{αι}επριϥ; we follow Griffith.

138. The beginning of this line is quite obscure to us; the first **α** may be for the IIIrd Future.

139. We can make nothing of the beginning of this line either.

—**πϥω**; the emendation to —**ϥω** is based on ll. 152, 154.

ρε-; unless it is here, — for **π** occurs only as initial letter, which speaks against our reading, as does the vowel **ι** in **πιν** in ll. 137, 141.

The end of the line is unintelligible to us.

140. **κε**; what precedes is quite obscure to us; these two letters may be for 'another' or part of —**κε**, or they may be the ending of some longer word.

αιιπρω; if this means 'kingship' or 'kingdom', as is very likely, it is before the time when **π** of **πρω** was taken as the definite article and the word reduced to **προ**.

—**τεδαπρε**; we cannot explain this satisfactorily. It would seem that —**τε** must be the Conjunctive, perhaps even to be emended to —**τϥ**, but we cannot go on from there.

πετε; we take as a form of **παίτε**, which in one of Crum's examples takes the plural possessive article.

κε; is for **κετ**, with the **τ** coalescing with the following **α**.

141. **σι-**; without the usual ending **ογ**; cf. note to l. 122.

πρ^{αι}επ^{ερ}ινογ; we follow Griffith.

143. **εαπρπϥω**; on **ε** see the note to l. 122.

ατπνεϥψπτε; we follow Griffith.

144. **ααρκεϥ**; this may be from **σωρσ** as Griffith suggests.

145. **ϥ̄α**; there are examples of *koppa* (90) written very like the Coptic **ϥ** in Maunde Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford 1912), 81.

[**ρ̄αιε**]ε; this rather than Griffith's restoration of **ρωαι** seems certain from the context.

The emendation of —**τοτ-** into —**τογ-** seems certain.

146. We can make nothing of the beginning of the line. We suspect that the conjunctive with nominal subject, —**τε-**, is to be restored in the break followed by an indefinite noun.

εϣτηϥ; we interpret this as a second subject to the Conjunctive in the break, but the significance of **εϣ** escapes us.

147. **αληαλ**; we take this as a form of **ρηολ**, cf. Crum 36b.

τϥσιταρτϥ; literally, 'his place of confusing him'.

ογν'; we cannot explain this word.

148. Except for αραουγ, this line to —τογ is unintelligible to us.

λα πρω; it seems unlikely that this can have any other meaning than '31 winters', but how is this a benefit to the man? Possibly it is rather an evil for his enemies.

149. ζωρ; we take this as old —{Π= . It is just possible that here, in zaλπ (l. 153) and in za- (l. 175), z is intended to represent old —.

α[ρεοϣαϣ]; the restoration fits the space and the context.

150. χισταεε'; cf. the note to l. 136.

151. κε; we emend to —κε.

εππιαραουγε; cf. Černý, 'Some Coptic Etymologies', in *Grapow Festschrift*, pp. 30-31.

152. χπαϣ — ψερε; we should rather expect 'send a child to him'.

153. εεε; we would read this εεε but for the dittography.

zaλπϣ = caλπϣ, and see the note to l. 149.

154. —τετεϣ; we emend to —τερτεϣ as in l. 152.

155. We can make nothing of much of this line.

157. ογ; this may be the end of σπογ.

.περνο; ο is written over γ or vice versa. If πογ is to be read it may be for 'their'.

162. Some form of εεε probably follows the final εε.

164. αρεϣανϣω; we emend to αρτεϣανϣω as in ll. 152, 154.

165. τπτε; this may be the end of εετπτε as in l. 183.

175. za- = ca-; and see the note to l. 149.

Glossary

α', prefix of 1st Perfect: απποστε ϣω 160.

α' with suffix: αϣω, αϣω, αϣωπε, see ϣωπε.

α', α', verbal prefix of IIIrd Future: απτβων' αδω 131; αππνε -τϣρ[137; απϣωνδ α 163; αρτεϣ α' 162; αρεϣ απϣω 164; αρεεε α' 143, 144; αρατϣ α' 122; αρτεϣ α' 162; once αρ' in αρνεεπτ-βωνε α- 138;]αωνδ 175, 188.

with suffix of 1st sing.: αει αδωπε 186.

with suffix of 3rd sing. masc.: αϣαϣη 123, 124; αϣαπαοσ 145, 150, 159; similarly 125, 128, 129, 139, 144, 149; αϣαλβαλ 147; αϣαεεεεε 166; αϣααρειρε 179; αϣααρδω . . ε' 181; αϣαεεεεε . . ε' 189; αϣα[157.

with suffix of 3rd sing. fem.: αε]αχιζωρ 149; ασα' 177.

with suffix of 3rd pl.: αοσα' 120, 131, 158.

α', αρο', αρα', preposition 'according to': αθε

153; 'from': αϣαλβαλ α' 147; 'to, against': απϣ —βαν 122; εαπϣ (read απϣ) —ϣω 122, 143; αχταραϣ 123; ατιεε 160; to introduce the object of παογ 'to see': 124, 142, 145, 150, 159; in ασραϣ, see under σα'; in αρρηει, see ρρηει; in αχω', see χω'.

with suffix: αροει 134, αραϣ 138, 151, 177; αρ[α]ϣ 120; αραϣ 145; αραϣ' 128.

αεπτε, 'west', 180.

αν, 'again', 'in turn', 129, 132, 153, 186.

Ⲛ, 'again', 137 and note.

Ⲛ, 'whether', 122 and note.

Ⲛ, postpositive negative particle, 131 and note.

αρ', see ειρε.

αρεογ, 'perhaps', 128, 150; αρε[137; α[149.

αρδη, ?, in πεϣαρδη 177.

αρδω, ?, in αϣααρδω . . ' 181.

αϣνει, 'become many, multiply', 138.

ασηλω' (akhēlō), ?, 120 and note.

ασραϣ, see σα'.

αγραου, see γρα.

αρηει, see ρρηει.

ηικε, 'wage', in χαειηικε, 'hireling', 131.

βαλ, 'the outside', in ασαλβαλ, 'he shall escape', 147.

ηων, ηαν, fem. ηωνε, 'evil' (subst. and adj.):
 η̄α — ηων, 120; πτ̄βων (read π̄ψ̄βων?),
 131; π̄ψ̄ ηαν, 'his evil', 143, 154; π̄ψ̄ — ηαν
 122 and note; in σογ̄βων, 'evil star', 123,
 129, 142; αεντ̄βωνε, 124, 138.

ε', ε̄, verbal prefix of Circumstantial: ε̄ψ̄, 140,
 146, 151, 160; ψτογ̄αιετ' for (ε)ψτογ̄αιετ'
 132; ε̄ηαιεψ̄, 'which is great', 142.

ε̄α', prep., 'against', see α'.

ε̄β̄ατ, 'month', 159.

ετ, 'which', in ετσερ̄ρηει, 155; in ηε[τ]̄χι,
 'those who take', 140.

εογ̄η, 'there is', 123, 147; εγ̄η, 129; ογ̄η, 133;
 ογ̄η', 142; ογ̄η[, 180; ογ̄ητ̄ψ̄, 'he has',
 149-50; εογ̄ητ̄ψ̄, 121; [ε̄ο]γ̄ητ̄ψ̄ 118;
]ογ̄ητ̄ψ̄ 169.

εψ̄, 'flesh', 169.

ε̄ωπε, 'if', see ωπε.

εω̄, 'moon', 135.

ηπε, 'number', 179.

-ει, suffix of 1st person sing.: in αρ̄οει 134;
 in αει ᾱωπε 186.

ει, 'to come', 125, 132.

ε̄ῑαπε, 'occupation', 120; ε̄ῑεπ' in ε̄ῑεπ'ψωτ,
 'mercantile business', 129.

ε̄ῑρε, 'to make, act', 141; ε̄ῑρε 179.

αρ' 120, 128, 129, 130, 146, 151, 158, 179,
 181 (?); αρ' 118; ρ- in ρε̄επο 187; λ' in
 ασαλβαλ 147.

η', verbal prefix of 1st Present, 2nd person sing.
 masc.: η̄ε̄η̄η̄ε 133; η̄ε̄η̄η̄ετ 156.

η̄ω, 'to leave', 176.

η̄λλε, 'wreath', 141.

η̄ρᾱρ̄τογ̄ωτ', ?, in —π̄κ̄ρᾱρ̄τογ̄ωτ' 121
 and note, 123.

λαου, 'someone', 184.

αε', see η', preposition.

αεου, 'death', 124, 145, 150, 158; αε[ο]γ̄ 151;
 'to die', 154.

αην', for genitival η', see the latter.

αην̄η̄σα, 'after', 136; αην̄η̄ε' 121.

αην̄τ', abstract forming prefix: αην̄τ̄βωνε 'mis-
 fortune, evil' 124, 138; αην̄τ̄πρω 'kingship'
 140; αην̄τ̄η̄ε, 'pity' 183;]τ̄η̄ε 165.

αεοη', 'thirty', in αεοη̄ε 'thirty-five', 121.

αεπο, 'dumb', in ρε̄επο, 'be dumb', 187.

αειστ', 'be born', in 'the day — αειστ̄ε of his
 birth', 127, 136, 137; — αε̄η̄ετ̄ψ̄ 150.

αεραουε, 'family', in σ̄η̄η̄εραουε, 'a rela-
 tive', 151.

—(n)'in': —π̄ψ̄οου 127; —π̄ρ̄ου 135; —π̄ρ̄[ο-
 ου] 137; —π̄ρ̄[οου] 150; —ρ̄τ̄εψ̄ 165; 'as':
 —σογ̄β̄αν 118, 135, 136, 137; —σογ̄β̄α-
 χε 119, 127; —π̄κ̄ρᾱρ̄τογ̄ωτ' 121, 123;
 written η' : η' ηε[τ]̄χι 140.

introducing direct object: ασαουη̄η̄ε
 —τ̄ψ̄η̄εε 128.

erroneously for —ηε 'or': —ασαψ̄η 124.

written αε : αεουη̄ου —παρ̄ου 154.

'to': —η̄η̄ε. [118; —ρ̄τ̄εψ̄ 142; —π̄ψ̄β̄αν
 143; —ψ̄ερε 152.

written ηα : ηαη̄ψ̄ —ψ̄ω ηαη̄ψ̄β̄αν' 153.

with suffix, ηη̄ψ̄ 130 (twice); ηαψ̄ 144; ηαψ̄
 184; ηεψ̄ 133.

—genitival particle 'of': —αειστ̄εψ̄ 127, 136, 137,
 150; —αην̄τ̄πρω 140; —ρ̄η̄η̄ου 141; η̄ᾱ
 —η̄β̄ων 120; —π̄ψ̄ων̄η̄ε 120; —τ̄ψ̄ρ̄[137;
 —[ρ̄η̄η̄ε]ε 145; —ρ̄ωη̄ε 151; —σ̄η̄η̄ερα-
 ουε 151; αεουη̄ου —παρ̄ου' 154.

written η' : αεου η̄ρωη̄ε 124; σ̄η̄η̄ερα-
 ουε 151; αην̄η̄η̄ε (for αην̄η̄εψ̄) 137.

written αην̄ : η̄λλε' αην̄η̄ουη̄ 141.

η, pl. of definite article: σ̄η̄η̄η̄ε' ηε 141;
 ηε[τ]̄χι 140.

η̄η̄, pl. of possessive article: η̄ψ̄ερωτ' 128;
 η̄ψ̄αην̄τ̄βωνε 138; η̄ψ̄η̄ετ̄ραου 146.

written ηε̄ : ηεψ̄ερε 140.

η̄η̄ε, 'have pity': αην̄τ̄η̄ε 183;]τ̄η̄ε 165.

η̄ουβ̄, 'gold': η̄λλε' αην̄η̄ουη̄ 141.

η̄αιε, 'these': η̄αιε τ̄ερω 155.

η̄αιεε, 'be great': ε̄η̄αιεεψ̄ 142.

—ηε, 'or': 124 (twice), 125, 128 (twice), 129, 140,
 143, 145; η̄ε̄ 146; ηε 151; — for —(ηε) 124.

—αεα, 'with': —αεαψ̄ 151, 153.

- ⲙⲁⲟϣ**, 'there', 133.
 —**ⲛⲉ**, **ⲛⲛⲉ**, —**ⲛ**, **ⲛⲛⲉ**, negation of 3rd Future: —**ⲛⲉ ϩⲓⲙⲉ** **ⲁⲣⲥⲁⲟϣ** 130; **ⲛⲛⲉ ϣⲉⲣⲉ ϩⲟⲡⲉ** 131; —**ⲛϥⲁⲣⲛⲁϥⲣ** 151; —**ⲛϥⲙⲟϣ** 154; **ⲛⲛⲉϥ ϩⲟⲡⲉ** 118.
 —**ⲛⲉ**, negation of 1st Perfect: —**ⲛⲉ ϫⲗⲉ** **ⲣⲙⲟⲡ** 187.
 —**ⲛⲣⲧ**, neg. prefix 'not yet': —**ⲛⲣⲧⲟϣ** **ϩⲁⲗⲛⲥ** 153.
 —**ϥⲟ**, see under **ϥⲟ**.
ⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, 'god', 119, 124, 161.
 —**ⲧⲉ**, —**ⲧ**, prefix of Conjunctive —**ⲧⲉ** 128, 133, 139, 152, 154.
 with suffix: —**ⲧϥ** 141, 142, 146, 174, 175, 176; —**ⲧⲉ** 176; —**ⲧⲟϣ** 118, 141, 148; —**ⲧⲟϣ** 143; erroneously —**ⲧⲟⲧ** for —**ⲧⲟⲧ** 145; —**[ⲧ]ⲟϥⲁⲧⲣⲉ** 132, but see note.
 —**ⲧⲛ**, 'for': —**ⲧⲛϥ** 135, 136; **ⲧⲛϥ** 137; —**ⲧⲛϥ** 'of his', 146.
ⲛⲁⲟϣ, 'to see', 124, 142, 145, 155, 159; **ⲛⲁⲟϣ** 150.
ⲛⲉⲟϣ, Qual. 'come', 142, 182.
ⲛⲟϥϥⲉ, Adj. 'good' in **ϥⲟϥⲛⲟϥϥⲉ** 133, 147, 150.
 —**ϥⲟ**, **ⲛϥⲟ**, 'to be good': **ⲛϥ—ϥⲟ** 122, 143, 153; —**ⲛϥⲟ** erroneously for —**ϥⲟ** 139; —**ⲧⲉ ϩⲧⲉϥ—ϥⲟ** 152; —**ⲧⲉ (ϩ)ⲧⲉϥ—ϥⲟ** 154; —**ϥⲟ ϩⲁⲟϥⲉ** 162; **ⲁϩⲉϥ** **ⲁⲛϥⲟ** 164.
ⲛⲁϥⲣ, 'profit', in —**ⲛϥⲁⲣⲛⲁϥⲣ** 151.
 —**ϩⲉ**, 'never', 131; erroneously —**ϩⲉϥ** 130.
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁ, see under **ϩⲣⲁ**.
 —**ϫⲛ**, 'from . . . on, since', 144, 152.
ⲟⲟϣ, erroneously for **ϩⲟⲟϣ**, see the latter.
ⲟϩⲟϣ, 'to cast', 148.
ⲛ, masc. sing. of definite article: **ⲛⲣⲉ** 118; **ⲛⲣ[ⲉ]** 132; **ⲛⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ** 119, 124, 161; **ⲛⲣⲟϣ** 135; **ⲛⲣ[ⲟⲟϣ]** 136; **ⲛⲣ[ⲟⲟϣ]** 150; **ⲛⲣⲟ** 123; **ⲛⲣⲙⲉ** **ⲁⲛⲣⲓϥ** 137; **ⲛⲧⲃⲟⲛ** 131; **ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲟϣ** 146.
ⲛ, **ⲛⲉ**, possessive article sing. masc.: **ⲛϥⲟⲛⲩ** 119, 120, 154, 163; **ⲛⲉϥⲟⲛⲩ** 174; **ⲛⲉϥ[** 169; **ⲛⲉϥⲧ . . [** 175; **ⲛϥⲛⲣⲁϩⲧⲟϥⲟⲧ** 121, 123; **ⲛϥⲣⲉⲧⲉ** 122; **ⲛϥ—ϥⲟ** 122, 153; **ⲛϥ—ⲃⲁⲛ** 122, **ⲛϥⲃⲁⲛ** 143, 154; **ⲛϥϩⲟϥ** 125; **ⲛϥⲛⲟⲣ** 185; **ⲛϥⲟⲟϣ** mistake for **ⲛⲣⲟⲟϣ** 127.
ⲛⲓ, 'this', in **ⲛⲓϥ . [** 118.
ⲛⲟⲣ, 'dream', 185.
ⲛⲣⲟ, 'king', in **ⲁⲛⲧⲛⲣⲟ** 140.
ⲛⲣⲟ, 'winter', 148.
ⲛⲣⲟϫ, 'to part (from)', 129; **ⲛⲣⲟϫ** 145.
ⲛⲟⲧ, 'to fly', 174.
ⲛⲛϣⲉ, 'half', 137.
ⲛⲟϣⲛ, 'service', 140.
ⲛⲁϩⲟϣ, 'back', in **ⲙⲟϥⲛⲟϣ—ⲛⲁϩⲟϣ** 154.
ⲣⲉ, 'sun', 118; **ⲣ[ⲉ]** 132.
ⲣⲟⲙⲙⲉ, 'man', 124, 151; **ⲣⲣⲟ** 123; **ⲣⲣⲙⲉ** **ⲁⲛⲣⲓϥ** 137.
ⲣⲁⲙⲙⲉ, 'year', 144, 152 (twice by dittography), 157, 167, 178; **ⲣⲣⲙⲉ** **ⲛⲉⲣⲓⲛⲟϣ** 141.
ⲣⲉ—(?), **ⲣⲓⲛ**, 'name': **ⲣⲉ—** 139; **ⲣⲣⲙⲉ** **ⲁⲛⲣⲓϥ** (for **ⲁⲛⲣⲓϥ**) 137; **ⲣⲣⲙⲉ** **ⲛⲉⲣⲓⲛⲟϣ** 141.
ⲣⲁⲧ, 'growth': **ⲣⲁⲧϥ** 122 and note.
ⲣⲉⲧⲉ, 'likeness': **ϩⲛⲟϥⲣⲉⲧⲉ** 122; **ⲛⲉϥⲣⲉⲧⲉ** 140.
ϩⲁ, 'to drink', 175.
ϩⲟϩ, 'counsel', 149 (twice) and note.
ϩⲁⲗⲛ, 'to decide', 153.
 —**ϥ**, suffix of 3rd pers. fem.: in **ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲧⲥ** 134.
ϥ, 'place', in **ⲧϥϥⲓⲧⲁϩⲧⲣⲥ** 147.
ϥⲉ, 'side', in **ϥⲉϩⲣⲛⲉ** 'below', 155; **ϥⲟ**, in —**ϥⲟϥ** 131; **ϩⲥⲟⲟϣ** 143.
ϥⲟϥⲛⲓ, 'Mercury', 118; **ϥ[ⲟϥⲛⲓ]** 121.
ϥⲙⲟϥⲛⲉ, 'to establish' 122; **ϥⲙⲙⲙⲉ** 166; **ϥⲙⲛⲧ** in **ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲧⲥ** 133/134; **ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲧ** 156.
ϥⲛ, 'brother', in **ϥⲛⲛⲉⲣⲁⲟϥⲉ**, 'a relative', 151.
ϥⲛⲁⲟϣ, 'two', 119; fem. **ϥⲛⲧⲉ** 178.
ϥⲁⲟϣ, 'six', 159; **ϥⲁⲟϣ** 163.
ϥⲁⲟϣ, 'time', in **ⲁⲣⲥⲁⲟϣ** 130.
ϥⲟϣ, 'star': **ϥⲟϥⲛⲟϥϥⲉ** 133, 147, 150; **ϥⲟϥ—ⲃⲟⲛ** 123, 129, 142; **ϥⲟϥⲃⲁⲛ** 118, 136, 137; **ϥⲟϥⲛⲃⲁⲛ** 135; **ϥⲟϥϫⲁϫⲉ** 119; **ϥⲟϥⲛⲫⲁϫⲉ** 127.
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ⲧ, possessive article, sing. fem.: **ⲧϥⲉⲓⲁⲛⲉ** 120; **ⲧϥϩⲓⲙⲙⲉ** 128; **ⲧϥϩ[** 137; **ⲧϥϥⲓⲧⲁϩⲧⲣⲥ** 147.
ⲧⲓ, 'to give', 133.
ⲧⲓⲉ, 'five' (fem.), in **ⲙⲟⲡⲧⲓⲉ**, 'thirty-five', 121.

τιαιε, 'town', 160.

τινηε, 'to cause to bring', 143.

τερε, 'all', in καιε τεροу 155.

тре, 'to cause to do', in [α]ουαтре пр[ε] ει ап 132.

т, τωт, 'hand'; in —т, —тн, —тωт, 'from, through', —тпсроч 125; —тпс-рпие 149; —тωтс 121, 125, 139, 149, 164; in шатωтс 'to his hand', 173.

тоуаеит, Qual. 'shining', 132.

тартр, 'to confuse', in тсцитартр'ч 147.

-оу, suffix of 3rd pers. pl.: in ахωоу 141; Зсωоу' 143; прαι'пєрпюу 141; тероу 155; есжаеиоу 140; —пртоу 153; in аоу, see аэ, verbal prefix of 3rd Future.

оубе, 'opposite', 132.

оуие, оуеи, 'one' (fem.): асжахи оуие 144; оуеи 161, 162.

оунне, 'to pass by, neglect', 128.

оун, see еоун, 'there is'.

оупоу, 'hour', 154.

оуаэ, 'and' 153; оуωэ 161.

ωпс, 'life', 119, 120, 154, 157, 163, 174; 'to live', 175, 188.

ша, 'to', in шатωтс 173; 'until', 145, 159.

шн, 'to go away', 123, 124, 160.

шай, 'new', 151.

шеле, 'omen', 133.

шпне, 'shame', 143.

шере, 'child', 130, 152, 155.

шот', 'trader', in еиен' шот', 'mercantile business', 129.

-с, suffix of 3rd pers. sing. masc., *passim*.

сф, 'hair', 133.

са, 'for': сарпие 152; сапсωпс 154; с[α]псωпс 119; сароуеи 162; с[α] 133; асрае, 'under': асрас 141.

сан, 'friendly': соусан 118, 136, 137; соун-сан 135.

споу, 'in', 120, 122, 124, 129, 169; сп 141.

срот', 'children', 128.

стсотс, 'to examine', 145.

са, doubtful for са, see the latter.

сωпе, 'to become', 118, 144, 186; сωпе 130; сω 131; [· ·]ωп 120 and note; ассωпе, 'if', 127, 129, 133, 135, 180; ассω 121, 122 and note on 118; ассω 123; есωпе, 'if', 142.

с[та]е, 'closing', 136, 150.

зе, in ае, 'according to the way', 153.

зие, 'wife', 128, 130, 133, 152, 176; [зие]е 145.

зие, 'forty', 178.

зап, 'law', 142.

заршот', 'Jupiter', 132, 168; зршот' 127.

зрае, in азраоу 'to them', 148; in назрас, 'in his presence', 158.

зрнеи, in азрнеи, 'upward', 136, 142, 144 а[з]р[неи] 182.

зте, 'heart': зтес 139, 142, 152, 162, 165; (з)тес 154; з(т)с 164.

заоу, 'evil': пєт[ра]оу 146.

зооу, 'day', 168; зоу —е[и]с[т]с 135; зоу —еи[с]с 136; з[ооу] —еи[с]с 136; з[ооу] —еи[с]с 150; ооу —еи[с]с 127.

зос, 'snake', 125.

жаеиэ, 'cause to appear', in есжаеиоу 140.

зи, 'to take', 139, 141, 144, 149 (twice), 150, 176; Part. conj.: жаеи in жаеиине 'heirline', 131.

зω, 'head', in ахωоу 141; ахω[γ] 148.

зω, 'to say', 141, 161.

зле, 'scorpion', 187.

знаэ, 'to send', in знас 152.

зр, in арзр, 'to misbehave', 129 and note.

зарне, 'to hunt', in —птоу' зарне 144 and note.

зта[ра]с, ?, in ахта[ра]с 123.

зωс, 'to burn', 133.

зωэ, 'to touch', 151.

жахе, 'enemy', in соу[жа]хе 119; соун[жа]хе 127; in ар[жа]хе, 'be at enmity', 128; ар[жа]хе 118.

Column IV

- 118 [αϥβω εδϣνητϥ πρε — σουβαν σουκη — τουαρταε — πις[..
 ..]πεϊα^α ννεϥ βωπε
- 119 [...]η ϣεε — σουταε πνοϥτε σναου προ..^αη.ιϥ[....]....
 β[α]πϥωνβ
- 120 [..]ωπ βνουαβηλω' αουαρκ̄α — βων' αρ[α]ϥ ..[.....]ε^α
 πϥωνβ τηειαπε
- 121 [..]α δειρς' μνη^α μοπτιε — τωτϥ αϥβω εουνητϥ ϥ[ου
 κη ρ̄ω]ϥ — πϥκραϥτ ουωτ'

Column V

- 122 αρατϥ ασμοϥνε βνουπϥρετε α] αϥβω εαπϥ — ϣω^α απϥ
 — βαν
- 123 αϥβω εουν σουβων^α — πϥκραϥτ ουωτ' αϥαϣη αταϥ
 ας πρω'
- 124 — κε πνοϥτε — αϥαϣη βνουμνητβωνε — κε ναου αμοϥ
 νρωμε
- 125 αϥαει — τωτϥ — κε — τ^απϥροϥ^β τριτος χρονος ο του
 διος χρηματει
- 126 ϣει απο Lκε μ^αυνας^β β̄ ημερας κε εως Lλδ μ^αυνας^β ε̄
 ημερ — κ̄δ^α
- 127 διος χρη[μα]τιζει αϥβωπε ϣ^αρπϣωτ' — σουνηταε^β
 — πϥροϥ — μιστϥ
- 128 αρεου αϥαουηνε — τηριμε — κε αρταε αρας' — κε — τε νϥ
 βρωτ'

129 ⲁⲣⲏⲓⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲕⲉ ⲁϣⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉⲡⲓ ⲛⲓⲱⲧⲓ ⲁϣⲟⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲓ
 ⲥⲟⲩⲃⲱⲛ

130ϣ ⲛⲉ ϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲣϥⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲏϣ ⲛⲉϩⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲱⲡⲉ
 ⲛⲏϣ

131 ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲧⲃⲱⲛ ⲁⲛⲱ ⲛⲱϣ ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲧⲁⲑⲧⲣⲏⲃⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲓⲁⲉⲓ
 ⲃⲓⲕⲉ

132 ⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ ϣⲧⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲧⲓ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲡⲓⲱⲧ

133 ⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲓⲱϣ ⲃⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϣⲟⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲧⲓ ⲛⲉϣ ⲓⲙⲉⲛ
 ⲕⲥⲙⲛ

134 ⲧⲥ ⲁⲣⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲧⲣⲟⲥ [ⲟ ⲧⲟⲩ] ⲁⲣⲉⲱ ⲕⲣⲏⲙⲁⲧⲓⲱⲧⲉⲓ ⲁⲡⲟ ⲕⲕⲁ ⲙⲩ
 ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉ ⲏⲙⲉⲣⲁⲥ ⲕⲓ

135 ⲉⲱⲥ ⲕⲕⲁ ⲙⲩⲛⲁⲥ ⲧ [ⲏ]ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϣⲟⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲏϣ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛ
 ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲟⲩ

136 ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲁⲣⲩ [.....]ⲟⲩⲩⲁⲣⲏⲉⲓ ⲙⲛⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲃⲧⲁⲙⲓ ⲛⲧⲏϣ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ
 ⲛⲓⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩⲁ

137 ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲁⲣⲉ [.....]ⲛⲧⲏϣ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲣⲙⲓⲙⲛⲣⲏϣ ⲁⲧⲡⲏ
 ⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲩⲟⲩ

138 ⲁⲩⲱⲃⲉⲁⲟⲥⲥⲟ [.....] ⲁⲣⲁϣ ⲁⲣⲛϣⲙⲛⲧⲃⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲁⲓⲏⲉⲓ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲙⲉ
 ⲣⲙⲓ

139 ⲣⲥ ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲉⲓⲩⲧⲉⲣⲧⲉϣ ⲛⲧϣⲱ ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲏϣ ⲁϣⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲉⲩⲩⲁ
 ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉ

140 ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏϣ ⲛⲱⲓⲛ ⲛⲙⲛⲧⲡⲣⲱ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲣⲉⲛⲉϣⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲉϣⲓⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ
 ⲛⲓⲛⲉ.

141 ⲓⲓ ⲕⲕⲙⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲓ ⲁⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲛⲣⲙⲓⲡⲉⲣⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧϣⲓⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ
 ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲁⲓⲣⲁϣ

- 142 -τϣ ΝΑΟΥ ΑΓΑΠ' ΕΝΑΕΙΕϣ -ϑΤΕϣ ΕΒΩΠΕ ΟΥΝ' ΣΟΥΒΩΝ'
 ΝΕΟΥ ΑϑΡΗΕΙ
- 143 Ξσωογ' εαπϣ Νϣω -πϣβαν' ασϑιμε δτνηεϣ ζιπε -κε -του[?]
- 144 ^αδρκϣ & -τΝ ραμπε ΜΒ ΑϑΡΗΕΙ ασϑιμε δβωπε ναϣ αϣδτ
- ΟΥΙΕ
- 145 Ζα ϣδ αϣαναου αμου -[ϑιμ]ε -κε πορι δραϣ -τοτ ετϣοτϣ
- 146 εϣ ζστ.ω' -ϣζμι' -[.....]-τηϣ δρνηϣ πετϑαου κε ερτηϣ
- 147 αϣβωπε εουν' σουνοϣ[ε.....]λ' αϣαλβαλ ατϣσιταϑτϣ' ουν'
- 148 ΝΟΥΤΙΔΑ -ΟΥΤΑϑΡΑΟΥ' ειρωμ[....]ϣ ρεουε -του οϑου λδ
- πρω ατωο[γ]
- 149 αϣδτ^αιζωϑ -τνηϑιμε δ[....]δλιζωϑ -τωτϣ αϣβωπε ουν'
- 150 τϣ σουνοϣε λιβταμ' -πϣ[οου] -μνητϣ δρεου αϣαναου' αμου'
- 151 -ρωμε εϣτωϑ δραϣ κε μ[ο]γ -σνημϑαουε -νηϣαρναϣρ ζαει -μαϣ
- 152 ^α-τε ϣτεϣ & -ϣωδ ζαϑιμε τναϣ -ζερε -τΝραμπε ΜΒ -τΝραμπε
- 153 ΜΒ αν οϣαϑ δ^(sic)ε -μαϣ ετ[.].δει -πρτουζ αλτϣ να πϣ -νηω να
- 154 πϣ βαν' -τε τεϣ -ϣω εαπϣωνε -νημου μουνοϣ -παϑου'
- 155 ΝΑΟΥ ΕΟΥΝ.Ι..ΛΙ Ζερε εητ' ωουαε' πε ναει τερου ετσε ερηει

Column VI

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 156 ΚΣΜΝΤ ΝΑ[| 162 -ϣω εαουε! αϑτεϣ αμ[|
| 157 ουραμπε .Ν εϑνεωνε αϣα[| 163 σδου απϣωνε δομνανε..[|
| 158 αμου ναϑραϣ λοϣαρπτηρει[| 164 -τωτϣ αϑεϣανϣω -[|
| 159 Ζαεβατ σδου ^{sic} αϣαναου δ.[.]·[| 165 τνηε ζ'δου -ϑτεϣ εια[|
| 160 εϣ ζη ατιμε εϣερ -του .[| 166 αϣασμνηεϑρ.αϣ -ϣ[|
| 161 απνοϣτε τωουε! ουωϑ -π.[· | 167 ραμπε λ ? ραμπε' αν..[|

- 168 ραρπζωτ. . . . ροογϚ.[
 169 ουντϚ [.]·[.]ε ζηουεϚ πεϚ[
 170 ΝΗ Ν - τε. []
 171 [] εΙ . Μ . . []
 172 [] ε - [] ρ . . . []
 173 - ρετ' ζατωτϚ τε. []
 174 πεϚωνϚ - τϚπωτ. []
 175 αωνϚ - τϚζαπεϚτ. []
 176 - τϚΗΙ ρΙΜΕ - τϚκω Ϛα. []
 177 ^ανεϚαρζη αραϚ αϚα. . . ε []
 178 ραμπε ρμε Ϛντε. ρα[μ]πε
- 179 πνητηπε αϚααρειρε []
 180 αμνητε αϚβωπε ουν []
 181 αϚααρζω . . Ϛ' - Ϛ' . . . []
 182 νεοϚ αρ[ρ]ηει . .] . Ϛα . . . []
 183 μνητηε . [. . . .] . . . εΙβ . . . αρ. []
 184 πελαοϚ [. . .] . ηαϚ . . . []
 185 πϚπωρ' αϚϚωϚ Μ ηα ρ - []
 186 αν ρει αβωπε []
 187 - πε Ηε ρμπο η []
 188 αωνϚ αζμ' μρ []
 189 αϚαμ^αα^β . . . Ϛ' αμ . . ε []

Notes.

- 120, a: - added later. - 121, a: Ϛ probably an erasure; above it Ϛ? - 122, a: Ϛ! added above line. - 125, a-b: τρδϚροϚ corrected from τπϚροϚ (E.G.T.). - 126, a-b: ΜΗΝΔϚ (E.G.T.). - Ϛ: Δ corrected from Ε (E.G.T.). + 127, a: ρρ corrected; - b: Ηε corrected. - 131, a-b: τρΗΒ' (E.G.T.). - Ϛ: Β is a correction; τ 134, a-b: ΜΗΝΔϚ (E.G.T.). - 135, a: Ϛ added later. - 136, a: - corrected. - 139, a: scribe first wrote Ϛ, then corrected this into Ϛ (Ϛ), then wrote Ϛ' on top. - 144, a-b: E.G.T. prefers γαρκϚ. - 149, a: κ deleted. - 151, a: CNN confirmed by E.G.T. - 152, a-b: scribe first wrote - τ - τ by dittography, then corrected into - τε Ϛτ. - 157, a: τ[.]η preferable (E.G.T.). - b: οϚ possible instead of ε. - 158, a-b: πετη (E.G.T.). - 165, a: could be Β (E.G.T.). - 166, a-b: Ϛ! αϚ - Ϛ [(E.G.T.). - 177, a: νεϚ corrected into νεϚ. - 180, a: E.G.T. prefers Μ to α.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1956)

By P. M. FRASER

I. *Bibliography*

(1) A survey of Greek epigraphy by J. and L. ROBERT appeared in the period covered by this bibliography: *REG* 69, 104-91.

(2) My own survey of the year 1955 appeared in *JEA* 42, 105-15.

(3) A bibliography of P. Collart, by P. BURETH, appeared in *Chron. d'Égypte*, 31, 152-72.

(4) A bibliography of M. Rostovtzeff, by C. B. WELLES, appeared in *Historia*, 5, 358-81.

(5) A bibliography of A. Vogliano, by M. VANDONI, appeared in *Acme*, 8, 11-16.

II. *New Texts*

(6) In his account of his excavations in Alexandria, 1949-52, *BSA Alex.* 41, 1-47, A. ADRIANI publishes an inscription on a sarcophagus found in the Necropolis of Minet el-Bassal. This (32-33 and fig. 32) reads on one side of the lid Ἀχιλλεύς ἐνψύχει and on the opposite side of the body Ἀχιλλᾶ ἐνψύχει. The inscriptions are of Imperial date, of the first or second century A.D., and this is probably later than the style of the sarcophagus suggests (see *ibid.* 33, n. 1), but this does not create any great difficulty, since Alexandrian sarcophagi are normally uninscribed, and the inscription may date from a re-use (cf. Adriani, *ibid.*). From a Christian hypogaeum (now destroyed) in Hadra he publishes (37 ff.) two funerary graffiti inscribed within tabulae ansatae: (a) ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μ[ακάριος] | Ἑφιστίων ἀ[δελφός?] | μνησθήτι αὐ[τοῦ] τῆς ἀν[απαύσεως] (A. gives dots after the supplements at the end of ll. 1-2, but it is, I think, clear from the photograph (39, fig. 41, not fig. 40, as A. says, 37) that the lines are complete with the supplements as given): of (b) A. gives no text, but a little can be read on the photograph: ημιτι (not, apparently, μνησθήτι) κατεκοιμήθε(?) | —υροταχ.θοσιτερω —θι και | . In the same hypogaeum there is an alpha-omega inscription. This suggests a date in the fourth century A.D. From another hypogaeum, at Mex, he records (43, fig. 46) a funerary stela with a scene of parting of bad workmanship, on which no inscription is now visible. He refers also (37) to the metrical epitaph published by PEEK as 865 of his *Griech. Versinschrift.* (cf. *JEA* 41, 106, no. (6)), found in an early Hellenistic grave at Chatby. The richly decorated hypogaeum at Ibrahimiyah, described by A. in the second article, *ibid.* 63-86, 'Ipogeo dipinto della via Tigiane Pascia', contained no inscription. (To avoid confusion in the complicated matter of identifying the various Alexandrian necropoleis, I may point out here that, by an oversight, on the first page of the article, A. describes this area as being *west* of the city. It is, of course, to the east.)

(7) *Le Antichità Egiziane del Museo dell' Accademia di Cortona ordinate e discritte* (Firenze, 1955), by G. BOTTI, contains various unpublished inscribed objects of Graeco-Roman date: pp. 12-13, nos. 291-2, two Menas-ampules inscribed ἀγίου Μηνᾶ ἐνλογ(ία); p. 106, no. 276, a fragment of a terra-cotta funerary plaque from Alexandria with the inscription Ἐρμουγέ | νους in a sunk field; pp. 109 ff., a number of amphora-stamps, mainly Rhodian.

(8) In *JEA* 41, 117-18, P. M. FRASER and P. MAAS publish three Hellenistic epigrams from Egypt. I, probably of the later third century B.C., is of interest as containing in l. 7 an ethnic which the authors give as Σπ^{2/3} ισσαν, and which they could not identify (the stone is of extremely soft limestone, and it was impossible to make a squeeze), and a description of Memphis as ἐρῆ Δαναοῦ, on the basis of which Maas emends Aesch. *Suppl.* 1006 f. from πόνος . . . ἡρόθι δορί to πόρος . . . ἡρόθι δορί. II, probably of the earlier third century B.C., is a tombstone in conventional language (in the last line, χαίρειν τὸν κατὰ γ[ῆ]ς, δίπλ(ο)α ταῦτα λάχοις, cf. for χαίρειν τὸν κατὰ γῆς Peek 1079 (Kaibel, 205) and 1214, and for διπλ(ο)α ταῦτα λάχοις cf. καὶ σοὶ τὰ διπλᾶ *IGLS* 396, 491, 1444). III is an illiterate quasi-metrical epitaph, probably of Ptolemaic date (for τῶιδ' ὑπὸ τύμβῳ cf. Peek 1127; 1333)

(9) In *BSA Alex.* 41, 49–55, P. M. FRASER publishes the Alexandrian dedication by Archagathos, previously mentioned by A. ROWE, *Ann. Serv. Cah. Supp.* 2, p. 2, and note 13 (whence Chamoux, see below no. (49)), ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης | Σωτήρων Ἀρχάγαθος Ἄγαθος | κλέους ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἡ γύνη Στρατονίκη Σαράπιδι Ἴσιδι τὸ τέμενος. He refers this, mainly on account of the use of Σωτήρων without θεῶν and the absence of any reference to Arsinoe, to the opening years of Philadelphus's reign, before the official deification of Ptolemy Soter and Berenike in 280/79, and assigns a group of other inscriptions to the same period (BRECCIA, *Iscriz.* 2–4; *Temple of Hibis*, II, 49, no. 7, cf. below, no. (17); *OGIS* 22 (cf. below, no. (50)). He understands Λιβύη here as referring to the nome of that name, mentioned also in the *Revenue Laws*, and not to Libya in a wider sense, and discusses the function of the ἐπιστάτης of the nome in Lower Egypt. He gives (55, note 1) a provisional list of dedications to Sarapis and Isis of a date earlier than the reign of Euergetes I.

(10) *Ibid.* 57–62, the same author publishes an incomplete copy of the Memphian decree of 196 B.C., discovered by H. GAUTHIER in 1923 at Noub Taha (see *Ann. Serv.* 23, 170, whence F. DAUMAS, *Moyens d'expressions* (*Ann. Serv. Cah. Supp.* 16), 284). The inscription is now cemented into a corner of the courtyard of Alexandria Museum, and it proved impossible to take a satisfactory photograph. The copy is incomplete, and contains only the equivalent of ll. 1–11 and 14–17 of the Rosetta copy, *OGIS* 90. It shows a few minor variants from the Rosetta copy, and a crop of miscarvings (as does the Rosetta copy). He suggests that the copy was originally destined for Tell el-Yahudiyah (Leontopolis), though, in its incomplete state, it can hardly have been erected in a temple.

(11) In *Jahreshefte*, 42, 67–74, R. NOLL publishes a 'Römerzeitliches Sphinxrelief mit griechischer Weihenschrift aus Ägypten' in the ägyptisch-orientalisch Sammlung of the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna. The relief, the precise provenance of which is not known, is a crude representation of a sphinx wearing the attributes of Khnum. Above his trunk is an eagle, and at the right, holding the left horn of the sphinx, is the figure of Athena, of the type familiar from innumerable terra-cottas (see PERDRIZET, *Les Terres cuites grecques Fouquet*, 65 ff. esp. 69), of which N. does not seem to be aware, and which he identifies with Nemesis. The relief bears the simple inscription ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ. N. regards the relief as representing mixed elements, Greek and Egyptian, but predominantly Greek, and symbolizing the triumph of good (represented by the sphinx) over evil (represented by a snake under the feet of the sphinx). He discusses the typology of the sphinx facing to left. He publishes, *ibid.* (71 and fig. 42) another uninscribed relief representing a sphinx in this position, and points to a very similar representation on Alexandrian bronze coins of the reign of Hadrian (Dattari, 2002, a far better example than that reproduced by Noll), which, he says, determines the date of the Vienna relief, which he would connect with a particular burst of syncretistic feeling on the occasion of Hadrian's visit to Egypt. I feel that N. very largely ignores the traditional element in such reliefs.

(12) In *RA* 1956 (I), 67, in some additional notes to his and J. PH. LAUER's book, *Les Statutes ptolémaïques du Sérapieion de Memphis* (cf. *JEA* 42, 108, no. (19)), CH. PICARD records the discovery of a block in the neighbourhood of the Hemicycle of the Poets, bearing the inscription, in cursive letters, —τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν. He also discusses the iconography of Sarapis.

(13) In *Ἀντίδωρον Hugoni Henrico Paoli oblatum, Miscellanea Philologica* (Università di Genova, Facoltà di lettere, Istituto di filologia classica, 1956, not to be confused with the honorand's other *Festschrift, Studi in onore U. E. Paoli* (Firenze, 1956)), 282–322, A. TRAVERSA 'publishes', with, 323–4, a 'postilla' by C. GALLAVOTTI, an elegiac epitaph of eighteen lines, now in Alexandria Museum (*non vidi*), which he dates to the second century A.D., but which is certainly Hellenistic. The text, as read, restored, and understood by Traversa, contains quite outrageous metrical, grammatical, and every other sort of error, and it is not worth while lingering over his publication, which should have been suppressed. Gallavotti, who describes T.'s text as 'francamente inaccettabile', presents an essentially true text from which it emerges that it is an interesting epitaph of a soldier dead at the age of 25, mourned by his fellow-soldiers. G. dates it to the second century B.C., with which I would agree, so far as the very bad photograph allows one to see, though the first century B.C. would also be possible. According to G.'s reading in l. 2 the youth is said to have died 'by the τέχνη of the west' κάσπ[ε]ρίδος τέχνη, a reading which G. expressly says he has been able to confirm on a photograph provided by T., and which he refers to the Battle of Magnesia, 'di qui l'importanza del documento'. However, if we are to believe ll. 9–10, πατρίδα σώζων | κάθθανες, ἀντιπάλων ἀντίος ἰστάμενος, the youth died in defence of Egypt, and this could not be said of a participant in the war with Antiochus.

Consequently, if we accept the reading of l. 2 and G.'s interpretation of it as referring to Rome, we must seek some other occasion. However, Rome was never at open war with Egypt (unless we include the Alexandrine war), and the whole phrase seems very suspicious to me (in spite of Agelaos' τὰ προφανόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας νέφης, which G. might have quoted in defence of his reading and interpretation). There are other minor difficulties, but the text seems to be correct in essentials.

(14) I may also note, though it falls outside the scope of this survey, the metrical funerary inscription from the Hauran, now in Damascus, published by H. SEYRIG, *Syria* 34, 215-17, which is perhaps a record of the Palmyrene invasion of Egypt. It says that Egypt destroyed many souls, but that burial was not denied the person here commemorated: Αἴγυπτος στυ|γερῆ ψυχὰς ὄλε|σε σὺν σεο πολ|λὰς, ἀλλά σ' (ενι) ἐνκτέρευξ|ε θῆος καὶ πό|τνια μήτηρ, | κείνους δ' οὐ τις, κ.τ.λ.

III. *Studies of previously published Inscriptions*

(15) In *Oriens Christianus*, 39, 112-18, R. BOHM discusses 'eine koptische Öllampe aus Edfu im Nationalmuseum zu Warschau', previously published *Tell Edfu*, III, 244, no. 653. It is one of a series inscribed in Greek characters and dating from the fifth century A.D. Bohm reads the inscription +CΩΤΕΜΜΟΙΝΑΝΑΙ+, which he claims as Coptic and not as Greek (σωτ(ήρ) ἐ{μ}μοί) as had been supposed in the publication of a similar inscription on a lamp of the same type (CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Lampes, no. 45). He regards it as the Coptic acclamation CΩΤΕΜ ΜΟΙ ΝΑΝΑΙ, seeing in ΝΑΝΑΙ the Babylonian mother-goddess Nana who occurs quite frequently in Roman Egypt. Beyond this the argument is Coptic.

(16) In *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* (Mem. Amer. Philos. Soc. 37), 170 ff., F. H. CRAMER gives a sprightly account of Hadrian's visit to the Colossi of Memnon, with particular reference to Julia Balbilla, and translates *SEG* VIII, 715, 716, ll. 7 ff., and 717.

(17) In *BSA Alex.* 41, 50, note 2, P. M. FRASER proposes a new restoration of *Temple of Hibis*, II, p. 49, no. 7, where for the editor's [ὑπὲρ βα]σιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ [Πτολε]μαίου καὶ Βερενίκη[ς Σω]τήρων [θεῶ]ν τὸν περιβόλον καὶ τ[ὰ] πυλώματα, which, he maintains, involves an unnatural formula, Σωτήρων θεῶν instead of the normal θεῶν Σωτήρων, he proposes, after examination of the stone, Σωτήρων [τὸν ναόν (e.g.) καὶ τὰ πυλώματα. The use of Σωτήρων by itself is paralleled by numerous instances of the early part of the reign of Philadelphus (see above, no. (9)).

(18) In *JEA* 42, 97-98, P. M. FRASER shows that the two foundation-plaques, *SEG* VIII, 360 (*SB* 7782) and *JEA* 34, 114, each bearing a dedication to Aphrodite Urania by Ptolemy Philopator, belong to the same deposit, and he identifies the temple with that dedicated to Aphrodite Urania at Kusae, recorded by Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* x, 27.

(19) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 31, 149-51, J. F. GILLIAM writes on 'The Death of Alexander Severus and the Stelae from Terenouthis' apropos of Schwartz's paper on the same subject, *ibid.* 30, 124-6 (cf. *JEA* 42, 106, no. (9)). He points out that the sequence proposed by Schwartz is based on the acceptance of January 8, A.D. 235, as the date of Alexander's murder, which G. shows to be highly improbable, the correct date probably being March 22. He concludes: 'What is known about the date of Alexander's death appears to show that the stelae of year 1 must in fact be at least several years removed in date from those of year 14.' Like me (*JEA*, loc. cit.), he questions the validity of stylistic arguments: 'The resemblances which Professor Schwartz detected illustrate the difficulty of dating work of such conventional and conservative character.'

IV. *Religion*

(20) In *Alexander to Constantine* (1956), SIR ERNEST BARKER translates texts and documents illustrating the history of social and political ideas from 336 B.C. to A.D. 337. He gives a general sketch of Ptolemaic monarchy (85-100) and translates in this connexion (i) *Syll.*³ 396 (the Nesiotic decree), (ii) Theocr. xvii, ll. 13 ff., (iii) those sections of the Memphian decree of 196 B.C. concerned with the worship of the king, and (iv) *BKT* VII, P. 13045, the papyrus containing the Praise of Alexandria.

(21) In *Jewish Symbols*, 6, 71-93, E. R. GOODENOUGH discusses Dionysiac symbolism in Graeco-Roman Egypt. He maintains that the identification of Dionysus and Osiris, already accepted by Herodotus, was based on the phallic nature of both Gods. The section is largely an analysis and interpretation of the literary sources of the Roman period—Diodorus, Plutarch, Philo, and the Hermetic writings. Quite apart from the general questions raised by G.'s approach, I do not feel that this picture, based entirely on the literary tradition, represents the notions of the ordinary citizen of Graeco-Roman Egypt. G. does not attempt to

discover the qualities bestowed on Osiris and Dionysus in contemporary documents. Nevertheless, the discussion is of interest as showing what sort of picture can be derived from the literary evidence alone. One cannot fail to be impressed how greatly this differs from the simple documentary evidence. So also in iconography. In the necropolis of Kôm el-Chugafa which G. describes (89 ff.) there is no trace of an identification of Dionysus and Osiris based on phallicism. Again, the iconographical material from the Memphian Serapeum, recently published in full by Lauer and Picard, while it reveals a close association between Osiris and Dionysus, through Sarapis, shows no trace of a phallic interpretation. In this section of his remarkable work G. seems to have taken his material from sources which had a very similar point of view, *mutatis mutandis*, to himself, and not from a representative cross-section of evidence.

(22) I may also note, though it is uninscribed, a very unusual marble statuette (H.o. 12) of Sarapis, of Roman date, now in a private collection in Cairo, published by L. Keimer, *BSA Alex.* 41, 95-101, 'Le Dauphin dans la religion de l'Égypte antique'. The statue represents the head of the God (with an unusually large growth of hair) wearing a scaly calathos, standing on a base. The back of the statuette consists of a large and very well designed dolphin represented as plunging obliquely. The top of the calathos is formed by the curved tail of the dolphin. Keimer discovers a connexion between Sarapis and the dolphin in evidence showing that the sweet water discharged by the Nile into the sea was regarded as a gift of Sarapis (cf. BONNET'S *Realexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, (652)). K. adds that both in antiquity and in the present day dolphins have a preference for brackish water. He points out that in the Pharaonic period the cult of the dolphin existed in the Mendesian nome in connexion with the worship of Ḥat-Mehyt, of whom he reproduces two statuettes in which the figure of the goddess is surmounted by a dolphin.

(23) I may also note, as of general interest, the article of P. LAMBRECHTS (in Flemish with French summary), *Mededel. van Konink. Vlaamse Acad. voor Wetenschap.*, etc. (Klasse der Letteren), 18 (2), 'Augustus en de Egyptische Godsdienst'. He maintains that throughout his life Augustus became increasingly inimical to Egyptian religion.

(24) In *Mus. Helv.* 14, 33-38, K. SCHEFOLD writes on 'Die Dichter u. Weisen im Serapeion'. He in the main repeats the opinion already expressed in *Bildnisse der antiken Dichter*, 191, n. 1 (cf. *JEA* 40. 129, no. 19)) about the date of the statutes, and assigns them to the later Hellenistic age. He also attacks the view of Ch. Picard that there was no temple of Sarapis in Alexandria before that dedicated by Euergetes I (cf. above, no. (9) and also my remarks in *Opusc. Athen.* 4°, III, forthcoming).

(25) In an interesting article, *Opusc. Roman.* 1, 86-108, 'Kaisareion', E. Sjöqvist discusses the Alexandrian Kaisareion. He suggests that Egypt provided the prototype for other Kaisareia in the east, particularly that of Antioch, and discusses in this connexion a building which he thinks may have been of the same type as the Alexandrian Kaisareion, namely that of which the foundations, along with the architrave containing a dedicatory inscription to Euergetes I and other members of the royal family, were found under the Graeco-Roman basilica at Hermopolis Magna (*JHS* 65, 108-9). He says (97): 'It is needless to point out that this generic form of a sanctuary dedicated to the ruler was no invention of the architects engaged by the Greek garrison at Hermopolis Magna. They must have drawn upon pre-existing archetypes in the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt.' (In a footnote he refers to the building of the Serapeum by Euergetes I in Alexandria. This is, of course, not an analogy, since the dedication at Hermopolis is a dedication *to* Ptolemy, etc., while the Serapeum is a dedication *by* him.) He then traces the spread of the style from Egypt westward, beginning with Cyrene, of the Caesareum, of which he gives the fullest publication yet available. Here again he sees Ptolemaic influence and he finally says (105): 'We have to look for other buildings of Caesarean and Augustan date to trace the migration of the Ptolemaic ruler-temple to Rome and its adaptation to Roman conditions.' This is an interesting thesis, but, whatever may be the validity of the later stages of the argument regarding the west, there is one point to bear in mind with regard to the east. The Hermopolite dedication is the only surviving example of a public temple dedicated to the royal house in this manner. There are one or two plaques attesting the dedication of private shrines to members of the royal house, but they are only a very small total as compared with the large number of shrines dedicated *to deities, on behalf of* members of the royal family: in other words the Ptolemies avoid direct ruler-cult (see *Opusc. Athen.* 4°, III, forthcoming), where I give a provisional list of Ptolemaic dedicatory formulas), and thus it is perhaps unlikely that a special form of public temple adapted for the cult of the rulers developed with a style of its own. As things are at present, then, the evidence seems rather against Egypt as the source of the Roman Kaisareion.

(26) In *Prolegomena*, 2, 105, 122, M. VANDONI writes on 'Il Tempio di Medinet-Madi e gli Inni di Isidoro', and emphasizes the local Egyptian elements in the hymns. She prints all the hymns with an apparatus and a commentary, and maintains that the true order of the hymns (according to the enumeration of Vogliano, ed. pr.) is not I, II, III, IV, but III, IV, I, II. Her reason for this, that the closing couplet of II (*SEG* VIII, 549), *εὐχῶν ἢ δ' ὕμνων τε θεοὶ κλύοντες ἐμεῖο, ἀντάπεδωκαν ἐμοὶ εὐθυμίαν χάριτα*, coming after the *Ἰσίδωρος ἔγραψε* with which each poem ends, represents the end of the whole, is plausible, although, since the hymns are unsymmetrically inscribed on the various faces of the pilasters, Vogliano himself came to the conclusion that there was no specific order. The text presented by V. takes into account the various corrections introduced since the ed. pr., and the commentary has some useful, though not exhaustive, comparative material. Thus her list of evidence for the cult of Demeter (115, verse 3) should be supplemented by my note, *JEA* 38, 70, n. 1. In discussing the general development of the cult of the goddess Hermuthis, she quotes and discusses the other inscriptions found on the site and published in the first and second reports of Vogliano.

Ibid. 123-4, R. KEYDELL adds observations on the metric of the hymns.

(27) M. J. VERMASEREN'S *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, I (1956), contains a section on Egypt (81-84, nos. 91-105). The few reliefs recorded here emphasize the familiar fact that Mithraism never really took root in Egypt. On 84 V. gives an inadequate list of the evidence for the cult known to him: see below, no. (28).

(28) In his interesting book, *Le Relief cultuel gréco-romain* (1955), E. WILL discusses several cults and cult-reliefs from Graeco-Roman Egypt. I note particularly his discussion (56 ff.) of the Heron-reliefs from Theadelphia, of Mithras (147, n. 1: a bibliography far superior to that of Vermaseren, above, no. (27)), and of Aion-Kronos (189-91, with more on the iconography of Mithras).

(29) In *Akten des VIII Intern. Kongr. für Papyrologie (Mittel. Pap. Österr. Nationalbibliothek*, n.s. 5), 167-74, FR. ZUCKER writes on 'Priester und Temple in Ägypten in den Zeiten nach der decianischen Christenfolgung'. In discussing the ἀρχιερείς of this late period he refers to MILNE, *Cairo Cat. Greek Inscr.* p. 45, no. 9272, in which a Dionysius appears as ἀρχιερεύς of a cult-society to which Emesene troops in Coptos belonged. Z. compares the ἀρχιερείς of the Hermopolite *koina* of the first century B.C. (cf. his *Doppelinschrift*, etc.). Milne, *ibid.*, p. 45, no. 9238, contains another reference to an ἀρχιερεύς. Other inscriptions attesting the survival of Pagan cults at this time noted by Z. are the ten Nilometer inscriptions (A.D. 285-305/6) from the temple of Suchos and other deities at Akoris, *SB* 6597-6607; *OGIS* 717, of A.D. 261-8 from Sekket; and the dedication of A.D. 291, *SEG* VIII (not VII), 704.

V. Political and Social History

(30) In *Stud. et Docum. Hist. et Iur.* 21, 1-76, J. ALTMANN writes on 'Die Wiedergabe römischen Rechts in griechischen Sprache bei Modestinus'. This investigation, carried out on the principles of Magie's well-known Leipzig dissertation, is of considerable interest to all concerned with the use of Greek terms in legal documents of the Roman period. However, useful though it is, it is clear that the author has made no independent investigation into the history and chronological development of the Greek terms, and has been content to accept the evidence of standard collections of texts and the lexica. There is consequently considerable inaccuracy in his statements regarding the use of these terms. As one example, I note the statement (6-7) that the word *κουράτωρ* does not occur before the age of Modestinus (iii, A.D.): it is already found in the age of Augustus: see *L'An.Ép.* 1910, 207 (cf. *JEA* 38, 119, no. (14)). It may be noted that Meinersmann, *Die latein. Wörter u. Namen in den griech. Pap.* (1927) (to which A. does not refer), also says wrongly, 'Das W. scheint ab s. II vorzukommen'. A more general criticism is that the Greek quotations are throughout marred by appalling misprints.

(31) M. Amelotti, *Stud. et Doc. Hist. et Iur.* 21, 123-56, writes on 'La posizione degli atleti di fronte al diritto romano', an interesting article based to a large extent on papyri. Inscriptions from Egypt play little or no part, though he has occasion to refer twice (131-2, 153) to *OGIS* 713, the *ἱερά θυμελικὴ καὶ ξυστικὴ σύνοδος* of which may, he points out, be that addressed by Diocletian and Maximian in the edict (*Mitt. Chrest.* 381) *ad synodum xysticorum et thymelicorum*.

(32) H. Braunert, *JfP*, 9-10, 211-328, 'ΙΔΙΑ: Studien zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte des ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten', discusses at length the question of the *origo* in Egypt. This study, primarily based on papyri, also makes use of the evidence of inscriptions. B. stresses that the term *ἰδία* first occurs in the latter

part of the second century B.C., and suggests that the institution was introduced in the amnesty-decree of Euergetes II of 118 B.C. He discusses in this connexion the phrase in *OGIS* 90, l. 20, *μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων κτήσεων*. He has also, 240 ff., a detailed discussion of the meaning of *ἀναχώρησις*, in the course of which he refers briefly to the significance of the edict of Tib. Iul. Alexander in this context (267–8, 272 ff. (§§ 10–12)) and cf. also 274 for *OGIS* 666.

(33) In *Studi in onore U.E. Paoli* (Firenze, 1956), 153–7, A. CALDERINI collects the Egyptian evidence for *φιλόσοφοι*, *ποιηταί*, and *Ὀμηρισταί*. In connexion with *φιλόσοφοι* he quotes the instances of persons defined as *τῶν ἐν τῶι Μουσειῶι σιτουμένων φιλοσόφων ἀτελῶν*. He quotes the inscription from the colossi of Memnon, *CIG* 4724, in which the traditional text shows an *ἔπαρχος σπείρη[s—]* included in this category, but he has not noticed that BATAILLE, *Les Memnonia* (1952), 154, has suggested that the inscription should be regarded as two separate texts: ‘on voit mal un simple préfet de cohorte être aussi néocore de Sérapis et pensionnaire du Musée.’ Other epigraphical instances, duly noted by him, are *OGIS* 741, *SB* 6012, and the numerous instances from the Valley of the Kings of which C. gives a list. For *ποιηταί* he quotes the various late inscriptions which record this title (*CIG* 4748; *SB* 1005; *Syringes* 993; *SB* 595), and calls attention to the early instance of *ποιητής* in *OGIS* 51, where, he says, the meaning is uncertain, though it is difficult to see why. The evidence for the *Ὀμηρισταί* is wholly papyrological.

(34) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 31, 332–340, F. A. HOOPER uses the ages recorded on the Terenuthis stelae (cf. above, no. (19)) as a basis for calculations as to the length of life in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The figure arrived at, 32.88 years, shows a very striking similarity with the figures reached by Humbert and Préaux from a far larger mass of material; their figure was 32.59.

(35) In *De Phylakieten in Grieks-Romeins Egypte* (1954), P. KOOL adds one more to the numerous dissertations on the institutions of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Unfortunately, there is only a brief English summary, so I cannot claim to have studied the dissertation very carefully. He gives in the notes lists of known phylakitai and archiphylakitai, and there is a full index of sources.

(36) In *JfP* 9–10, 117–25, N. LEWIS writes on ‘Legal Proceedings under the Idios Logos: *κατήγοροι* and *συκοφάνται*’, with reference to the edict of T. Iul. Alexander, ll. 39–45. He rejects the commonly expressed view that the two terms are synonymous, and follows Preisigke, *Wörterb.* s.vv., in regarding them as denoting respectively a functionary akin to a public prosecutor (*κατήγορος*) and a common informer (*συκοφάντης*). This makes good sense of the passage as it stands, without recourse to an emendation, and is supported by other evidence.

(37) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 31, 341–55, P. MERTENS writes on ‘un demi-siècle de stratégie oxyrhynchite’ bringing up to date the earlier lists for the period from Septimius Severus to Maximin. The evidence is entirely from papyri.

(38) In *Chron. d'Égypte*, 31, 311–31, CLAIRE PRÉAUX writes on ‘La Stabilité de l'Égypte aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère’. She shows good reasons for rejecting the view of J. G. Milne that the economic decline of Egypt, so marked in the third century A.D., began in the first century A.D. She has a good deal to say on *ἀναχώρησις*, and of the general stability of society, which she attributes in part to deliberate Roman policy.

(39) In *Rev. Intern. des Droits de l'Antiq.* 3^e sér. III, 145–72, CLAIRE PRÉAUX writes on ‘Les “fondations” dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine’. She discusses the attitude to the afterworld at the time, and mentions in this connexion (148) the epitaph of Epimachus from Tunah el-Gebel, that of Heras from Saqqārah (*SB* 7423), and two from Tell el-Yahudiyah (*SB* 6646–7). As instances of *λογεῖται* made to deities or temples she refers (153, n. 25) to *OGIS* 177 and 179, and, as an instance of a foundation the object of which is to enrich the cult of a king as well as of a deity (160, n. 48, cf. 170), *Archiv.* 5, 158, no. 2. She quotes *OGIS* 179 (165–6) as an instance of a foundation the fulfilment of which depends on a succession of officials (here the *oikonomos* of a nome).

(40) in *RE Suppbd.* VIII, cols. 525 ff., s.v. Praefectus Aegypti, O. REINMUTH gives a revised list of the Prefects, superseding the list given by him, *ibid.* vol. XXII a (1954), cols. 2368 ff.

(41) In *Rev. Hist.* 213, 21–38, R. REMONDON writes on ‘problèmes militaires en Égypte et dans l'Empire à la fin du iv^e siècle’, and discusses the Latin inscription, BRECCIA, *Iscriz.* 92 = DESSAU, *ILS* 8947 (neither of which standard publications R. appears to know), the dedication in honour of Valentinian by C. *Valerius Eusebius v(ir) c(larissimus) com(es) ord(inis) prim(i) ac per orient(em)*. He dates this between 364 (the accession

of Valentinian) and 372, the year in which the rank of *comes per orientem* became *illustris* in place of *clarissimus*. Seeking a more precise date, he argues from *OGIS* 722, from Athribis, referring to the foundation of a tetrapylon, to celebrate the *decennalia* (ἐν τῇ εὐτυχιστάτῃ αὐτῶν δεκαετηρίδι) of Valentinian and Valens, that Eusebius' dedication may commemorate the *quinquennalia* of Valentinian in 369, and that he may have been in Egypt on an imperial mission. (It may be noted in passing, since it is not germane to his argument, that his suggested explanation, on 22–23, of *OGIS* 723, is not convincing.) He then connects this mission with the consolidation of the military defences of the Thebaid in the face of Blemmyan aggression. In the absence of any indication whatever in the inscription itself, this explanation rests wholly in the air. He next discusses *WChrest.* 469, the edict of 380 or later, of a certain Gaius Valerius Eusebius, whom he identifies with the Eusebius of the Alexandrian inscription. He investigates also the part played by desertion in the general decay of morale in the army in Egypt, and in this context discusses the role of monasteries as refuges and centres of resistance to military authority. He quotes four interesting graffiti (three Greek and one Coptic) from the monastery of Phoebammon in the Thebaid published by Ghali Bey (*Note sur la découverte du Monastère de Phoebammon*, 'publiée en brochure au Caire en 1948': *non vidi*), (i) καταγήσωμεν περὶ τῶν τειρόνων ἕως ἂν ἐλέησεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐξάγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐν σωτήριον χωρὶς ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ σώσωμεν πάντας, (ii) . . . οσαλ.τα στρατιώτης δούξ, εἰσκρύβωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, κατεδιεκρίνατο ἡμᾶς, ἀναχωροῦμεν εἰς ὠδε, (iii) ἐκρύττωμεν ὠδε περὶ Σεκοντίου δούξ.

(42) I may note, as relevant to the office of prefect, the study of E. SEIDL, *Studi in onore U. E. Paoli*, 660–73, 'Die Jurisprudenz der Staatshalters Ägyptens in der Prinzipatszeit', in which he discusses some of the judgements of Prefects as recorded in papyri, in an attempt to discover how far they were influenced by Roman or Greek jurisprudence.

(43) In *Euforione e la storia ellenistica* (Milano-Napoli, 1955), P. TREVES touches on various aspects of Ptolemaic history. I have reviewed this book in *Gnomon*, 28, 578–86, and need say no more here.

(44) In *Rh. Mus.* 98, 135–50, K. WELLESLEY discusses the date of composition of Tac. *Ann.* II, apropos of K. Meister's article in *Eranos*, 46, 94–122, in which it was maintained (*post alios*) that the *mare rubrum* of II, 61 refers not to the Persian Gulf, but to the Red Sea, and exploits the epigraphical material from the Eastern Desert of Egypt, including that recently published by Meredith and Tregenza. His main thesis is that Tacitus was wrong in his statement. He shows that the regular meaning of Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα is the Red Sea, and quotes the relevant inscriptions to prove this. He then proceeds to list the inscriptions of the Eastern Desert, consisting of 32 items, to show that 'Roman Egypt reached the Red Sea, in theory from 30 B.C., and in fact shortly afterwards, and that Tacitus has misled us in suggesting an extension of that frontier in this direction between A.D. 19 and the time at which he wrote *Annals* II'. He supposes that, with the construction of the province of Nabatean Arabia (in A.D. 107), Tacitus' 'rather sketchy knowledge of Egyptian and Arabian topography has led him to suppose that in that year the Roman Empire for the first time reached the Red Sea'. He also points out that at the time Tacitus was writing the southern frontier was not at Syene but at Hiera Sykaminos. He concludes that *Ann.* II was written between 108 and 114. His elaborate tabulation of the epigraphical evidence (139–45) is useful, even if his main thesis that Tacitus is referring to the Red Sea and his explanation of Tacitus' 'mistake' are alike unconvincing.

VI Prosopography, etc.

(45) In *Akten des VIII Intern. Kongr. für Papyrol.* (see above, no. (29)), 85–90, V. MARTIN discusses 'L'onomastique comme indice des rapports entre indigènes et occupants dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', and discusses the social and racial implications of the usual type of Graeco-Egyptian double-name. (On 87 he quotes *PTebt.* 61a 40 for the name Μάρων τοῦ Διονυσίου, and lest it should be thought that this is an instance of the article agreeing with the patronymic, it should be noted that the text reads Μάρωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου, which should of course be rendered Μάρων ὁ Διονυσίου.)

(46) In the same *Akten*, 97–101, W. PEREMANS and E. VAN'T DACK give further information on the 'contenu et disposition de la Prosopographia Ptolemaica' and explain why they adopted 'cette construction compliquée', i.e. a non-alphabetic arrangement, rather than an alphabetical one. The advantage of this system, that it eliminates, or at least clarifies, numerous problems of homonymity, does not seem to me to outweigh the practical difficulties involved in using the book as it stands. They emphasize that they have endeavoured to recreate a milieu and again I would not quarrel with this (far from it), but I feel it a mistake

to offer a prosopography and provide a reconstruction of a milieu, however closely connected the two programmes may be.

VII. *Lexicography and Language*

(47) In *Acme*, 8, 73–83, S. DONADONI writes on 'Il greco di un sacerdote di Narmouthis' (i.e. Medinet Madi) apropos of the ostraca, largely unpublished, comprising part of a priestly archive of the temple, and now in Cairo. It deserves notice here, although ostraca fall outside the scope of this survey, because of the information it provides regarding the transliteration of Greek words from hieratic and demotic, and of the use of Greek words in otherwise demotic texts, where the word was felt to be technical, for instance in dating-formulas, and in administrative terms.

(48) I may note briefly that in *Rev. Arch.* 1956 (1), 129–56, MARIE-LOUISE BERNHARD publishes a Roman lamp of a known type in the National Museum of Poznan, bearing a representation of the harbour of Alexandria (originally identified by Rostovtzeff) and some buildings which the authoress seeks to identify with the royal necropolis. She regards the lamps as of Italian origin (though possibly made in Alexandria from an Italian matrix) of the first century A.D. The identifications seem to me very speculative, and I doubt whether it is possible to go beyond the general identification established by Rostovtzeff.

VIII. *The Ptolemaic Empire*

(49) In *Rev. Hist.* 216, 18–34, F. CHAMOIX writes on 'Le Roi Magas', apropos of the unpublished epigram relating to Magas (see *JEA* 42, 114, no. (45)), and as a prelude to the second part of his history of Cyrene, of which the first part, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, was published in 1953. He discusses in detail the whole complicated problem of the chronology of Magas' revolt and reign. He favours the lower chronology, according to which Magas' reign runs from 300–250 as against the higher, which dates his reign *c.* 308–258 (cf. *BSA Alex.* 39, 135, n. 1). He maintains with Beloch, *GG* iv², 186 ff., and no less categorically, that the basis of the higher chronology will not stand examination: the passage of Porphyry (*FGrH*, 260, F3, 15), relating to Demetrius the Fair, who went to Cyrene after the death of Magas, according to Pompeius Trogus, and whose death, which occurred soon after his arrival, is dated 259/8, refers not to Demetrius the Fair, but to Demetrius II. This C. regards as certain, and says: 'Comment, dans ces circonstances, s'appuyer sur ce témoignage? Il ne nous est d'aucun secours. . . .' C. surely goes too fast here. The passage of Porphyry is certainly corrupt or confused, and it is clear that at some stage in the tradition, and probably fairly early, the two Demetris were confused at some points in the list of Macedonian kings and not at others. But to assign this entry wholly to Demetrius II and to assume that 259/8 is a mistake for 229/8 is too drastic a solution. In fact the preference for the 'lower' or 'higher' chronology continues to depend on whether we prefer the evidence of Pausanias (already convicted of a palmary error in the same passage) or Porphyry. The problem still seems to be insoluble. He refers, 26, to the other epigraphical evidence for Magas, namely *SEG* IX, 112, *Inscr. Cret.* II, 211 ff. (cf. also C. 29–30), and the unpublished epigram, in all of which he is called βασιλεύς, a title which C. claims he assumed on the death of Ptolemy I, his step-father. In connexion with Magas' campaign against Egypt he refers (28, n. 3) to the inscription published by me, *BSA Alex.* 41, 49 ff. (see above no. (9)) recording the dedication of a shrine by an epistates of Libya, which, wrongly, as I think, he takes to refer to the country of Libya and not to the Libyan nome. He also discusses the dedications to the Ptolemaic royal house which may have been erected in Cyrene during the reign of Magas, *OGIS* 22 and 33. He suggests that *OGIS* 22 may belong to the period between the death of Magas and that of Philadelphus in 246. I think I have shown that it belongs to the beginning of the reign of Philadelphus; see below, no. (50). I may add that I shall shortly publish an inscription of Cyrene concerning Magas, but unfortunately it does nothing to solve the crucial problem of his chronology.

(50) In *BSA Alex.* 41, 50, n. 2, discussing the formula Σωτήρων instead of the more usual θεῶν Σωτήρων (cf. above, nos. (9), (17)), and attributing it to documents of the beginning of the reign of Philadelphus, P. M. FRASER points out, after revision of the stone, that in *OGIS* 22, there is no room for [υἰόν] at the beginning of l. 2. The formula of the parents' title is thus simply Σωτήρων.

(51) I may note, though it falls strictly outside the area of the Ptolemaic Empire, that in *Stud. Class. e. Orient.* 5 (in onore E. Breccia), 126–88, D. Morelli analyses the evidence for the foreign population of Rhodes, including Alexandrians, whom he lists (143).

(52) In *Historia*, 5, 448–55, H. VOLKMANN writes on ‘Der Herrscherkult der Ptolemäer in phönikischen Inschriften und sein Beitrag zur Hellenisierung von Kypros’. He is concerned, first, with two Phoenician inscriptions, Cooke, *NS Inscr.* 27 and 29, of 254 and 275 B.C. respectively, which, he claims, show that the absence of Greek civic cults of the ruling house is compensated in Cyprus by the existence of local Phoenician cults, the priests of which were Phoenician. Unfortunately, V. does not seem to be up to date in his knowledge of the latter text, since he quotes Honeyman’s article, *JEA* 26, 57 ff., in which the author sought to show that the wives mentioned in it were Arsinoe I and II, but does not know of the correction of G. R. DRIVER, *ibid.* 36, 82, who shows that the reference is not to Philadelphus and his two wives, but to the descendants of the dedicant. This part of V.’s article is thus hardly in advance of what Hill, *Cyprus*, 1, 181–2, said about these inscriptions. He also considers the evidence for the progressive Hellenization of the Phoenician population of Cyprus. As evidence for the narrow margin between Phoenician and Greek in Cyprus, V. adduces *OGIS* 17 and *Archiv*, 13, 14, n. 2, in the first of which a certain Πραξίδημος Σέσματος, an evident Phoenician, occurs, while in the second Praxidemos occurs as a high priest with no patronymic and no indication that he is not a Greek.

(53) In *Mél Bérouth*, 32, 181, R. Mouterde, speaking of the republication by F. Zucker (see *JEA*, 41, 134, no. (16)) of the dedication in the grotto of Astarte at Wasta, north of Tyre, says ‘copies, photographie et estampage n’autorisent que la lecture βασιλεῖ Π[τολεμαί]ωι (?) | καὶ Ἀφροδίτ[η] ἐπη]κόωι ἐ[ὕ]χην’. He thus accepts the uncertainty of Π[τολεμαί]ωι (cf. the remark of M. N. Tod, *JEA* 36, 108–9, in respect of Mouterde’s earlier republication of the inscription). Nevertheless, it seems an extremely probable restoration.

IX. The Egyptian Gods

(54) A. GARCIA Y BELLIDO’s article, ‘El Culto a Sárapis en la península Ibérica’, *Bol. Real. Acad. Hist.* 139, 293–355, is a useful publication, comprising a corpus of the relevant material, and a detailed discussion of the cult in Spain. The evidence consists largely of Latin inscriptions and statuary, none of which appears to be earlier than the first century B.C. Among the inscriptions I note particularly the following: p. 34, discussion and line-drawing (pl. II b), but no transcription, of an interesting bilingual inscription from Ampurias, published most recently in M. ALMAGRO’s *Las Inscript. ampurit.* (1952), 18, no. 2:—us faciu| [ndum curavit — Σ[άραπι]—ανα|—ανπουμας|—ωνίου Ἀλε|[ξαν]δρέυς|—εβες ἐπόει, which contains some difficulties; p. 37, an εἰς Ζεὺς Σάραπισ-plaque with an outstretched hand on which is inscribed ΙΑΩ. Pp. 41–57, the interesting material from the sanctuary of Panóias in northern Portugal, known from the eighteenth century, and recently discussed by F. RUSSELL CORTEZ, *Panóias, Cividade dos Lapiteas* (separata do *Anais*, do Instituto do vinho do Porto 1947), where a most remarkable rock-temple of Sarapis survives. The inscriptions were published (*post alios*) as *CIL* II, 2395 a–e. G. gives improved texts of the inscriptions based on subsequent recensions. Note particularly, p. 41A, a dedication ὑψίστωι Σεράπιδι σὺν μοίρᾳ καὶ μυστηρίοις (cf. my remarks, *Opusc. Athen.* III, p. 4, note 1). The author refers also to a work of S. LAMBRINO, *Les Divinités orientales en Lusitanie et le sanctuaire de Panóias* (1954), which I have not seen.

(55) In *Bull. Inst. fr.* 55, 173 ff., J. LECLANT publishes ‘Notes sur la propagation des Cultes et Monuments égyptiens en occident, à l’époque impériale’, apropos of a recent discovery of a shawabti in the Pas de Calais. He refers to other such objects found in France and central Europe (Switzerland, Swabia), and there is a very full bibliography, though on p. 177, n. 3, he knows nothing about the Spanish and Portuguese works noted in the previous item, and seems unaware of the existence of the material.

(56) In *Eranos*, 54, 167 f., M. P. NILSSON publishes two previously unpublished inscriptions from Pergamon, from copies of H. Hepding made in 1913. The second bears a dedication χάρισω (reading of H. rejected by N. who leaves the reading open) by a certain Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου βωμοφόρος. N. very convincingly explains the latter, hitherto unattested, word, as deriving from the cult of the Egyptian Gods, on the basis of Apul. *Metam.* XI, 10, where one of the ministrants in the Isis-procession *manibus ambabus gerebat altaria, id est auxilia*.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Ancient Red Glass at University College, London

IN his article 'Glass fragments from Nimrud of the Eighth to the Sixth Century B.C.' in *Iraq*, 17, Professor W. E. S. Turner on p. 64 mentions a lump of red glass, of maximum length 8.3 cm. and thickness 5 cm. as being among the Tell el-'Amārna specimens in the Flinders Petrie Collection at University College, London.

It certainly was among the specimens believed to come from the Tell el-'Amārna glass factory when Professor Turner carried out his study on them; but we later discovered that with the Tell el-'Amārna specimens were others of later date, some of which probably came from the faience factory of Roman date at Memphis (for which see *Historical Studies*, 34-37 and *Memphis I*, 14.) This confusion was presumably due directly or indirectly to the bombing of University College in 1941. That the lump of red glass mentioned by Professor Turner also probably came from Memphis (though not from the faience factory) is indicated by the recently re-discovered manuscript catalogue of the 'Glass and Glazes' in this collection written by the late Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie. In this catalogue it is stated:

'From the 26th to the 30th Dynasty, it is almost impossible to date glass with certainty. . . . Though glass was so little used, a step was made by adopting a red glass loaded with red oxide of copper, in place of the duller red paste of haematite of the earlier periods. This copper glass is very heavy (S.G. 3.44) and has a fracture closely like that of red jasper, which it also imitates in colour. It usually decomposes green on the surface, and the red may be unsuspected if not broken. A bi-conic bead (67) and three lumps (68) of this material are here, from Memphis.'

The bi-conic bead and the two other lumps have not yet been unpacked; but as the appearance of the lump of red glass mentioned by Professor Turner coincides closely with that described in the paragraph of the manuscript catalogue quoted above, I communicated this fact to Professor Turner and he suggested that a specific gravity determination of the lump of red glass should be made. This has now been done by the Physics Department of this college and found to be 3.48, which as Professor Turner agrees, may be accepted as near enough to 3.44 to leave little doubt of its identity with the material referred to in Petrie's manuscript catalogue. It does appear now that the lump of red glass specifically mentioned by Professor Turner belongs not to the fourteenth century but probably to some date between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C., the date given to it by Petrie, and certainly the age of many of Petrie's finds from Memphis.

Professor Turner has seen and approved the publication of this brief communication.

A. J. ARKELL

Ancient Sealing-wax Red Glasses

THE above brief communication by Dr. A. J. Arkell, stating that the lump of sealing-wax red glass specifically referred to by me in my recent paper¹ did not, after all, originate from Tell el-'Amārna but from some much later source, does not essentially affect the correctness of the statement I made (p. 64) that 'sealing-wax red glasses were well-known in the Egyptian XVIIIth dynasty'. There is plenty of other evidence. Petrie himself included red-coloured glasses in his list of opaque glasses found at Tell el-'Amārna.² Apart from this general statement by Petrie, however, I have collected

¹ *Iraq*, Vol. 17 (1955).

² *Tell el Amarna*, 1894, ch. iv, par. 60.

evidence of such glasses from the literature, and obtained and examined additional specimens from museums and now set out in the table below the information gained.

Before presenting the data, however, I would like to comment on one of Petrie's statements which seems contrary to the facts. In the quotation which Dr. Arkell gives from the newly discovered manuscript catalogue, Petrie says:

'From the 26th to the 28th Dynasty it is almost impossible to date glass with certainty. . . .

Though glass was so little used, a step was made by adopting a red glass loaded with red oxide of copper, in place of the duller red paste of haematite of the earlier periods. . . .'

It seems abundantly clear from the evidence below that as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty the sealing-wax red colour was produced by cuprous oxide and not by haematite. Indeed, I do not know what chemical evidence there is that the sealing-wax red glasses were ever produced by haematite.

Of the specimens recorded below nos. 4 and 5 were derived from the trays labelled 'Tell el Amarna' in the collection at University College, London. The specimens 2 and 3 were loaned to me from the Ashmolean Museum by Dr. D. B. Harden, to whom I would like to express my thanks. The densities and qualitative chemical tests with hydrofluoric acid and potassium iodide solution were carried out for me by Miss V. Dimpleby, M.Sc., of the Department of Glass Technology, Sheffield, and to her also I express my thanks.

<i>Source of specimen</i>	<i>Density</i>	<i>Notes on chemical composition</i>
(1) Head and neck of woman. Reputed Dyn. XVIII. Found at Malawai	2.47	No lead detected
(2) Ashmolean. Labelled 'Tell el Amarna 1924.91'. Found during excavations by Mr. F. L. Griffith	2.80	Lead present
(3) Ashmolean. Labelled '1889. No. 146.'. Believed Tell el-'Amarna. Collected by Rev. Greville Chester	2.58	No lead detected
(4) University College, London, collected on 24/6/1954, from the tray labelled 'Tell el Amarna'	2.78(3)	Lead present
(5) University College, London, from the tray labelled 'Tell el Amarna'	2.32(5)	No lead detected. Surface was cleaned by the HF
(6) From Tell el-'Amarna, via Berlin Museum	..	Alkali-lime-magnesia glass with 12.0 per cent. cuprous oxide (Cu ₂ O). No lead
(7) From Tell el-'Amarna	2.66	Trace of lead (1.0 per cent. or less)
(8) From Matmar. Dyn. XIX	2.77	Trace of lead (1.0 per cent. or less)

Notes on the Specimens:

(1) The lines of forehead and eye were indicated by thin raised threads of green glass, and the eye was white, slightly weathered; but as the weathered area was small, the effect of weathering on the density was probably negligible.

(2) Less than half of a disk or 'button' approximately 3.5 cm. diameter, one surface convex, the other flat. Thickness at centre about 1 cm. The flat under surface was extensively covered by bluish-green opaque areas whilst the upper surface showed small blue-green specks, these blue-green areas arising from weathering and oxidation. A freshly fractured surface showed the presence of minute bright flakes of copper, suggesting a heavy concentration of copper with reduction of some of it to metallic form, thus producing aventurine.

(3) Specimen triangular, about 3 by 2 by 2 cm., with thickness *c.* 1.5 mm. One surface polished, one rough. May have been intended for inlay.

(4) Flat rectangular piece, *c.* 5.5 by 3.5 cm., one surface ground but not completely polished; the other surface still rough, apparently from contact with the refractory material in which it had been

melted. This rough surface was also unevenly coated with greyish-white and bluish-green weathering and oxidation products. The freshly fractured surface was bright red and like the Ashmolean (no. 2 above) showed small flakes of metallic copper.

(5) Small rectangular piece, about 1.8 by 1.6 cm., thickness 1.4 mm., one surface of which was extensively and the other surface slightly weathered. Fissures also penetrated from 0.5 to 1.0 mm. deep into the glass, mainly on the strongly weathered surface. Bubbles formed at the edges of these crevices when specimen was immersed in water and minute fragments of weathered material fell away.

(6) Analysed by Neumann and Kotyga.¹

(7) Spectrographic analysis by M. Farnsworth and P. D. Ritchie.²

(8) Spectrographic analysis by M. Farnsworth and P. D. Ritchie.²

The densities were determined by weighing in air and in water at 20°. The chemical test carried out by Miss Dimbleby was a simple spot test in which, to a small area of the glass isolated by a ring of wax, a small drop of commercial strength hydrofluoric acid was applied and followed at once by a similar size of drop of potassium iodide solution. Immediate formation of yellow lead iodide took place on the surfaces of specimens (2) and (4) but none appeared on (1), (3), and (5). The amount of lead oxide in glasses (2) and (4) is not likely to exceed 2-4 per cent. because their densities are only 2.80 and 2.78 respectively. Alkali-lime-magnesia silica glasses normally have densities falling between 2.45 and 2.55. If the silica content falls below 60 per cent. and the cuprous oxide is upwards of 5 per cent., the density may reach or exceed 2.6 without any lead present. We also get some guide to the lead content of (2) and (4) from the results of density and spectrographic tests by Farnsworth and Ritchie cited in the table. Further, Emerson Reynolds found that one sample of sealing-wax red glass which had a density of 3.48 (the same as the lump referred to by Dr. Arkell) contained 43.3 per cent. silica, 32.8 per cent. lead oxide, and 9.8 per cent. cuprous oxide. The two glasses do not necessarily have the same composition because they have the same density, but the lead oxide contents are probably within 2-3 per cent. of one another.

The low density (2.32) of specimen (5) is in keeping with its weathered condition; for not only is it difficult to ensure that all air is extracted from the porous material but the product of weathering usually contains a substantially higher silica content than the original glass and the higher the silica the lower the density of a glass.

Three conclusions emerge from the above information:

- (1) My statement that sealing-wax red glasses were well-known in the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty is fully borne out.
- (2) The lump of sealing-wax red glass referred to by Dr. Arkell as probably coming from Memphis must contain a large percentage (probably at least 30 per cent.) of lead oxide and it is of interest to recall that glass of very similar type was found by Mallowan at Nimrud and assigned to the seventh to sixth century B.C.
- (3) The Tell el-'Amārna sealing-wax red glasses are of at least two types, one containing a small, but quite significant amount of lead, the other lead-free.




W. E. S. TURNER

'To await' in Middle Egyptian

IN reading once again the famous account of Tuthmosis III's battle of Megiddo I have come across what seems to me an obvious mistake in all the five translations which I have consulted. The king had emerged from the narrow pass regarded with such apprehension by his officers and his vanguard had spread out across the relatively broad valley. The officers then make an urgent request:

¹ *Z. angewandte Chem.* 38 (1925), 776-80 and 857-64.

² *Technical Studies* (U.S.A.) 6 (1938), 155-68.

 *Urk.* IV, 654, 17. This is usually rendered 'let our lord *guard* for us the rear of his army and his people', and similarly a few lines later (655, 7) when His Majesty fell in with their request and halted  'guarding the rear', &c. But surely what the officers think so necessary is not that the king should protect his rear-guard, but rather that his rear-guard should have time to come up and protect him. In other words we must substitute 'await' for 'guard' and 'awaiting' for 'guarding'. Now *Wb.* III, 419, 1 rightly quotes *Urk.* IV, 836, 1 for *s3t* (infinitive) in this sense: 'His Majesty commanded to prepare the stretching of the cord  awaiting the day of the New Moon'; and *Wb.* III, 419, 2-3 similarly and equally rightly interprets the common epithets *s3w iwt-f* and *s3w r iwt-f* along the same lines. To investigate the relationship of the *3ae inf.* verb *s3i* 'go slow' and then transitively 'await' to *s3w* (O. K. *s3i*, *s3w*) 'protect' would be too exacting a business to be undertaken by me at the present time, but I will merely mention that the abnormal imperative *s3w* (*Eg. Gramm.* § 338, 3) has occasionally aroused the doubt in my mind whether *s3w* 'protect' may not be a trilateral verb, cf. such verbs as *dmi* for the apparent semi-vowel at the end. In connexion with this problem, however, I note that Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* § 488, cc. translates what he transliterates as *jz3j(f)* in *Pyr.* 757a by the German 'erwartet'; in this he is undoubtedly right, but the *s3dm-f* form here is followed by the preposition *n*.

ALAN H. GARDINER

The 'Funerary Cones' of Ramesses III

IN the *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. III (1928-9), 70, pl. XL, the late H. R. Hall briefly describes 'the base of a funerary cone stamped with the names of King Rameses III'. He goes on to remark that this is the only cone with a royal name known. Similar examples, however, exist in other collections, the Royal Scottish Museum, for instance, having a specimen bearing the registration number 1948. 267; and N. de G. Davies in his *Corpus* has recorded several more, so Dr. Macadam informs me.

What Hall described as a mere 'base' is actually a complete object differing from the usual funerary cone in being truncated almost to a hemisphere, so that if it had ever been used as part of an architectural frieze, it must have been set into a shallow excavation in a solid mud-brick or stone lintel.

These cones have so much the appearance and texture of ancient terra-cotta, both on the surface and in cross-section, that no one has apparently regarded them as forgeries. Yet there are curious anomalies in the inscriptions which should have aroused doubts, and some of the signs are so malformed as to be almost travesties of the original glyphs.

The origin of these 'cones' appears to be given in a letter from Charles Edwin Wilbour¹ dated March 6, 1884, in which he says, 'I visited the woman Giudeeyeh,² who showed me the (modern) stamp from which she moulds and bakes the round brick stamps of Rameses III, that are always offered you in his temple at Medinet Haboo. She lives next north of Yussuf and I encouraged her industry; it saves monuments from destruction.'

Unfortunately, it has also led to the deception of Egyptologists as well as tourists though mercifully without any great diversion to the course of scholarship.

CYRIL ALDRED

¹ *Travels in Egypt, Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, ed. by J. Capart, 285.

² Also given as Gindeeyeh, *op. cit.* 354.

Year Twelve at El-'Amārna

IN the article on the end of the El-'Amārna period appearing among the foregoing pages of this issue, it will be seen that a good deal of my argument is dependent upon the acceptance of a long co-regency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten.¹ In my view, the cautious presentation of the case for such a co-regency by Fairman in *City of Akhenaten*, III, 152 ff. is very difficult to controvert. It may be convenient to mention here two further pieces of evidence. I believe that a careful analysis of the Ghurab papyri,² taking into consideration the significance of the different scribes, litigants, and witnesses, will reach the conclusion that all these documents are very near to each other in time, extending over a total of six years rather than the sixteen which would otherwise be the case. The various scribes appear to have used different but consistent systems of dating.³

Furthermore, the hieratic dockets on two of the El-'Amārna letters⁴ suggest very strongly from the context, that years 36 and 12 are near to each other (see above, p. 38, nn. 5, 7). The main purpose of this communication, however, is not to elaborate these particular arguments but to point out the full implications of a scene which appears in two tombs at El-'Amārna and which hitherto seems to have been dismissed without proper consideration.

In a large number of Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and in the tomb of Ḥaremḥab from Saḳḳārah, there appears a scene which in the writer's opinion has consistently been misinterpreted. In essentials the various representations show a king wearing an elaborate crown, usually the *atefu* (e.g. tombs nos. 75, 93, 100), but sometimes the *khepresh* (e.g. tombs nos. 40, 86, 226), holding sceptres and an *ankh*, and seated on a throne in a kiosk. Usually he is accompanied by his *ka* (e.g. tombs nos. 75, 100), but occasionally by the goddess Ma'et (e.g. tomb no. 93), or by his mother (tomb no. 226), or consort (Saḳḳārah tomb of Ḥaremḥab). He receives a high official, usually the tomb-owner, who with characteristic egotism shows himself as the sole protagonist in introducing tribute-bearers and legates from Asia and Kush, and rarely from Egypt itself (tomb no. 95). The owner, sometimes holding fan and crook-sceptre to mark his rank, frequently presents some elaborate gift to the king and may be himself rewarded. The inscriptions that accompany these scenes can be translated to the effect that the ruler appears as a king (*hr*) on the Great Throne in order to receive the gifts of every land and grant the ambassadors of such lands the breath of life. Scholars have regarded such scenes as showing the aftermath of some successful campaign and the version recorded in the tomb of Ḥuy (no. 40), for instance, is invariably cited as evidence that a campaign was fought in Asia under Tut'ankhamūn.⁵ Davies, however, has been aware of a slight flaw in this interpretation as on at least two occasions he draws attention to the anomaly of finding Egyptians among the subject races, and seeks to explain their presence not very convincingly by suggesting that they are rebels.⁶ To the writer, however, it is clear that such scenes have nothing to do with a parade of the spoils of war but represent a public ceremony, following closely on the coronation rites, in which the widespread sovereignty of the new ruler was recognized by his reception of gifts and homage from foreign nations as well as from representatives of his own people.

For our understanding of this ceremony the greatly damaged scene in tomb no. 226 is particularly relevant. Here Amenophis III wearing the *khepresh* is seated in a kiosk with Mutemwiya. This suggests that the function must date to his very first days as king since already by year 2, Tiy had become his consort and figures as such in ceremonial scenes like the *heb-sed* during the rest of the reign.

¹ *Contra*, for example, Helck, *Mitt. Inst. Orientforschung*, 2, 189-207.

² Gardiner, *ZAS* 43, 27-47.

³ See also Simpson, *JNES* 15, 214 ff.

⁴ Knudtzon, *Tafeln*, nos. 23, 27.

⁵ E.g. Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, § 1027; Faulkner, *JEA* 33, 34. Similar interpretations have been put upon comparable scenes in the Saḳḳārah tomb of Ḥaremḥab.

⁶ Davies, *T. of Ken-amūn*, 23; *T. of Menkheperasonb*, 4.

He receives from an official an extremely elaborate pectoral and other accoutrements which recall those 'jewels of the procession' created for Tut'ankamūn on a different occasion.¹ Whether all such *durbars* took place immediately on the accession of a king, or soon after, we are unable to state on the information at present available. Two² at least were postponed to the New Year which, although it has a traditional significance, was not the accession day of the kings in question.³ It seems to the writer, however, most likely that such functions must normally have been held immediately after the coronation rites which would be an intimate affair between the king and his god and one or two officiating priests, and as such suitable for representation only on a temple wall or in the form of a statue destined for temple precincts. At the public part of the ceremonies the new king in turn would install the viziers and other high officials, appointing 'his men' to the more important posts if he did not confirm the former incumbents in their offices on receiving their homage.⁴ Hence the importance of this scene in the *cursus vitae* which the court officials had represented on their tomb walls, and a rapid survey by the writer of published material has shown that some thirty examples can be traced, mostly fragmentary. Some of these scenes must also perhaps be regarded as symbolic rather than historic—polite fictions on the part of the owner who wished to show that his own induction into office was coeval with that of the king. In certain tombs (e.g. nos. 40, 55) the appointment to office is made the subject of a separate scene though closely related to the coronation-homage scene in position and iconography. The most interesting example of such a ceremony is the one recorded in the tomb of Ra'mose (no. 55) where Amenophis IV appears in a kiosk supported by the goddess Ma'tet but where despite the presence of admiring subject races there is no reception of foreign tribute, but another ceremony takes its place.⁵ The function is limited in fact to the installation of the vizier; we shall see the significance of this later. The Saḳḳārah tomb of Ḥaremḥab is too badly damaged to show whether he too would have received his appointment as the king's deputy at this time though we may suspect that this is the *raison d'être* for the scene where he presents the foreign ambassadors: at least his tomb is unique in giving us one Pharaoh's reply to the traditional message of loyalty from the Asiatic vassals begging 'the breath of life'.⁶ To sum up, if we wanted a contemporary description of such tribute scenes we could not do better than quote a recent translation by Gardiner: 'And (the god) caused (the king) to seat himself upon the throne . . . and the sunfolk, the patricians, the common people and all who are upon earth brought gifts of homage . . . and the princes of all foreign lands came (?) doing obeisance.'⁷

Now in all but two of the tombs at El-'Amārna and in the Theban tombs nos. 55 and 188, such 'coronation-tribute' scenes are notably absent, a lack which cannot be attributed to a proscription of this particular theme as a proper subject for illustration. The presumption is rather that such scenes were not represented because no coronation-tribute had then been received by Akhenaten. The presentation of gold collars and other insignia from the 'Window of Appearances' takes the place of the coronation scene in the iconography of the period, as in the tomb of Ra'mose at Thebes (no. 55) and persists thereafter into Ramesside times. Work on all these tombs at El-'Amārna appears to have been started and suspended before year 9. We must deduce therefore that coronation-tribute had not been received before that date. There are, however, two tombs, those of Ḥuya and Mery-rē

¹ Carter, *T. of Tut-ankh-amen*, III, 66 ff.

² Davies, *op. cit.* 3 (Tuthmosis III); *ibid.*, 22 (Amenophis II).

³ Gardiner, *JEA* 31, 26–27.

⁴ Cf. the address to the Court by the newly crowned Amenophis II, announcing the appointment of Ḳenamūn (Davies, *op. cit.* 18). Similar addresses and homilies on the appointment of viziers have been more intensively studied.

⁵ Davies, *T. of Ramose*, pls. 29–37. The investiture scene replaces the coronation-tribute scene, as at El-'Amārna.

⁶ Gardiner, *JEA* 39, 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 42, 9.

II at El-'Amārna which are more recent than all the others, being sited at the northernmost end of the necropolis in the direction to which the city spread as it grew. These tombs are dated by inscriptions to some time in or after year 12 and in them does appear the now essential scene of coronation-tribute.¹ The theme is treated slightly differently but its main lines are traditional, except for one feature to be remarked presently. The king appears with his consort under a baldachin and receives the high officers of state who introduce the ambassadors from Asia and Kush, together with their gifts. The lesser officials are in appropriate stations and the 'common people' stand in the side lines. The descriptive caption is couched in the usual phrases but it differs from other examples in giving the precise date of the event—year 12, month 2 of winter, day 8. It is difficult not to gain the impression that this tribute dated so precisely as the chief event of an *annus mirabilis* was offered to Akhenaten on his accession to sole rule.² That this is so is almost certainly proved by a unique feature of the El-'Amārna representation of the ceremony—the scenes of dancing, wrestling, and other public games. They remind one very forcibly of similar features in scenes of jubilee rites where they have a proper part to play in the general theme of joy and release from anxiety at the accession or rejuvenation of the monarch. Such scenes, for instance, were considered appropriate for the decoration of the almost contemporary tomb of Kheruef at Thebes.³ On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to see what these simple rural sports could have had to do with the mere presentation of tribute in a show of military might or political power.

The event, dated so precisely, obviously did not follow immediately on the death of Amenophis III, but probably on the anniversary of the accession of Akhenaten as co-regent. As Hayes has pointed out, a hieratic docket on one of the El-'Amārna tablets suggests that Akhenaten was residing in the Malkata palace a month earlier, probably in connexion with his father's burial in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes.⁴ This same letter shows from its contents that Akhenaten had been accepted abroad as the successor of Amenophis III for some months. Unless the ceremony of year 12 is to be regarded as the public celebration of the accession of Akhenaten as sole monarch it is not at all obvious what its significance is. Certainly Frankfort's suggestion⁵ that it was made on the advice of Queen Tiy to impress rebellious dominions is a mere flight of fancy based upon the slightest evidence, since no foreign ruler, if he ever came to hear of it, would thereby be deceived; and if it was to bolster flagging morale at home, the last place at which it needed to be held was El-'Amārna.

Lastly, it is perhaps worth while to cast a glance at the offices held by the two men in whose tombs at El-'Amārna the coronation-tribute scenes appear. Both Ḥuya and Mery-rē^c II held identical posts in the households of Queens Tiy and Nefertiti respectively; and the fact that they were not granted tombs in the necropolis until much later than was the case with the other officials suggests a sudden rise in their importance about year 12. Surely it is not too daring to ascribe this swift advancement to the death of the old king when Akhenaten would be obliged to accept responsibility for the maintenance of his father's harem as well as the dowager queen Tiy, duties that would have increased the authority of both the stewards Ḥuya and Mery-rē^c. Their tombs were probably started a little after year 12 since the event of that year appears on a wall by no means remote from the entrance. We are compelled therefore to see in the well-known lintel of the tomb of Ḥuya, in which an equipoise of households appears, a posthumous representation of Amenophis III.⁶ Otherwise it is almost certain that Egyptian ideas of symmetry, even in the El-'Amārna period, would have placed the two pairs of kings and consorts back to back in the middle of the lintel and confronted

¹ Davies, *Amarna*, II, 38; III, 14–15.

² Cf. the inventory of gifts sent to Akhenaten by Tushratta after the death of Amenophis III and the marriage of Tadukhipa to Akhenaten (Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, no. 25).

³ Fakhry, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 447–508.

⁴ Hayes, *JNES* 10, 180.

⁵ *City of Akhenaten*, III, 24.

⁶ Davies, *Amarna*, III, 18. My thesis modifies one of the arguments of Fairman, *op. cit.* 155 (e).

them with the figures of daughters and attendants. The fact that Amenophis III is shown alone, and is balanced by Tiy and Beketaten who both raise hands in gestures of adoration quite different from those employed by the royal family among themselves at El-'Amārna to express greeting or affection, suggests to the writer that Amenophis III was recently dead and deified, though he could not of course be represented as Osiris in the city of the Aten.

CYRIL ALDRED

The Discoverer of the Rosetta Stone

As scientific Egyptology begins with the brilliant decipherment of hieroglyphic writing by Champollion, and as the Rosetta Stone is the cardinal factor by which he was able to achieve his results, this famous slab of black granite is literally the foundation-stone of Egyptology. It has been stated in innumerable books on Egypt that the stone was found at Fort St. Julien near the town of Rosetta by an officer of Napoleon's army whose name, when it is mentioned at all, is variously spelt Boussard or Bouchard, but so far as I know, no particulars have ever been given as to his identity. As it is fitting that the name of the discoverer of so important a monument should be remembered with that of its interpreter, the following biographical note will serve to give some substance to the hitherto shadowy figure of this officer to whom, in a sense, Egyptology is indebted for its existence.

André Joseph Boussard was born at Bing, in Austrian Hainault, in 1758. He was a man of little education, but endowed with natural gifts and ability, and he enlisted in the French army as a young man. He proved to be a competent soldier and gained regular promotion, rising to the rank of Chef de Brigade, and in this capacity he served with Napoleon's army in Egypt. In August, 1799, while some additions were being made to the fortifications of St. Julien, he found the stone built into a wall which was being demolished. It does credit to Boussard's acumen that he at once perceived the unusual character of the inscriptions upon it, for it was a frequent occurrence to find fragments of ancient monuments built into more modern masonry and it might easily have passed unnoticed, had he not immediately reported the discovery to his superior officer, General Menou, by whose orders it was preserved and carried to Alexandria. On the 25 September, 1800, Boussard was promoted Général de Brigade, and in due course he returned with his regiment to France. He was popular with his brother-officers and his men, and at the end of the war, in 1814, he retired from the service, war-weary and in broken health, and betook himself to Bagnières for a cure. Here, after a few months, he died in 1815 at the age of 57 years.

WARREN R. DAWSON

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502. By WALTER C. TILL. *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 60. Band = V Reihe, Band 5. Berlin, 1955.

This is a long awaited work. It was in 1896 that the Berlin Museum acquired a Coptic Manuscript containing three new Gnostic texts. In 1907 Carl Schmidt showed that one of these was the source used by Irenaeus for his account of the Barbelioteae (*Adv. Haeres.* I, 29).¹ But it is only now that the three texts are published in full.

They are entitled (1) the Gospel according to Mary, (2) the Apocryphon of John, (3) the Sophia of Jesus Christ. Greek fragments of the Gospel and the Sophia exist in papyri of about the early third century and about A.D. 300 respectively. Irenaeus' use of the Apocryphon shows that the work existed before A.D. 180, certainly not in Coptic. For these and other reasons it is beyond question that the Coptic is a translation from the Greek.

It would be surprising if the original text did not suffer some corruption in the course of 200 years or more manuscript transmission and in the transference from one language to another. One of the volumes of the Gnostic library found at Nag' Hammādi in 1946 contains parallel texts for the Apocryphon and the Sophia. Till has been able to use this volume and quote its variant readings which are often helpful. For example, on p. 230 the Berlin text has εβολ ριτ̄ᾱ πιατμοϋ ηρωαε αρα απογωνη εβολ ηωορη ηρ̄ᾱ ᾱπ̄τιογ̄τε ρῑ ᾱπ̄τ̄ρο 'Durch diesen unsterblichen Menschen also (ἀρα) traten wir zuerst in Göttlichkeit und Herrschaft in Erscheinung'. Here αρα seems awkward and probably Eug. provides the key with its reading εβολ ριτοοϋ̄ ᾱπαθαπατος ασογωνη εβολ η̄σι ογοπομασια ηωορη γε . . . So, for αρα απογωνη εβολ read ᾱγ̄ρᾱν ογωνη εβολ 'a nomenclature came into being', or the like.

Till has not, however, been able to use two other Nag' Hammādi volumes which contain longer versions of the Apocryphon. These longer versions, it seems, differ very considerably from those now made available. So of course the final word about the Apocryphon, the most important of the three texts, cannot yet be said.

But within its limits the present work is admirably complete. The Coptic text of the Berlin manuscript is given on one side of the page and the German translation opposite. The translation of the difficult Coptic—and much of these texts would be difficult to understand in any language—is accurate and made as literal as possible. This will benefit students of Gnosticism who do not know Coptic. Under the Coptic text are textual notes for the Coptic student and under the Translation variant readings and explanations for the non-Coptic reader. The Introduction gives all necessary information and there are useful pages on the dialect of the manuscript. The Indices are commendably complete. Altogether the book is very well done and, also, I should add, agreeably printed. In its clarity and maturity of scholarship are happily wedded.

J. DRESCHER

Le Manuscrit magique copte No. 42573 du Musée Égyptien du Caire. By É. Chassinat. Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Bibliothèque d'Études coptes, t. IV. Le Caire, 1955.

The Coptic manuscript here edited is no longer in the Egyptian Museum. It is in the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo. It is a single, small sheet of paper, forming two pages, and it contains twenty-three short magical recipes. Most of these are clearly malevolent, a few erotic, and as for the rest where the intention is not clear, it is probably malevolent too. One feels that anything else would be quite uncharacteristic of the compiler.

Chassinat has edited this small text with a very ample commentary. The notes are painstaking, learned, and informative. If anything, he treats the text with too great respect. What seem obvious slips of the scribe's pen are perhaps given more serious consideration than they deserve. But this is a fault on the right side.

¹ C. Schmidt, *Irenäus und seine Quelle in Adv. Haer. I, 29. Philotesia.* Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag dargebracht. Berlin, 1907, S. 315-336.

The text presents many difficulties. This is not because of any illegibility. The writing is very clear on the whole and the recipes complete. But some words are difficult to identify. Others are common but used here with a special meaning not yet precisely understood. The scribe himself is erratic. Finally, we do not know enough about the magic practice itself. Probably the easiest way to a fuller understanding of this text will be by comparing these recipes with others of the same kind, ancient and modern. For example, magical practice in modern Morocco seems to offer close parallels.

Crum used this text for his *Dictionary* and there gave a useful lead in solving some of its difficulties. Chassinat has now carried the process much further. But, as he says, some obscurities remain. Indeed, this is one of the attractions of magical texts that their editors usually have to leave unsolved some problems on which the reader or reviewer can exercise his wits.

In the following notes I give first Chassinat's reading of the text and translation and then my own comments.

I

οὐσῶωνε ἐπεψῆμε θάπ πρᾶρ πῶνσε ψυαῖει ρι τερχῶρα τὰρς περρο ρι περ εστοι μῆε ἄπορρ.

'Quelqu'un qui est éloigné de sa ville. Prends le cou d'oiseaux de passage qui viennent de leur pays; frottes (-en) sa face, avec de l'huile aromatique, le 15^e (jour) de la lune.'

I prefer to read ρας, not ραρ, and, taking the recipe to be malevolent, would rather translate, 'To banish a man from his village. Take the droppings of migratory geese. Rub on his face. . . .' A recipe, unfortunately defective, in an unpublished Cairo magical text begins, οὐρῶωνε πῶρρη ρι π . . . and ends, μᾶρε πᾶρκαπ[ος] κααϋ πρ μᾶ πσοειλε ψα [ε]πρ. . . . 'To deprive a man of. . . . The decan will not let it (?) be a place of sojourn for ever. . . .' This seems to be the same sort of thing.

II

οὐκῶκ ἐπσοῆε θάπ περκοῦρρρ ρι σπκοῦ τὰρς περσῶμα ψαϋοῦῆαψ τηρϋ.

'Un lépreux. Prends du *skourkour* et du *senkou*; frottes (-en) son corps, il apparaîtra entièrement blanc'.

C. argues ingeniously that this recipe does not profess to cause leprosy but rather to cure it, to restore the skin to its original whiteness after the disfigurements of the disease. His chief arguments are that κῶκ ἐπσοῆε means tubercular leprosy, elephantiasis, which does not make the body white, and that the ingredients of the recipe appear to be innocuous. But κῶκ ἐπσοῆε seems to be used indifferently with σῶεε, σερτ for leprosy generally; and one cannot but remember the conventional Biblical simile for the leper—'white as snow' (cf. Nu. xii, 10; II Kg. v. 27). In Mor. 18, 87, we have the story of a sacrilegious soldier who spilled the wine of the sacred offering over himself with the result that μᾶ πῆα πτα ταπαρρη τὰροϋ ρῆε περσῶμα αϋσῶεε πῶε ποῦρρηον (*sic*) 'every part of his body that was touched by the wine-offering became leprous like snow.'

IV

ρῶμμε πῆα is 'everybody'. τεῶρσια is 'the sacrifice'.

VII

οὐκαρῶῆ ἐρρᾶι ποῦρρῶμμε θάπ πῶῆ πτεῦραπε μῆπ πκερμῆεσ ποῦρπᾶμ μῆπ παπικεκοῦρε ρι σποϋ μῆααεε παρε ποῦρπᾶμ σοϋ ρα ταπε ποῦαρρῶπ πψαλιϋ μῆοπ ψακπαϋ εῦεῖρηππ

'Un *karób* pour le mari d'une femme. Prends des cheveux (?) de sa tête, de la cendre d'*oumam*, des *apike-kooue* (?) et du sang de l'oreille droite d'un bœuf; verse-les sous la tête d'un *archonte* de *šaliu*. Certes, tu verras la tranquillité.'

καρῶϋ, 'silence', occurs elsewhere and is explained in Crum, *Dictionary*, 288b. πῶῆ is, as C. saw, a mistake for πῶ. The word for 'foot', probably πτεῦραπ, has fallen out between πκερμῆεσ and ποῦρπᾶμ. κεκοῦρε is possibly 'other' in the plural. ψαλιϋ is a well-known official title and is explained in Crum, op. cit., p. 561a.

This is probably the common type of magic by which a wife seeks to dominate her husband or make him complaisant. Perhaps she is to take some of his hair and the dust of his right foot as well as other (κεκοῦρε??) things of his, and place them under the head of an official—under his pillow, if alive, in his grave, if dead. Thus her husband becomes subject to authority.

VIII

οὔραπ ερωμε ρι περρωῆ σαπ τμν ποτςριμε μπ οὔμοου παρειπ πσιουρη περιμε ρι αλκαρακν παρτοῦ επρο ερτεκμν σα παροῦ μμοου ησοηπ̄ε μ(.

'Pour la miction de l'homme et ce qui la concerne. Prends l'urine d'une femme, de l'eau du caniveau du bain des femmes et de l'*alkarake*; verse-les à la porte de ta latrine après le vingt-cinquième jour de la lune.'

οὔραπε here is surely the same as οὔραπ̄ε of XVI. Its precise meaning in magical texts is not yet clear but it means a change or turn of some kind for the worse. Here it might mean 'to turn a man from his business' or 'to make a man's business go awry'. ρωῆ may have some special sense. For αλκαρακν, clearly an Arabic form, I can only suggest الكري (*κυριακή*), 'Sunday'. ερτεκμν . . . means, 'Make water behind them. On the 25th day of the moon.'

X

μολλες is 'mule' in BMis 260, 269, 270¹ and that may be the meaning here. Mules naturally play their part in magic designed to cause sterility. With εκπαναῦ εὔνοσ πυπηρε may be compared *καὶ δψει πράγμα θυμαστόν* (PGM II, 20, ll. 439, 440).

XI

οὔρωμε εταῦ επμοῦ εῖ μμννε απτεπαχαρ ρι αμοουμμε ἕωτε ππω καμ ταῖτε τεγαπε

'Un homme, pour qu'il fasse le mort trois (fois?) chaque jour. Borax et momie, sueur d'âne noir; frottes(-en) sa tête.'

The difficulty here is εῖ μμννε 'three times a day', which can hardly go with 'To cause a man's death' (οὔρωμε εταῦ επμοῦ) or with 'Rub his head'. The best I can suggest is that μννε is for μνε and that the meaning is 'three kinds of borax' but this does not explain the ε before π̄.

XII

πποσ [μ]μςτ̄α should be πποσ ππςτ̄α, 'the Great Fast (*νηστεία*)', i.e. 'Friday'.

XIII

οὔωω σαπ πσιμε μπσαρσωω μπ τῆωτε πτεκμςτηρητ μπ πεσποῦ επεκποσ πτηνῆε μπ πτῆῆσοῦ ρῖ εῖω πατακτοπ πσοῦτ̄α μποορ σπρματαῦ πας πεςτ̄κοσ

'Pour un ḥ. Prends du fiel de lièvre, de la sueur de ta poitrine, du sang de ton doigt médium et de ton *tebbouu*, ainsi que du miel non liquéfié. (Faire) le quatrième jour de la lune. . . .'

The scribe misplaced words here. We should rather read, οὔωω . . . μπ πεσποῦ μπεκποσ πτηνῆε μπ π̄κσπρμα τῆῆσοῦ ρῖ εῖω πατακτοπ ταῦ πας πεςτ̄κοσ πσοῦτ̄α μποορ and translate 'Aphrodisiac. . . and the blood of your large finger and your *semen*. Purify them with . . . honey. Give it to her. . . The 14th day of the moon'. C. has a note on πεςτ̄κοσ in P. Méd. 120. With the recipe generally we may compare a love potion in the Demotic Magical Papyrus of Leyden and London where the ingredients include 'un peu de sang du deuxième doigt de ta main gauche et ta semence' (F. LEXA, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique*, II, 139).

XIV

εωωπε τεκοῦωω εμμε αηροτορωῆ εςριμε σατ πμοου ηρατ μπ πμοου ηποῦῆ μπ πμοου π̄τακτι ρι εροσ π̄σε σαπ περμμοῦ ρελρωλε επεσο ηθα ροῦρε μποῦωω εππασχαμμοπ ωαςχω ηρωῆ πμ ητααῦχιπ πτεςμπτροοῦη

'Si tu désires exercer un pouvoir magique sur une femme, cuis de l'eau d'argent, de l'eau d'or, de l'eau de myrrhe avec des graines de poireau; prends leur eau, asperges-en son visage au soir du désir honteux jusqu'à ce qu'elle dise toutes les choses qui concernent sa virginité.'

Again the text is corrupt. The scribe should have written εωωπε τεκοῦωω εεμμε κε αηερ οὔρωῆ εςριμε σαπ (?) πμοου ηρατ . . . ρελρωλε επεσο ηθαροῦρε μποῦωω εππασχα μμοπ ωαςχω ηρωῆ πμ ητασαῦ (οῦ ηταγαῦ) χιπ πτεςμπτροοῦη meaning 'If you wish to know whether a woman has had affairs, take (?) mercury. . . sprinkle it on her face on the evening of the Thursday of Easter. She will not fail to tell everything she has done (*al.* all her affairs) since her virginity.'

¹ This and the following abbreviations are those used in Crum's *Dictionary*.

XVI

ογρωπε χι πακ πογκερμεεσ περηβι προλληπ . μη κεμεεσ (*sic*) πταυπατ πογπαμ μη ζ̄ κικ̄ς ρη ογορζαρ καμμε μη ζ̄ ρη ορζτο κεμμε πτααυ ερραι ρη ρεπχβ̄ε̄ς πψε πτωρε ερε προσνιψ̄ εταμμε πππε . πορτ μηκερμεεσ επρω μηπεφνι αψχοκ

'Un *ρόνε*. Prends de la cendre d'un lièvre grec; de la cendre de sa patte droite; sept os d'un chien noir et sept d'un cheval noir; mets-les dans du charbon de bois de saule rougi (?) au milieu de la partie supérieure; répands la cendre à la porte de sa maison. C'est fini.'

I prefer to translate, '. . . Take earth of the grave of a pagan and dust of his (i.e. the intended victim's) right foot and 7 bones from a black dog and 7 from a black horse and put them on coals of willow wood when the sun is full (? ψηψ̄) in the middle of the sky. Pour the ashes at the door of his house. Complete.'

The photograph (pl. III) shows that the ερ or περ of περηβι is smudged out and this is the scribe's untidy way of erasing. This leaves πηβι or πβι. βι seems to be found for βη, 'grave', in Ryl 61, ψαλλει εκω τβι. Otherwise, βι may be an error for ιβ (nail) or βω (hair). Then the first κερμεεσ would be otiose and we should translate '. . . Take the hair (?) of a pagan and the dust of his right foot . . .

XVII

ογθλο εβαλ χι πακ πογρακελ̄ε̄ ετοογ σομπ πεπρωρη ερητη μη παρητη πογσπσελω θασογ ρι περ εσιμ . τω[ε̄] μηπερω.

'Un *thlo*. Prends un stellion de montagne; retire ce qui est à l'intérieur de son corps et du corps d'une chauve-souris; cuis-les avec de l'huile de raifort; enduis[-en] sa face.'

ογθλο εβαλ is a regular aim of black magic but its precise meaning is not known. θλο is the Causative of ρωλ, 'fly'. The Qualitative of ρωλ is used meaning 'distracted'. Therefore θλο εβαλ perhaps means 'to drive to distraction', 'to drive out of one's wits'. σομπ is surely the scribe's error for σοπ 'take'.

XX

ογωψ παμμογθαρραπ χι πακ' ππιβ̄ ππεφσιχ μη παπεφογερете ρακρογ μηπσωε ριτογ εψωμμε (?) τααυ ερεπ̄ κα πογκοτρκογρ κα πογσπογωμ τααυ μηπετεκογασψ αψχοκ

'Aphrodisiaque éprouvé. Prends les ongles de ses mains et ceux de ses pieds; brûle-les; ensuite, triture-les dans du *shóme* (?); mets-les dans du vin, ou du *skourkour*, ou de la nourriture; mets-les dans ce qu'il voudra. C'est fini.'

ψωμμε is the Qualitative of ψμα and ριτογ εψωμμε means, 'grind them fine'. τααυ μηπετεκογασψ means 'give them to your beloved'. 'The nails of his hands and feet' are those of the lover. E. Doutté gives a somewhat similar recipe in *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger, 1908, 255. [Pour inspirer de l'amour à une femme]. — Prenez des ongles de huppe et de vos propres ongles et faites-les boire à la femme dont vous voulez être aimé. Elle ne pourra se retenir de vous aimer sur l'heure.'

XXI

ογμαστε εκααυ ρη τιμμε πογρωμμε μη ογερμμε χι πακ μηπεφο πταπε . πετσεριμμε μη πκαρ πτεςπατ πογπαμ ρακροσ̄ ρη ογκορ (*sic*) τααυ επεσετ ετρωμμε ετερε πρωμμε σω ριος αγω τωρς ογκογι εμπτγ εθωμμε ψαρε προογτ μεστε τεσεριμμε αψχοκ.

'Pour jeter la haine entre un homme et une femme. Prends des cheveux de la tête de la femme et de la terre de la plante de son pied droit; fais-les brûler dans un feu (?). Mets ensuite dans la coupe avec laquelle l'homme boit; enduis-en un peu la coupe; le mâle haïra la femme. C'est fini.'

πτεςπατ should, of course, be πτεςπατ. εμπτγ? The second letter is ω, not α, but εωπτγ likewise gives no meaning. Perhaps we should read εμπτγ from ψα, 'nose', with the meaning 'nozzle', 'spout', 'lip' which the Greek *μυκτήρ* and Latin *nasus* regularly have. Then the meaning would be '. . . Put it in the cup from which the man drinks and smear a little on the lip of the cup . . .'. With the recipe generally we may compare (i) A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, t. II, 102: 'Pour qu'une personne perde confiance en une autre, on fait boire à la première du sable grillé recueilli dans la trace de la seconde.' (ii) É. Mauchamp, *La Sorcellerie au Maroc*, 280; 'Pour séparer deux époux ou deux amants. — On se procure des cheveux et des selles de la femme, on les grille sur un ustensile noir . . . jusqu'à ce que le tout soit brûlé, on fait avaler cette cendre à l'homme. . . .'

J. DRESCHER

Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951-1956. The Brooklyn Museum, 1956. Pp. v+63, pls. 96.

This excellently prepared book represents an exhibition of objects acquired during the years 1951-6 by the Brooklyn Museum. As the Director, Mr. E. C. Schenk, points out in his short preface, really choice objects of Egyptian art are becoming even harder to find, and the authorities of the Museum are certainly to be congratulated on the success which has crowned their efforts. The plates are preceded by over sixty pages of descriptive text in which the objects illustrated are described, with bibliographies where available, so that the student can readily consult the relevant literature. The item which appealed most to the reviewer was the seated statue of Sesostris III (pls. 11, 12), followed closely by the painted wooden statue of Methethy, of late Fifth Dynasty, and the late Eighteenth Dynasty wooden figure of the lady Tuty; there are also some fine examples of statuary and relief sculpture from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and later, while the striking 'griffin of Nemesis' on pl. 67 should not be overlooked. In somewhat lighter vein, though the humour may often be unintentional, the animal figures on pls. 84 ff. are worth viewing, notably the smug self-satisfied jasper ape on pl. 85. A few of the photographs have appeared already in the booklet on Egyptian art published by the Brooklyn Museum in 1952 and reviewed in Vol. 39 of this *Journal*, but the very great majority of the objects shown are published here for the first time.

R. O. FAULKNER

Littérature et Politique dans l'Égypte de la XIII^e Dynastie. By G. POSENER. Paris, Honoré Champion, 1956. Pp. 170.

It has long been understood among Egyptologists that certain literary works describe the chaos and misery which followed the collapse of the royal authority at the end of the Old Kingdom, and that some of them appear to have been written with an eye to the political conditions prevailing under the early kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. In the present volume Professor Posener has made a special study of the political aspects of M.K. literature, and has succeeded both in clarifying our understanding of the texts in question and in demonstrating the growth of dynastic loyalty among the literate classes.

In the introduction Posener reviews the circumstances in which Ammenemes I gained the throne and the chaotic conditions with which the new ruler has to contend, as a result not only of the anarchy which followed the collapse of the Old Kingdom, but also of the civil wars with which the Eleventh Dynasty began and ended. Since the new king's advent to the throne was a usurpation, he adopted the novel idea of written propaganda to strengthen his position, the fruits of which are to be seen in the work known as *The Prophecy of Neferti*, to which we refer again below, and which proves to be but one of several works of political interest.

The first politico-literary work which can be dated with any degree of precision, namely the *Teaching* addressed by a Heracleopolitan king of the Tenth Dynasty to his son Merikarē, was written apparently during a lull in the long drawn out struggle with the Theban state of the Inyōtefs, and is not propagandist in aim, but appears to be a genuine treatise on kingship composed by a ruler for the guidance of his son. Posener points out that one of the principles enjoined was the desirability of the use of words rather than weapons to gain the royal ends, and the early kings of the Twelfth Dynasty seem to have taken this new idea to heart.

The most openly propagandist of all the texts under consideration is *The Prophecy of Neferti*,¹ to which Posener devotes his first chapter. The sage, summoned before King Snofru to discourse to him, asks whether he shall speak of the past or the future. The latter topic having been chosen, Neferti goes on to foretell the misery that is going to overtake the land. The sun will be dimmed, the river will dry up, anarchy will pervade the land, and Beduin will raid it. But when things are at their worst a king named Ameny will arise as the saviour of the land and will set all in order again. The name Ameny of the saviour-king is but a very thin disguise for Ammenemes, and Posener argues effectively against the contention that it is Ammenemes II and not Ammenemes I who is meant. He also makes the point that Neferti is said to have been a native of the Heliopolitan nome and that his prophecies of evil concern the Eastern Delta alone, but even if we can regard the author of this work as having adopted so parochial an outlook, there is no reason to suppose that the miseries to which he refers, apart from Beduin raiding, were not in fact spread throughout the land in greater or less degree. However this may be, it is clear, as Posener points out, that this work was

¹ Formerly read as Neferroḥu.

written with the specific intention of supporting Ammenemes I in his seizure of the throne, and it may well have been commissioned by him.

A work probably not propaganda on behalf of the new king but of somewhat similar content to the above is referred to by Posener a number of times but is not discussed in detail. This is *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, in which one Ipuwēr addresses a peccant king whose inertia has allowed the whole land to fall into decay and anarchy, and his description, though much longer and more detailed, is of like tenor to *Neferti*. Here, however, the speaker is not prophesying but declaring what is happening under his very eyes, and his remedy is not the advent of a saviour to come but an exhortation to the king he is addressing to mend his ways, with injunctions as to the course he should follow. In this latter aspect the work becomes in a sense another treatise on kingship, but in its vivid description of the prevailing turmoil it seems to refer to the anarchy prevailing before the rise of the Heracleopolitan kingdom, when the royal authority was virtually *nil*. Posener, I think rightly, takes the view that this work is in origin contemporary with the events it describes, and is not a *post eventum* production of the Twelfth Dynasty, though our sole source for the text is a papyrus of Ramesside date.

The second chapter of this book is devoted to *The Teaching of Ammenemes I*, written by one Akhtoi (Khéty)¹ who is probably identical with the author of *The Satire on the Trades*. Posener accepts the current view that the attack on Ammenemes described in the book was the cause of his death, and he considers that this work was commissioned by Sesostri I after his father's assassination to proclaim the latter's success as king, Sesostri's own right to the throne and his policy as a ruler, namely to trust no-one, so that from one point of view it becomes yet another guide to kingship. But the bitterness inspired by ingratitude and treachery so strongly expressed in the *Teaching*, which no doubt led to the condign punishment of the murderers of the old king, must have been dissipated in the course of time, for in his third chapter, devoted to *The Story of Sinūhe*, Posener shows that towards the end of the reign, when Sinūhe is supposed to have been received again into Court circles, the atmosphere prevailing in the Palace is depicted as being one of peaceful good-nature, not to say *bonhomie*, though without derogation of the royal dignity. The same famous tale is made to show the close diplomatic contact maintained between the Pharaoh and the Asiatic kinglets, with a constant coming and going of envoys, and Posener suggests that Sinūhe's hearty welcome back to Court was in no small part due to his having, during his exile, made himself an efficient, even if unofficial, agent on behalf of the Egyptian king.

While the long encomium of Sesostri I put into Sinūhe's mouth may well have been but the author's conventional tribute to the reigning king, and while the Kahun hymn to Sesostri III may have been, as Posener suggests, but a loyal address to a visiting monarch, yet works were written with the deliberate intent of inculcating loyalty to the Crown. An excerpt from one such work appears on the Abydos stela of Sehetepibrē (CCG 20538), and Posener points out that manuscripts of portions of the same work occur in twenty-three further instances. A somewhat similar text, *The Teaching of a Man to his Son*, as yet unpublished, is said to exist in at least six manuscripts. Even if these works were not directly commissioned by the Crown—and there is no positive evidence that they were—their widespread dissemination was doubtless heartily encouraged, which may in some measure account for the great popularity even in Ramesside times of these political or semi-political literary productions of the Twelfth Dynasty.

As further evidence of loyalty to the reigning king, Posener quotes encomiums from stelae in Sinai and elsewhere, but though this adulation was undoubtedly a further development of the process we have been watching, to my ears it has an impersonal ring, leaving the impression of a necessary conventional tribute rather than an expression of personal loyalty. But this is but my own view; other students may think differently.

In a useful Appendix certain difficult passages of *Neferti* are discussed; with most of the conclusions reached I am in entire agreement, and the few points on which I differ from the author cannot be discussed here. There is also a good Index. I conclude by saying that this seems to me to be an excellent book which no student of Egyptian literature can afford to neglect.

R. O. FAULKNER

¹ P.Ch. Beatty IV, *vs.* 6, 12-14.

A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden. By ADOLF KLASSENS. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1952. Pp. xiii+112, pls. 6.

The Socle Béhague is the base of a standing *statue guérisseuse*, of which all above the feet has been lost. It is almost entirely covered by the text of eleven spells against snakes, scorpions and their poison; of these spells two (nos. IV and VIII) were first published by Drioton in *Rev. Égypte anc.* 2, 172–99, and in *ibid.* 1, 133–7 respectively.

In a brief introduction Dr. Klasens describes the base, comments on peculiarities of the texts, and gives a bibliography on magical texts additional to that published in 1940–4 by De Buck, Stricker, and Van Wijngaarden. The autographed texts, translations, and commentary follow successively. Fortunately, Klasens has not only given the Béhague text but has added the main parallel texts; some of the latter, e.g. Papyrus Hay 9961 of the British Museum, have not previously been fully published. On the autographed pages the care taken to retain the direction and orientation of the originals means that in the page-columns the hieroglyphs sometimes lie in three different ways side by side (cf. pp. 14, 38, 39), but this is far outweighed by the convenience of having the characters in their original grouping and in close parallel. The translations are fluent and reliable; the commentary makes ample reference to parallel material and covers at least the main philological points. The plates are very clear and legible despite the indifferent cutting of some of the signs on the original.

Thanks to earlier publications of parallel texts and to Drioton's articles, the content of most of the spells has been available for some time in scattered form. Of the eleven spells published in this volume only no. III is completely unknown, and VIII is only known from Drioton's earlier edition.

Spells II, III, VII and XI are very brief. Spell VI is directed against Apopis, and V, VIII, IX and X are for the exorcism of poison: in V Isis declares her power and orders the poison to leave the patient; in VIII the patient is identified with Horus and his members with various deities—should the poison remain, temple services are threatened with cessation, should it depart the temples will be blessed; in IX the poison is to be quenched by the cool water of Nun; and in X Thoth claims to avert poison from Horus or the patient alike, attributing to Horus the various parts of his body plus sundry appropriate epithets. The other two spells, nos. I and IV, introduce incidents from the Osiris–Isis–Horus mythology. In I Isis, travelling toward Khemmis with seven scorpions, halts at a settlement; a humble fisher-girl gives her hospitality, and a noblewoman, who shut her door at the approach of Isis, suffers disaster—a scorpion stings her son, her house catches fire, and a storm breaks out. Isis cures the child, who is regarded as a manifestation of Horus, with a spell which will be effectual for other patients also. Spell IV is by far the longest and describes how Isis finds Horus poisoned, laments over him and, on the advice of Selkis, calls to the solar barque for aid. The barque stops, thus upsetting the course of Nature, and Thoth comes to cure Horus with a lengthy incantation, duly recorded for the benefit of other sufferers. He then returns to the barque so that it may proceed. These two spells in particular offer points of interest; e.g. the quoting of the inevitable proverb and a moralizing tendency in I, or the medical trend in the examination of her poisoned son by Isis, and the lively description of her 'jumping about with him like fishes put on a coal fire' in IV. Klasens disagrees with Drioton's 'dramatic' interpretation of Spells I and IV.

Occasional misprints and minor blemishes occur: e.g. on p. 4, bottom, a hieroglyph is lost; p. 59 under *g* 10 (T. 1) read 'I give life' (not 'air'); on p. 79, line 12 'ibid. III, 59a' should read '. . . 59 d-e'.

Dr. Klasens's careful study provides a handy tool for the study of these magical texts which so clearly illustrate certain characteristic aspects of the mentality of the Ancient Egyptians.

K. A. KITCHEN

Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der deutschen Museen und Sammlungen. By EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1956. 4to. Pp. xi+146, pls. 48+frontispiece, figs. in text 40. DM36.

Pictorial ostraca are drawings, some in black, others in colour, executed for the most part on pieces of white limestone. They are among the most charming and interesting of the things that have survived from Ancient Egypt. The subject of the present book is the 177 examples of this class of antiquity that exist, or existed, in various collections in Germany.

Numbers of individual pictorial ostraca have been published here and there, but it was not until Mme Vandier d'Abbadie's *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Médīneh* (1937-46) that any representative collection of these objects was available in print. Now we are presented with a most welcome addition to our resources which contains many interesting and some very beautiful examples. They are reproduced on 49 plates, 5 of which are in colour. The black and white plates are excellent, but the coloured ones strike me as being a little crude.

The majority of these ostraca come from Dēir el-Medīnah where the artisans lived who worked on the royal tombs. Consequently they provide us, as it were, with the very sketch-books used by these men. Not until the Renaissance, over 2,500 years later, do we again possess the spontaneous private drawings of artists and their pupils.

A superb example is the naked woman bent double blowing up the fire in her oven (no. 62), while another natural scene is that of a man and a boy polishing a large pot (no. 51). There is a spirited drawing of a lute-girl (no. 59), and a calm picture of a long-haired, bearded scribe of an almost Chinese quality (no. 41). Truly majestic is the portrait of a seated king depicted with a clean clarity (no. 28), while the divinity of Ḥathōr looks out from a firmly executed full-faced drawing (no. 14). I have mentioned just a few outstanding pieces, but there are many others.

Mme Brunner-Traut has greatly added to the value of her book by the extensive commentary which she has provided in addition to the usual technical details concerning size, material, date, literature, parallel examples, &c. This commentary starts with an introduction in which the general questions of materials, techniques, themes, purpose, style, and date are discussed. Then the ostraca are taken by groups arranged according to theme and each individual example is the subject of a detailed description and explanation. Among the points that emerge are the idea that many ostraca are trial-pieces for murals in private houses, and that others are votive offerings. The ostraca depicting animals playing the part of human beings (e.g. a noble mouse at her toilet attended by cats (no. 95)) are considered not to be satirical but to depict scenes from animal folk-tales or even events concerning the gods in their animal-forms. A series of pictures (nos. 67-71) in which women, female servants, and babies are shown, are held by Mme Brunner-Traut to show scenes from the lodge in which she suggests the newly delivered mother lived for a time with her child.

To its more general excellent qualities this book adds the virtue of the most detailed list and indexes that could be desired, including even a separate index of the ostraca quoted in the commentaries from other publications.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Five Ramesseum Papyri. Edited by JOHN W. B. BARNES, Oxford, printed for the Griffith Institute at the University Press, 1956. 4to. Pp. xv+44, pls. 25. Price 30s.

In his recent book *The Ramesseum Papyri* Sir Alan Gardiner gave the information that Dr. Barnes was about to publish the results of his study of the first five of these papyri. This is the book that is now to hand. It is indispensable to all owners of *The Ramesseum Papyri*, if only because it contains complete transcriptions of the papyri studied, whereas the facsimiles, in some cases, only presented parts. In addition each papyrus is furnished with a description and a brief commentary.

Dr. Barnes has written an introduction in which he describes how, in assembling the many fragments into which these papyri were broken, he used not only the ordinary methods but also a comparison of fibre patterns. As he himself says, the fibre pattern of any one sheet of papyrus is as distinctive as a thumb-print. The success and skill with which Dr. Barnes has used this tool is shown by the large areas of papyrus that he has built up; so that a series of restored documents is presented which, if still incomplete, is nevertheless more complete than could originally have been hoped. The author is to be complimented not only on account of the results but also on account of the painstaking labour that he has devoted to his task.

The first two of these papyri are wisdom texts. No. 1 contains the Discourses of Sisobk in which the wise discourses are embedded in narrative after the manner of the Story of the Eloquent Peasant which the text resembles in form and vocabulary. This papyrus is unfortunately very badly damaged, having lost the lower part of nearly every column, so that it is very difficult to make much of it. No. 2 seems to contain on both the recto and the verso a series of disconnected maxims. Incidentally it has the distinction of being the earliest-









known papyrus to have red punctuation dots. The main interest of both these papyri lies more in the realms of lexicography and syntax than in content.

The three following papyri are all medical or magico-medical and are of great interest. No. 3 deals with various conditions among which are difficulties in making water, thirst in a child, a blow in the eye, travel weariness, weaning a child, and the cure of a mysterious ailment of mother's milk called *bcc*. The verso contains an agricultural account with dates in the year six of an unknown king. No. 4 deals with various troubles connected with women and babies. No. 5 contains a series of prescriptions relating to stiffness and cramp in the muscles and limbs. It is written and set out in a rather primitive manner, somewhat similar to the Kahun Veterinary Papyrus, but is more archaic. It seems to me that it is from a very ancient archetype. This is the more interesting in that it presents numbers of close parallels to prescriptions found in the Ebers Papyrus and is therefore a witness to the antiquity of the ultimate sources of that document. This papyrus contains the only known instance of the lizard used in the writing not of the familiar *cš'* 'many' but of its own like sounding name.

The commentaries are brief and Dr. Barns himself apologizes for them. They are a mine of information and display the wide research that has been devoted to the papyri by the editor. Buried in the commentaries are fragments of translation, but there is no continuous translation of all that can be translated. This is very unfortunate, especially in the case of the medical papyri (nos. 3, 4, 5) in which students of other branches of knowledge are bound to be interested. As it is no one but an Egyptologist can either follow the translations that are presented or make very much use of the commentaries.

The book contains an index of words discussed from the literary and medical texts, another of those from the verso document, and a list of books and periodicals quoted in an abbreviated form in the commentaries. There is also an initial list of contents.

I have compared the plates of transcription with the facsimiles, so far as these exist, and have noted the following minor errors:

1. Pl. 18, P.Ram. IV, C 24. This should read  not  (see Gardiner, *Ram. Pap.* pl. 14).
2. Pl. 21, P.Ram. v, 15 (upper). This should read  not  (see op. cit., pl. 15).
3. Pl. 21, P. Ram. v, 24 (upper). This should read  not  (see loc. cit.).
4. Pl. 22, P.Ram. v, 46 (upper). This should read  not  (see op. cit., pl. 16).

C. H. S. SPAULL

The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs. By H. A. MUSURILLO, S.J. Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii+299. Price 35s.

In this scholarly volume Father Musurillo has assembled all the fragments which he considers capable of being interpreted as belonging to the corpus of *Acta Alexandrinorum*. He has revised, translated, and re-edited the texts, and added appendixes on subjects bearing on their interpretation, examining and criticizing the various theories which have been advanced as to their true nature and purpose, and finally stating his own conclusions on this most controversial of topics. In view of the devoted thoroughness with which he has fulfilled his task, those additions which he has been able to make to our knowledge of the *Acta* and their background deserve the most careful attention, and no serious student of the history of Egypt in the early Roman Empire can fail to profit from his investigations. In the end he finds himself accepting, with qualifications and additions, the substance of Wilcken's interpretation of the *Acta*: they are not parts of a single literary whole but separate pieces which evolved from primitive copies; composed and adapted, often from official protocols, at various dates in the second and third centuries, they circulated amongst a definite group or groups of interested persons first in Alexandria and then in the *χώρα*, and, quite possibly, in some cases at least, were recopied some time in the early part of the third century. The individual pieces were subjected to influences so varied that it is impossible, even if it were desirable, to assign any single specific purpose to them all, but it is certain that they were propagandist in aim with a motif strongly, though not exclusively, anti-Roman. M. sees their probable origin in a circle at Alexandria closely associated with the

Hellenic clubs and the *gerousia*, and suspects that the chief political grievance underlying their propagation was 'Rome's persistent refusal to grant a *Boule* to Alexandria'.

Five fragments in this collection have not previously been identified as belonging to the *Acta*. Two of them (XVII and XIX) have already been published as P.Oslo 170 and P.Ryl. 437 respectively; their remains are too meagre to justify certain identification. The other three are edited here for the first time. V (A) is from the Oxyrhynchus collection and appears to be 'a fragment of a speech of prosecution against a person (or persons) accused of criticising and spreading falsehood about the Emperors'. The identification of this most difficult and enigmatical text with the *Acta* is only just possible, and M.'s presentation of it is perhaps the least convincing feature of the whole volume. For example, the title which he suggests for it *faute de mieux—Acta Diogenis*—hardly seems justified by the single appearance of the name Diogenes in line 15 and may even be misleading. Similarly, it is true that a reference to Vespasian may be seen in lines 48–49; but if so, it is difficult to see one in lines 21 ff. also, where the *δικαστής* must surely be the emperor of twelve years before, Nero. The verb *ἐκδικέω* in lines 17 and 33 is better taken as = 'avenge'; M. prefers 'punish' in view of his interpretation of lines 35 ff., but the translation he offers of these lines is highly unsatisfactory in any case—particularly is this true of lines 38–39, where it might help if we were to read *καὶ τὸ[δ]ε* or even *καὶ τὸ[ὑτ]ο* and start a fresh sentence with *ἐκεῖνος*. Again, the transposition suggested in lines 21–22 is a desperate measure; if *ὀργιζόμενον ἡδέως* are to be taken together, they might well mean rather 'prone to anger', an attempt to render the Latin *facile iratum*. In fact, if this fragment, written as it is in scarcely coherent Greek, is to be connected at all with the *Acta*, the most fruitful approach might be to regard it as a translation from Latin of a speech, or speeches, recorded in an official document, along the lines so successfully followed by Turner in dealing with PSI 1160 (I in this collection) (see *JRS* 45 (1955), 119 f.). XX and XXI are both *inedita* from the Rendel Harris collection; their connexion with the *Acta*-literature is a testimony to M.'s ingenuity and acuteness of perception but is hardly likely to convince an unprejudiced reader. But M. was undoubtedly right to include them, as well as other dubious fragments, thus making them accessible to the future investigator. This is a case where the inclusion of something which may possibly turn out to be irrelevant is fully justified, because it may lead to a new advance in our knowledge. Anyone who hopes to plough a new furrow in the well-worked field of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* must make M.'s book the inevitable starting-point for his venture.

B. R. REES

Prosopographia Ptolemaica, Vol. III. Le Clerge', le notariat, les tribunaux; Nos. 4984–8040. By W. PEREMANS, E. VAN'T DACK, H. DE MEULENAERE, and J. I. IJSEWIJN. Pp. xxxii+312. E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1956.

The *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* undertaking of Peremans and his collaborators in Louvain proceeds with gathering momentum. Part I appeared in 1950 and was welcomed in this *Journal* by Sir Idris Bell, Part II in 1952; the third part, with 4,057 entries, is the largest to date. Following the general plan of the work it is restricted to a section of Ptolemaic society—to religious administration (inside Egypt only) and to notaries and members of law courts. As the work progresses the disadvantages of this plan become ever clearer. The treatment of society in isolated sections not only makes it difficult to identify any given person; it handicaps even the study of institutions such as the priesthoods, since connexions are cut between them and the armed forces, the king, and the court, social levels and ethnic features are obscured, while the uniqueness of certain phenomena is concealed.

The reviewer does not wish to expand this comment for he is not content merely to carp. The work that has gone into these three volumes is impressive regarded both in its bulk and complexity. A number of samples taken in the most recent volume has not revealed any inaccuracies of statement. The undertaking will be converted from a prolegomena into a full prosopography according to the way the alphabetic index promised for Vol. V is handled. The reviewer would plead with the editors in preparing it to drop their present 'exclusive' attitude to their material. They write 'nous nous contentons de citer pour une même personne les références qui indiquent avec clarté une fonction. . . Toutes les autres références moins claires, bien que se rapportant au même personnage, sont passées sous silence et ne seront reprises que plus tard.' No doubt this is why under no. 7324, *Ἀπολλώνιος Μακεδών*, they give no reference to P.Mediol. 1, ii, 10 (*Aegyptus*, 1935, 239 ff.), Apollonius' copy of the prologue to Euripides' *Telephus*. But it is to be hoped that they will include it in Part V. A prosopography should aim at 'including' too much rather than too little: only so will it fulfil its proper function of synthesis.

E. G. TURNER

Les Statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis. By J. PH. LAUER and CH. PICARD. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. 4,000 fr.

Between 1850 and 1853 Auguste Mariette uncovered at Memphis a group of architectural and sculptural monuments which are not only interesting in themselves, but valuable for their bearing on the relationship of Greeks with Egyptians in Ptolemaic times. These were: the Sarapieion; the monumental dromos leading to the cemetery on the edge of the desert; the temple of Nectanebo, which lay to the east of the Sarapieion; and the hemicycle of masonry supporting eleven statues of Greek poets and philosophers, near the south-west corner of Nectanebo's temple, on a site where Alexander the Great was said to have celebrated his athletic and musical contests in honour of Apis. Mariette published only a part of his discoveries before his death, a publication which was revised, expanded, and annotated by Maspero thirty years later. Just before the Second World War the Service des Antiquités, of which J. Ph. Lauer is architect, began fresh excavations on the site, and after interruption by the war re-opened them in 1950. Further fragments of sculpture were found in these excavations, and more of Mariette's notes, including a plan of his excavations, had meanwhile come to light, which provided important information on the lay-out of the buildings and the find-spots of the sculpture. The site and the sculpture previously discovered were competently discussed by U. Wilcken in 1917, and the whole material has been studied over the past few years by Ch. Picard in various articles which are here consolidated. Since the book has already been mentioned by P. Frazer in earlier numbers of this *Journal* (40 (1954), 128; 42 (1956), 108), the present review is confined to some of the sculptures and especially to the question of their date.

The statues of the hemicycle were of local limestone, therefore locally made, though clearly not by a local sculptor: thus there is no possibility of their having been ordered piece-meal from workshops in Greece, as their heterogeneous appearance might suggest, although models or studies for them may have been. The grotesque disfigurement they have suffered by the action of the driving sand does not conceal the fact that originally, too, they were a strange assemblage.

Their date depends mainly on how we identify the last figure but one from the spectator's right of the hemicycle. Picard believes this figure to be Demetrius of Phaleron. If this were so the date of the erection of this statue and presumably of the whole series, which seems to have been designed as a group, could be neatly fixed to the reign of Ptolemy I or the early years of Ptolemy II—between 297, about which time Demetrius attained great power in Egypt, and 285, when he fell from favour. On what does the identification depend? The sculptural type resembles such works as Sisypheos II, in the dedication by Daochos at Delphi, closely enough to justify a date for the origin of the type in the late fourth century B.C.; and the recently discovered fragment of a head, which may possibly belong, is that of a young man, beardless but with side-whiskers, and wearing a taenia, which would not disagree with the little we know of Demetrius' personal appearance. Like Sisypheos, the Memphite statue rests its left elbow on a herm—a herm not of Hermes, but of a god who wears a kalathos on his head and whose hair and beard are in long spiral locks; in short, a Sarapis with some of the racial characteristics of certain inhabitants of Egypt. The person who leans upon it must therefore have some special connexion with the god. Demetrius of Phaleron is known to have taken a leading part in establishing the cult of Sarapis, which was a vital element in Ptolemaic policy; he was cured by the god of threatened blindness, and he composed hymns and paeans in his honour which were admired at the time, apparently superseded their Egyptian counterparts in the ritual, and survived into Roman times. If the hemicycle of statues was erected under Ptolemy I, Demetrius would have been favourably placed to secure his own inclusion among them. Who, then, are they, and what is his claim to be there? Their arrangement in the hemicycle is not certain, but Homer holds the central position, with, apparently, five poets on his left and five philosophers on his right, alternately seated and standing. Two statues on a smaller scale were also found, and these may have been pupils of one of the philosophers. Most of the figures can be identified, partly with the help of ancient graffiti: Homer, Pindar, Plato, Thales, and Protagoras seem certain; Hesiod a probability (it was not Schefold who first suggested that no. 21 in the Stanza dei Filosofi of the Capitoline was Hesiod, but Robert, half a century earlier); Heracleitus a possibility, the remainder doubtful. The supposed Demetrius is among the poets, presumably by virtue of his hymn-writing: he might have qualified for the other team, since he was sometimes reckoned among the Seven Sages (having made a collection of their sayings); that he appears with them on the mosaic of Umbra Sarsina,

carrying the snake by which he met his death, was suggested some years ago, and has been widely accepted. Picard adduces two further pieces of evidence. First, the silver cup from Boscoreale with philosophers, as skeletons, disputing: Monimos the Athenian is arguing with a skeleton who holds a snake inscribed *aspis*, but whose own name is unfortunately illegible. Second (and rightly with less confidence), the bronze vase from Herstal, where, among the four philosophers or poets, there is one beardless man holding what might conceivably be a snake: on the same vase there is, however, another object even more like a snake, associated with a bearded man who cannot possibly be Demetrius.

Picard goes on to argue that the herm on which the alleged Demetrius leans is the earlier Greek conception of Sarapis, with a strong Egyptian flavour, and that this was the type of the cult-statue at Memphis: the slightly later type, which was almost certainly the cult-statue of the Sarapieion at Alexandria, and was commonly reproduced in Roman times, would then be a Hellenized version of the Memphite.

There remains the strange group of sculptures mostly found on the southern side of the dromos. It consisted of two sirens, two sphinxes, two peacocks; a lion, a pantheress, and a Cerberus. The pantheress seems to have been in the centre, flanked by peacocks, each of whom had a sphinx, and each sphinx a siren, on its outer side; the group being completed on the spectator's right by Cerberus and on his left by the lion. The peacocks, the pantheress, the lion, and Cerberus each bore a boy-rider. Dionysus on the pantheress is a common subject, and the central boy is probably he, while the others may be companions. The purpose of the group, like that of the institution of the cult of Sarapis, would be to suggest analogies between Greek and Egyptian religion, and its date may again be the early third century B.C. The evidence for this is the character of the lettering of an inscription from the neighbouring lychnapteion (where the lamps used in the underground sanctuaries were organized) and the similar lettering of a fragmentary signature of a sculptor found near, who may have been one of the sculptors of the group.

It is clear that both groups of sculptures—from the hemicycle and from the dromos—are of great interest, but their importance in the history of Greek sculpture would be vastly increased if the dates here claimed for them in the early third century B.C. could be firmly established. For each the evidence is substantial, but for neither is it beyond doubt.

B. ASHMOLE