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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

IN a year when most of the news about excavation in Egypt and the Sudan tells of rather unexciting operations undertaken in the urgent circumstances of the Nubian campaign, it is a matter of great satisfaction to members of the Egypt Exploration Society that its own expedition has unearthed a site from which information of real historical interest may be expected. During the winter of 1961-2 Professor Emery dug at Qaşr Ibrîm in Egyptian Nubia, and again at Buhen in the Sudan; of the two operations he has supplied the following account:¹

Work began at Qaşr Ibrîm on October 15, 1961. An examination of the necropolis in the valley on the north and south sides of the fortress (Cemeteries 192, 193), occupied us until December 1, 1961, by which time more than 300 tombs had been dug. From the evidence obtained the following facts emerge:

1. The circular mound-burials belong to the X-group people, and probably date from the fourth to sixth centuries A.D.
2. In some of the later tombs the transition from paganism to Christianity is evident.
3. The tombs were probably rifled in early Christian times when no knowledge existed of their design or of the richness of certain burials.
4. A rich community of the Meroitic Period occupied Qaşr Ibrîm and probably built parts of the fortress.

With few exceptions the X-group tombs were plundered in antiquity and often re-used in the Christian period. Nevertheless they repaid excavation and yielded fine pottery vessels of almost every variety. Unfortunately many of the large tombs had been re-plundered recently and these on examination were almost always found empty. Consequently we concentrated on burials which showed signs of being undisturbed since antiquity. In two large tombs of the northern necropolis, finds of great value were made; in both the plunderers had overlooked the fact that the substructure had two rooms: one for the burial and the other for the funerary equipment. The burial-rooms had been ransacked, but the magazines were intact, containing fine bronze vessels, bronze lamps, glass, the remains of ivory-inlaid wooden boxes, toilet implements, painted pottery, etc. In other tombs tools and weapons were discovered. In general our finds reproduce in miniature the X-group material found in the royal tombs of Qusţul and Ballâna in 1931. The tombs are minor varieties of the Ballâna and Qusţul design: a rubble or earthen tumulus above a rectangular pit containing the burial. This pit is roofed by a mud-brick leaning barrel vault or by large flat stones supported on ledges cut in the walls.

Three Meroitic sites were examined, but all had been ransacked in ancient and modern times. Sufficient remained to show that the burials belonged to a rich and important community. The remains of three *ba*-statues were recovered; but by far the most important finds were two stelae bearing Meroitic texts of considerable length, as yet unstudied.

On December 30, 1961, the expedition re-opened the work at Buhen. After examining parts of the denuded areas of the Middle Kingdom fortress, we turned to a site along the river-bank north of the fortress and midway between it and the Kanous village, where in 1960 we had noted fragments

¹ A preliminary report on work at Buhen will appear in *Kush*.

of copper ore and sherds of a strange red-ware pottery in the drift sand. Test trenches revealed denuded brick and rough stone walls rarely exceeding 0.40 m. in height, and quantities of copper ore and sherds of fine red-ware carinated bowls of a puzzling character. Rough stone mortars set in the floors of cubicle-type rooms, for pounding ore, and fragments of pottery crucibles and ingot-moulds showed that the area had contained a metal-working factory. Charcoal, copper slag, and droppings of pure copper from crucibles confirmed this, but we were still uncertain of the date of this settlement. Further test pits showed that the site stretched along the river-bank for more than 300 m.; detailed excavation began on January 3, 1962.

Eventually larger sherds of the carinated red-ware were found showing that they belonged to the type of vessel known as the Maidûm bowl, of Fourth- and Fifth-Dynasty date. Fragments of Nubian B-group pottery and other types of Egyptian Old Kingdom pottery, and finally an ostrakon inscribed with the cartouche of Kakai (Neferirkarê), confirmed the Old Kingdom date for the site. Clay sealings bearing the names of kings of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties and more ostraca were subsequently found in all the cleared parts of the site.

Although denuded, the remains of the town show definite evidence of uninterrupted occupation over a long period, but no pottery of a date later than the Old Kingdom was found. Big defence walls of rough stone, 2 m. wide, have been traced to the river edge some 150 m. north of the New Kingdom perimeter of the fortress, and on the river side there is a stone-lined ditch.

Neither the north nor south ends of the town have yet been located; the northern extremity perhaps extends as far as the Kanous village.

It was at first thought that the southern area within the defence wall was denuded because trenching to more than one metre in depth revealed only clean drift sand. Subsequent discoveries, however, caused us to reconsider this conclusion.

On February 26, brick walls were found partly below the rough stone lining of the so-called ditch near the river edge. Here, under one metre of drift sand was a well-built structure with walls standing 1.15 m. high. On each side at a still lower level we discovered three well-preserved furnaces in which copper ore had been smelted.

The building is built of unusually large bricks like those common in the Second Dynasty. The fact that walls built over parts of it are made of smaller bricks, dated by clay sealings and ostraca to the Fifth Dynasty, further suggests an archaic date for the foundation of the town. Jar sealings and pottery also support this possibility; of the pottery, some types were in use during the Second Dynasty, but may well have continued in fashion into the Pyramid Period. Of the limited amount of Nubian pottery found, some fragments are undoubtedly A-group, although B-group predominate.

Apart from tracing the defence walls, by March 3 an area 60 m. square was examined in detail, and on March 5, through the courtesy of the Sudan Antiquities Service, air photographs were taken covering the whole investigated field.

To estimate future work on the site, we dug a trench 3 m. wide down to the bed-rock across the area from the defence wall on the west to the river-bank on the east. The results again indicated that the town was founded before the Fourth Dynasty. Stone revetments were revealed 1.40 m. below the general ground level of the Old Kingdom town near the river edge. Quantities of sherds of rough brown-ware pots and crucibles, with fragments of charcoal and minute pieces of ore in this stratum show that copper-working was in full progress at this earlier date. Just east of the rough stone defence wall, and 1.30 m. below its foundations was found a natural hollow in the native rock filled with large boulders so as to form an even surface. Above this curious feature is a layer 0.90 m. thick of clean drift sand. Within the limited area disclosed by the trench the part covered by the layer of boulder-stone suggests the foundation prepared for some very large edifice, but of this there is no trace; only the layer of drift sand below the Old Kingdom floor-level.

In all operations, at the higher levels, inscribed sealings have been recovered, among which are some particularly fine specimens showing the serekh and cartouche of Mycerinus.

It is impossible as yet to say how long it will take to clear the whole town of Buhen, or indeed how much of it survives. Sufficient has been discovered to show that it was not an isolated trading station but a town of great importance. Already we may conclude that Egyptian colonization of Nubia started earlier than hitherto supposed, perhaps immediately following the campaign of Sneferu. Some idea of the town's importance to Nubian history can be gained from the following facts:

1. The town was a purely Egyptian colony; although Nubian B-group pottery is present, at least ninety-five per cent. of the pottery-sherds is Egyptian.
2. Copper-working was one of its industries, so we may conclude that deposits of this metal are to be found somewhere in the Northern Sudan.
3. A well-organized dispatch service was maintained with Egypt throughout the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, to judge from the mass of document-sealings.
4. The names of the following kings have so far been found: Chephren, Mycerinus, Userkaf, Sahurē, Neferirkarē, Nyuserre.

Professor R. A. Caminos also spent seven weeks at Qaṣr Ibrîm copying the Pharaonic inscriptions and reliefs there. Six shrines in the cliffs on the eastern bank of the Nile occupied him mainly; two were unfinished and uninscribed; four date to the New Kingdom and contain texts, scenes, painted ceilings, and niches holding royal and divine statues. In the fortress on the heights he copied eighteen inscribed blocks ranging from the time of Tuthmosis I to Taharqa. Facsimiles were made of nine Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom graffiti and of three stelae including the monumental text of Sethos I and his Nubian Viceroy, Amenemope. Most of this material is already known, but little is fully published, and none has previously been adequately recorded. All the inscribed material from Qaṣr Ibrîm will be included in a volume of the Archaeological Survey.

In the early part of the season the systematic survey (begun in the preceding season) of those parts of Egyptian Nubia lying between the concessions already allotted to excavating organizations was completed. Mr. Smith reports:

In its second season, from the beginning of October to the middle of November 1961, the Society's Field Survey party, continuing northwards from Korosko, traversed on foot all the unexplored areas of Egyptian Nubia up to Shallâl. The sites discovered, where not devastated by plundering, were investigated by the sondage method, and those of importance recommended to the Director General of Antiquities. It is satisfactory that the Director General has been able to find concessionaires to excavate all the sites recommended during the first season. In the second season only one site of real importance was found. This was a painted rock-shelter in the Khôr Fumm Atmur, the great *wâdi* east of Korosko that forms the entry to the Korosko-Abû Hamed road. It contained finely preserved paintings of animals, human figures, and boats. Excavation proved that there had been two main phases of occupation, belonging to the Nubian A-group and C-group respectively. It has been recommended that the Centre of Documentation and Studies on Ancient Egypt in Cairo fully record this shelter. The preliminary report of the Survey for both seasons has now been published in Cairo by the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance for the Antiquities Department of Egypt; final publication will be undertaken by the Society.

The field party consisted, as in the first season, of Mr. H. S. Smith, Mr. D. O'Connor, Mr.

M. A. P. Minns, with the addition of Mrs. H. F. Smith. Mr. Ibrahim Amer, Inspector of Antiquities at Tanta, accompanied the survey for the second season. Mr. Smith wishes to pay tribute to all these members of his staff and to his Qufti workmen for their excellent conduct of an arduous task under difficult conditions. He wishes also to thank the Director General of Antiquities, Dr. Anwar Shukri, for his generosity in providing houseboats and tugs for the Survey and for his unfailing courtesy and help.

One notable Egyptological event of 1962 was the publication of Dr. R. O. Faulkner's *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. This splendid work does not aim at superseding the great Berlin *Wörterbuch*, but its compact size, useful scope, and practical system of references guarantee that it will become an essential tool for all teachers, students, and practising Egyptologists. It further has the virtue of being very moderately priced.

Professor Fairman has provided the following short appreciation of Dr. Junker, the great Austrian Egyptologist, who died early in 1962:

The death of Hermann Junker marks the passing of a scholar unique in his kind, a scholar so various in his parts that one is tempted to regard him as a giant. No Egyptologist of the present century has displayed such mastery in so many wide and varied fields of Egyptological study as historian, philologist, student of religion, excavator, and archaeologist. He did not keep his interests in watertight compartments: at the same time that he was publishing still unsurpassed studies of certain aspects of Ptolemaic religion he was also excavating at Armenna, el-Kûbânîya, Tôshka, and Ṭura; in his later years, when one would have thought the preparation and publication of the final volumes of his excavations at Giza were enough for any man, he was also preparing his edition of the first pylon at Philae, and publishing a whole series of papers and books on a wide range of topics in the fields of art, archaeology, and religion; only in his middle years does excavation, at Giza and Merimda, seem inevitably to have been his major scientific preoccupation. His publications were exemplary: prompt, concise, clear, and always written simply and directly, with no waste of words or space. As a man one remembers him above all for his essential humanity and kindness; he always had time to encourage and help the younger scholars of all nations, and to the end he maintained his ability to embrace and absorb new developments and ideas. One remembers and admires his superb intellectual gifts, but those who had the privilege of knowing him will remember him above all for his unassuming modesty, quiet humour, and constant friendliness, helpfulness, and generosity.

Many of the active members of the Society will mourn the passing of Sir Walter Smart, formerly Oriental Minister at the British Embassy in Cairo, who died in May this year. Among his many interests he included the activities of the Society. From his position in Egypt he was able to render important services to the science of Egyptology and to particular scholars, especially during the war years.

TOMB 100: THE DECORATED TOMB AT HIERAKONPOLIS

By HUMPHREY CASE and JOAN CROWFOOT PAYNE

IN the winter of 1897–8 J. E. Quibell, assisted by F. W. Green, excavated the Temple Enclosure and other sites in the area of the ancient Hierakonpolis for the Egyptian Research Account. Green led a second expedition in 1898–9 when the so-called decorated or painted tomb, a rectangular brick-lined and plastered pit with painted walls and brick partition, was discovered.¹ He formed the opinion that it had been robbed two or three years previously. The paintings were removed and transported to the Cairo Museum. Green's full-size copy of them found a home in the Griffith Institute, Oxford (pl. I).² The monument has not been uncovered since 1899, and is reputed destroyed.

The decorated tomb has attracted a considerable variety of interpretations. The majority of scholars share the excavator's view that it was a tomb. Brunton suggested that it was a subterranean dwelling or shrine.³ It is, however, generally different from other early Egyptian non-sepulchral structures and generally similar to numerous Protodynastic tombs. And recent fieldwork by Kaiser has confirmed its situation in a cemetery.⁴

Divergent dates or cultural connotations have been proposed by a succession of scholars. To Petrie, it was 's.D. 63',⁵ by implication 'Semainean' and assignable to the 'Dynastic Conquest'.⁶ It was 'Dynasty O' in Reisner's view⁷ or 'Dynasty O-I' and classifiable among 'Tomb types of Dynasty I . . . Menes to Zet'.⁸ Baumgartel was inclined to date it to 'protodynastic times'.⁹

On the other hand, its discoverer termed it 'prehistoric'; it was 'late Gerzean' to Kantor,¹⁰ and 'Naqada IIc' (or mid-Gerzean) to Kaiser.¹¹

Some of these opinions are plainly influenced by preconceived views of the controversial problems of the rise of the First Dynasty, and all except Green's are based on a secondary source, since no first-hand reassessment has been made of the contents since the excavator's inventory. This would not, in any event, have been an easy task, for the group of objects appears to have suffered a series of misfortunes. The 'drawings' copied

¹ Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, 20–23.

² Reproduced at two-thirds scale by the British School of Egyptian Archaeology in 1953.

³ 'The predynastic town-site at Hierakonpolis', in *Griffith Studies*, 275.

⁴ *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 12.

⁵ Quibell and Green, *op. cit.*, 54.

⁶ Petrie, *The Making of Egypt*, 65–67.

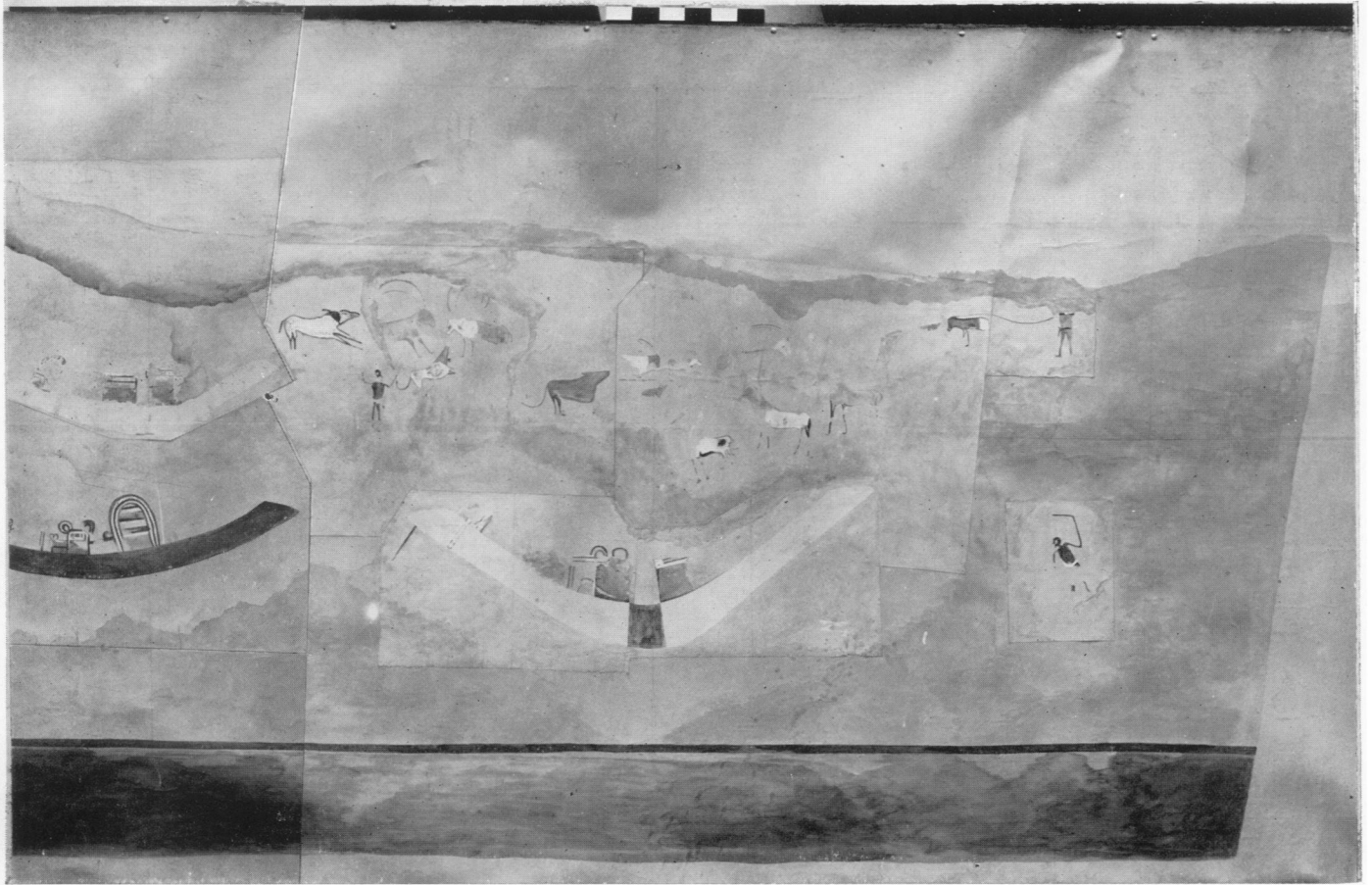
⁷ *Mycerinus*, 136.

⁸ *Tomb Development*, 16–17, 362.

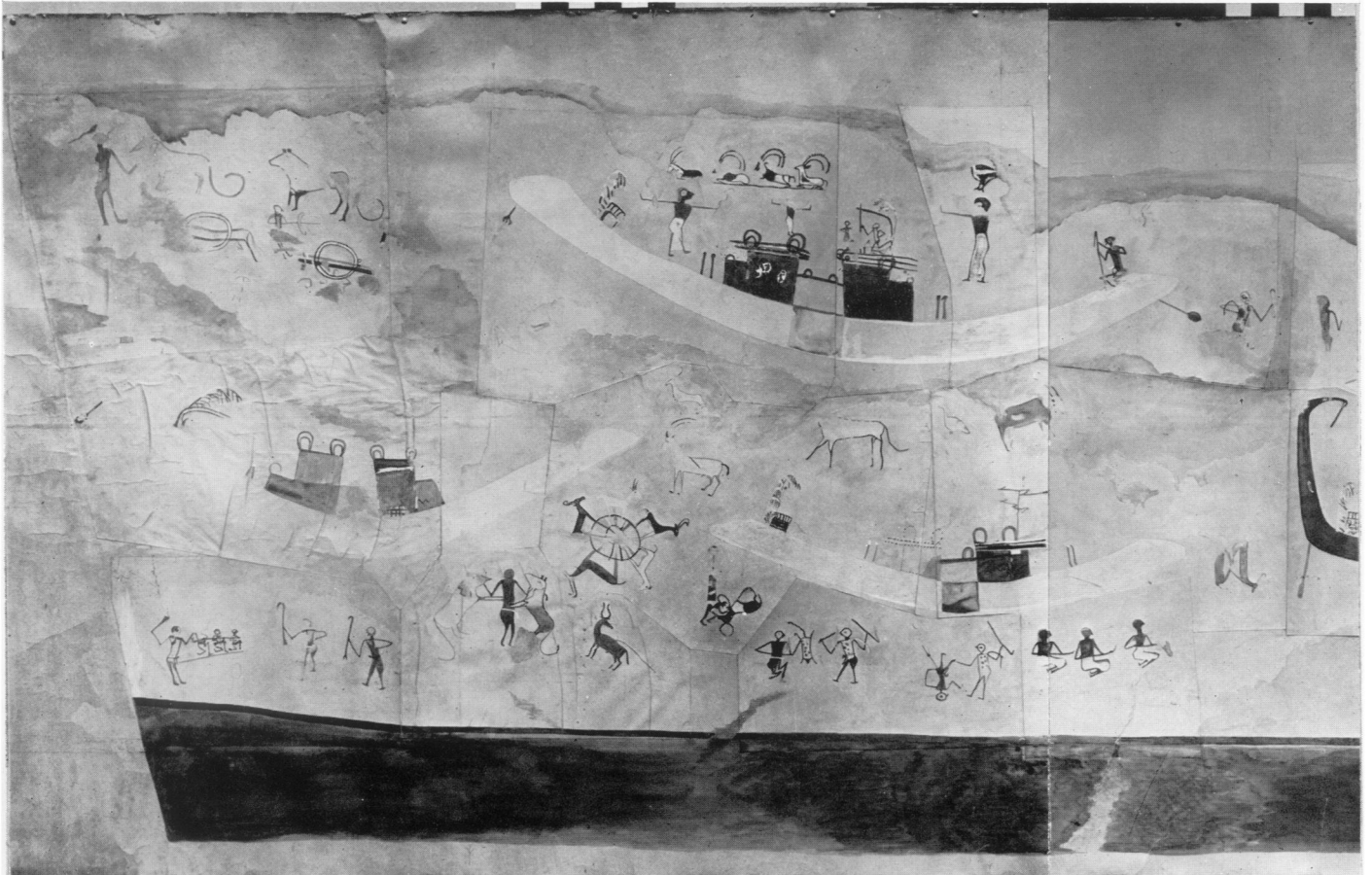
⁹ *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, II, 126.

¹⁰ *JNES* 3 (1944), 119.

¹¹ 'Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur', in *Archaeologia Geographica* 6 (1957), 75; also *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 188–9.



a



b

THE PAINTINGS IN TOMB 100 AT HIERAKONPOLIS, after F. W. GREEN. Scale: 30 cms.

by Green from the decorated tomb were shown at the exhibition of antiquities from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at University College, London, in July, 1899.¹ The cases of antiquities which should have accompanied them were delayed, and at some stage objects from Hierakonpolis were confused with those from other sites in Egypt. The consignment for the Ashmolean reached the museum during a period of rebuilding, when cataloguing was temporarily halted. Dr. Margaret Murray brought the museum's catalogues up to date in 1908-9, and found that many objects which were certainly from Hierakonpolis had been attributed to Abydos and Hû-Dendera. In many cases Dr. Murray corrected these errors, and the confusion has been further resolved in recataloguing the museum's early Egyptian collection before exhibition in new galleries. One of the results of this work has been the reassembling of what we believe to be the major part of the objects excavated by Green from the decorated tomb.²

I. The contents of the tomb

The first object identified as part of the decorated tomb group was the flint forked lance-head (fig. 1, no. 7), unmistakably that published by Green,³ plainly marked $\frac{100}{7}$. It had been marked 'Hu-Denderah' by the Museum, but it had not previously been catalogued. The fact that the lance-head was numbered 7 in Green's list indicated that the number which had been given to the decorated tomb was 100, a fact which is not mentioned anywhere in the original publication. Once the number of the tomb had been established, it was possible to identify most of the other objects.

The following list gives details of the tomb group as it now stands.⁴ Pottery types are those published in Petrie's *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*, unless stated otherwise. The pots show no signs of use of the wheel. The stone vases are classified according to Petrie's *Prehistoric Egypt*.

A. Objects on Green's list

1. Miniature *stone vase*, form 66. Veined limestone. Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. LXIV, no. 6. (Fig. 1, no. 1.)
2. *Stone vase*, form 42. Much altered basic igneous rock, possibly volcanic ash. (Fig. 1, no. 2.)
3. *Bowl*, incomplete, P 23 c, lower (s.d. 35-68, 80), and Mond and Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, pl. XXIV, P 23 a1 and P 23 c1 (s.d. 52-66?). Buff ware, dark red polish inside and over rim, outside decorated with red circle, and faint traces of other possible decoration. (Fig. 2, no. 3.)
4. Missing.

¹ See *Catalogue of antiquities from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund . . . exhibited . . . at University College . . . London . . .* (1899), 8-9.

² While this paper is throughout a work of collaboration, Part I was essentially drafted by J. C. Payne and Part II by H. Case. For invaluable help we are indebted to most of the staff of the Ashmolean Museum, and above all to Mr. Jeffery Orchard. Particular thanks are also due to Dr. A. J. Arkell of University College, London, Mr. R. V. Nicholls of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mlle J. Monnet of the Musée du Louvre, and to Mrs. E. J. Baumgartel and Dr. J. R. Harris.

³ Quibell and Green, *op. cit.*, 50; pl. LXIV, 9.

⁴ To avoid confusion, both the list and the drawings here on figs. 1 and 2 are numbered to correspond with Green's list in *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. LXVII.

5. Missing.
6. *Pot*, basal and other sherds, W 14-19, handles type A-B (s.d. 46-66). Pinkish-buff ware. (Fig. 2, no. 6.)
7. *Forked lance-head*, lower end missing. Brown flint. V-shaped upper edge, flat retouch over both faces, fine denticulation round edge. Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. LXIV, no. 9. (Fig. 1, no. 7.)
8. *Pot*, R 81 (s.d. 38-67). Coarse brown ware with chaff. (Fig. 2, no. 8.)
9. *Pot*, P 40 a (s.d. 39-70). Red ware, polished red outside and over rim. (Fig. 2, no. 9.)

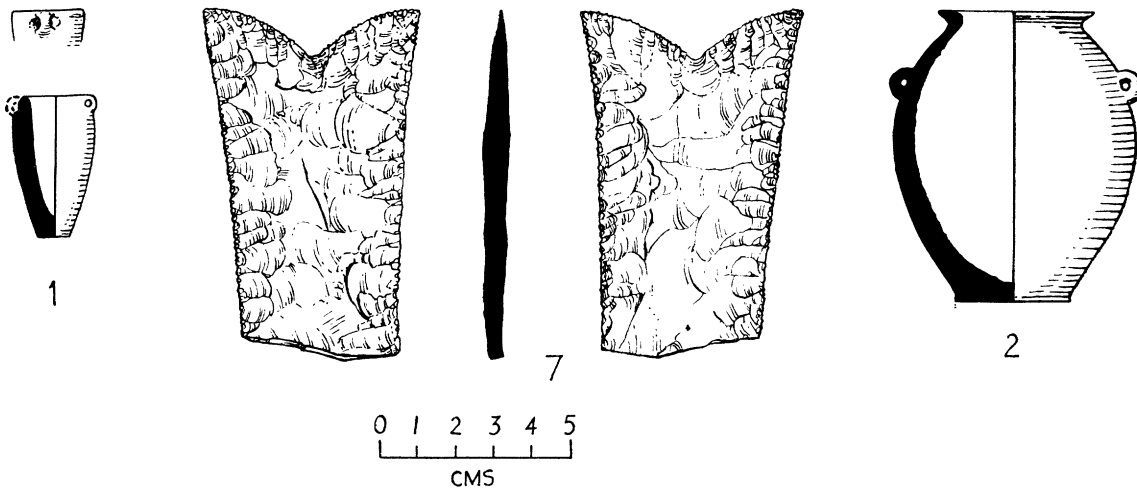


FIG. 1

10. Missing.
11. *Bowl*, incomplete, R 23 b (s.d. 37-75), and Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXVI, 20 (s.d. 52-53). Coarse brown ware with chaff. (Fig. 2, no. 11.)
12. *Pot*, P 95 b (s.d. 46-72). Red ware, polished red outside and over rim. (Fig. 2, no. 12.)
13. Missing.
14. *Bowl*, P 11 b (s.d. 35-71). Red ware, polished red inside, traces of polish outside. (Fig. 2, no. 14.)
15. *Pot*, P 95 a (s.d. 37-71). Brown ware, polished red outside and over rim. (Fig. 2, no. 15.)
16. *Bowl*, Mond and Myers, op. cit., pl. XXV, R 6 c (s.d. 44-61?), and Brunton, op. cit., pl. XXXVI, 5 (s.d. 50-53). Coarse brown ware with chaff. (Fig. 2, no. 16.)
17. *Pot*, B 42 b (s.d. 31-50, 63). Red ware, black-topped, black inside, polished outside and over rim. (Fig. 2, no. 17.)
18. *Pot*, R 94 (s.d. 49, 53). Coarse red-brown ware with chaff. (Fig. 2, no. 18.)

B. Objects additional to those on Green's list

19. *Pot*, rim sherd, P 40. Red ware, polished red outside and over rim. Diam. of rim c. 0.090 m.
20. *Bowl*, incomplete, P 24 g. Red-brown ware, polished red inside and over rim.
21. *Bowl*, rim sherd, ? P 24. Red-brown ware, polished red inside and over rim. Diam. of rim c. 0.230 m.
22. *Pot*, sherds, ? W 14-19, handle type A-B. Light brown ware. Diam. at handle c. 0.165 m.
23. *Pot*, sherd, ? W 14-19, handle type H. Drab ware. Diam. at handle c. 0.195 m.
24. *Pot*, basal sherd, ? wavy-handled. Buff ware. Diam. of base c. 0.090 m.

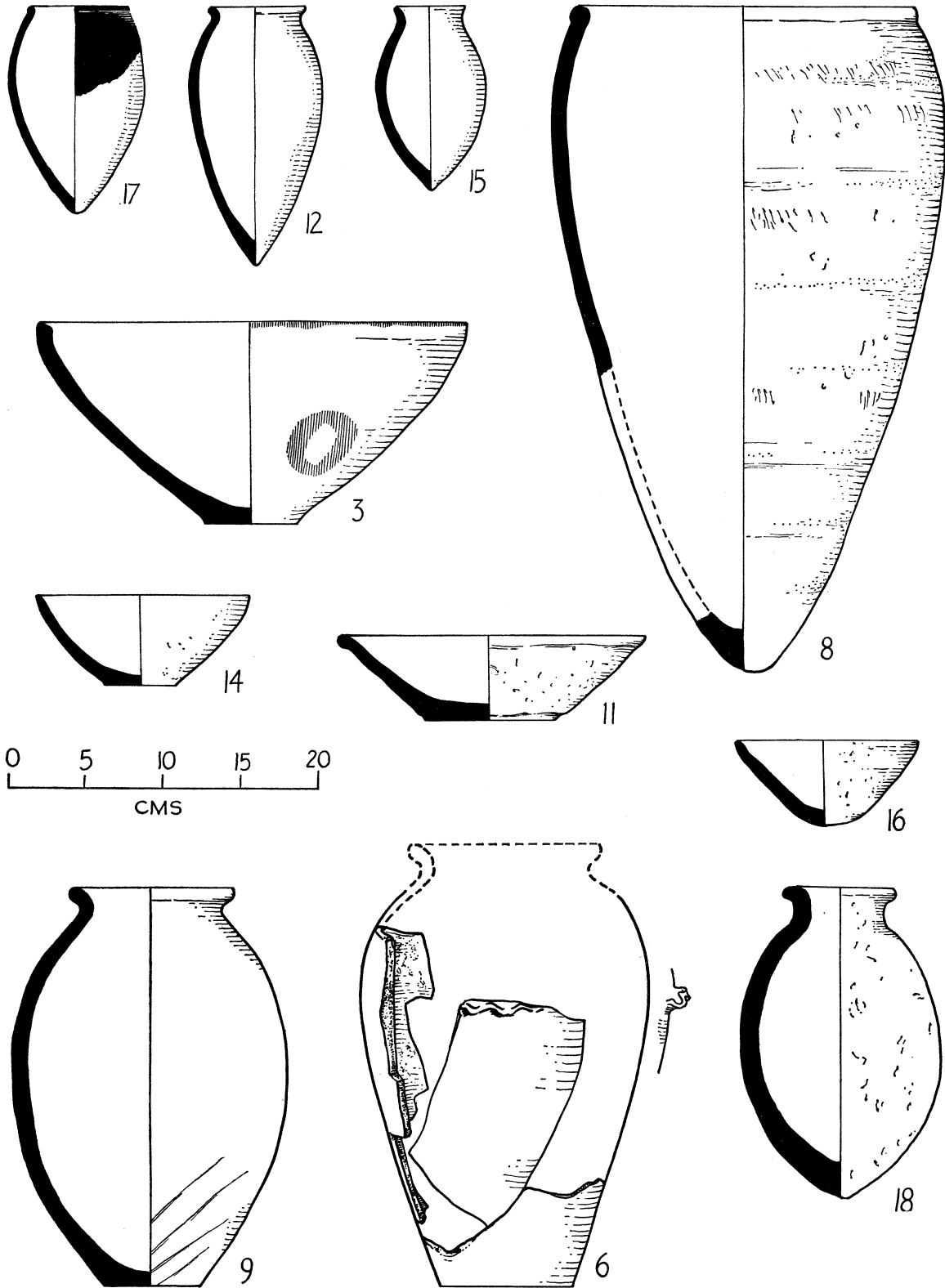


FIG. 2

- 25. *Pot*, basal sherd, ? wavy-handled. Light red ware. Diam. of base *c.* 0.095 m.
- 26. *Pot*, rim sherd, R 81. Coarse red-brown ware with chaff. Diam. of rim *c.* 0.240 m.
- 27. *Pot*, rim sherd, R 81. Coarse brown ware with chaff. Diam. of rim *c.* 0.220 m.

Green's original plan of the tomb and its contents, with his numbering, is reproduced on fig. 3. The table below shows how the revised list compares with Green's, and gives

<i>Objects on Green's list</i>	<i>Ashmolean Museum catalogue number</i>	<i>Naqada and Ballas type</i>	<i>Corpus type</i>	<i>Excavator's tomb no. on pot</i>	<i>Tomb no. in Mus. Catalogue (1896-1908)</i>	<i>Prov. marked on pot by Museum</i>
1. H 52, limestone	1896-1908, E. 3117	—	66	100/1	100/1	Hierakonpolis
2. H 27, diorite	1896-1908, E. 2786	H 27	42	100	100	Hu-Dendereh
3. D 8	1961.371	—	P 23 c	100/3	—	—
4. Shell						
5. W 41						
6. W 41	1961.372	W 14-19	W 14-19	100/6	—	—
7. Flint lance	1959.141	—	—	100/7	—	Hu-Dendereh
8. R 81	1896-1908, E. 2928	R 81	R 81	100/8	100/8	Abydos
9. P 40	1959.451	P 40 a	P 40 a	100/9	—	Abydos
10. R 94						
11. R 24	1961.373	R 23	R 23 b	100 ?	—	—
12. R 94	1959.452	P 95 b	P 95 b	100/12	—	Hu-Dendereh
13. R 1						
14. R 1 e	1896-1908, E. 2957	P 11 b	P 11 b	—	100/12	Hierakonpolis
15. R 94	1896-1908, E. 2949	P 95 a	P 95 a	—	100/15	Hierakonpolis
16. —	1896-1908, E. 2960	—	R 6 c	—	100/16	Hierakonpolis
17. B 42	1959.453	B 42 b	B 42 b	100/17	—	Hu-Dendereh
18. R 94	1959.454	R 94	R 94	100/18	—	Abydos
<i>Additional objects</i>						
19. —	1961.374	P 40	P 40	100	—	—
20. —	1961.375	—	P 24 g	100	—	—
21. —	1961.376	—	P 24 ?	100 ?	—	—
22. —	1961.377	W 14-19 ?	W 14-19 ?	100	—	—
23. —	1961.378	W 14-19 ?	W 14-19 ?	100	—	—
24. —	1961.379	W ?	W ?	100	—	—
25. —	1961.380	W ?	W ?	100	—	—
26. —	1961.381	R 81	R 81	100	—	—
27. —	1961.382	R 81	R 81	100	—	—

the information from which the objects were identified. Study of it suggests that numbers 1, 2, 6-9, 17, and 18 can be accepted safely; the remainder should be regarded with varying degrees of caution. However, the homogeneity of the group as a whole is impressive.

The revised list is unlike Green's in a number of respects, but in the more important cases it is easy to see how the differences arose. No. 1, the little limestone vase, which has no lip, was reconstructed by Green as type H 52 in Petrie's *Naqada and Ballas* (later published by Petrie in *Tarkhan I, II* as Protodynastic type 71). As type H 52, the vase has been the subject of discussion, especially by Reisner¹ and Kantor.² In fact, the little vase almost exactly resembles H 30 in *Naqada and Ballas* without neck or lip, an example of which was published later as type 66 in Petrie's *Prehistoric Egypt*. No. 6 was typed by Green as W 41, but is in reality W 14-19. W 41 is much the same in form as W 14-19, but it is very much smaller, a difference which would not be clear

¹ *Mycerinus*, 136.

² *JNES* 3 (1944), 113-14.

to someone working only with the plates in *Naqada and Ballas*. Other differences are less easy to explain. However, it is clear that both Petrie's calculation of the sequence-date of the tomb and the drawings of the objects on the published plan (fig. 3) were made from Green's list of contents, and not from the actual objects.

The decorated tomb now presents a very different, and in most respects simpler, problem as far as dating is concerned. Petrie's original date of s.D. 63 was based on the

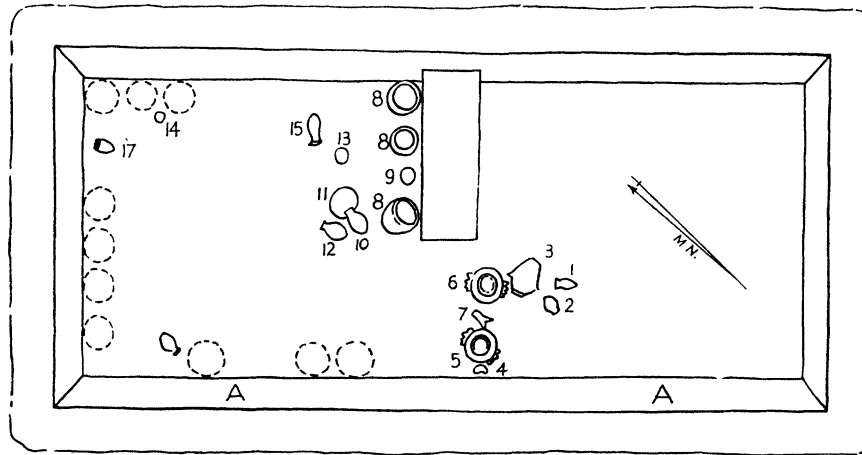


FIG. 3

pots of type W 41, which are now found to be in fact the earlier type, W 14-19. Reisner's proposed even later dating of the group to the Protodynastic period was based on the supposed presence of a Protodynastic limestone vase, type H 52 in *Naqada and Ballas*, which is now seen to be a little vase typical of the Predynastic period. The difficulty of accepting all the objects on the original list as coming from one grave led Brunton and Kantor to suggest that the chamber was a shrine or dwelling-place, rather than a tomb. However, the whole group now appears to be a typical grave-group of the Gerzean culture, always remembering that we have a portion only of the original contents of the tomb. Its essentially Gerzean nature is emphasized chronologically by the absence of L ware, and geographically by the lack of any marked Nubian character, contrary to Reisner's suggestion.¹

Most of the pots are common types in a very large number of Gerzean graves. The following graves, however, are particularly close parallels, having each three or more types in common with the decorated tomb:

Naqada T 5 (s.D. 50)	Armant 1550 (s.D. 57-64)
Naqada 414 (s.D. 51)	Matmar 5118 (s.D. 53-57)
Naqada 421 (s.D. 50)	Mostagedda 1831 (s.D. 50-53)
Armant 1523 (s.D. 48-53)	el-Amra b 107 (s.D. 52-56)

As far as can be ascertained, these graves are all rather large. The flint forked lance-head also fits well into the period covered by these graves; such lance-heads, with

¹ *Mycerinus*, 136.

V-shaped upper ends, occur throughout the Gerzean period, from s.d. 38–63, but Linda Braidwood¹ considers that the majority belong to the s.d. 50's.

As for sequence-date, most of the objects in our tomb-group were assigned a long life by Petrie. The strict application of sequence-dating through the pot R 94 would suggest s.d. 49–53. R 94, moreover, is not a common type, and its presence provides yet another link with Naqada grave T 5,² an unusually large rich grave, already noted above as a close parallel. This grave, which was undisturbed, contained gold and lapis-lazuli beads, six stone vases, one oval and five barrel-shaped (of which one specimen had no lip, like the little limestone vase from the decorated tomb), a double-bird palette, a 'forehead-pendant', and the following pots:

P 16, F 31 d, W 14, W 19, R 1 b (2), R 22 a (3), R 69 b, R 81 (5), R 94 (2)

Bearing in mind that from the decorated tomb we have only the objects left by plunderers, the resemblance between the two groups is striking. The resemblance goes further than this: both are rectangular graves, unusually large in size, and the arrangement of the pots in both tombs (so far as this survived at Hierakonpolis), with a row of pots R 81 along the more northerly end, is the same. And here it is stressed that the arrangement of the contents (noted by Kaiser as typical of rich middle Gerzean graves)³ and their cultural homogeneity allow one to accept at least the major part of the group as a closed assemblage, and to associate it with the structure of the tomb.

Kaiser also suggested that the decorated tomb, which had other unusually large graves near it, was part of a chieftains' cemetery.⁴ Comparison with the T cemetery at Naqada surely supports this theory. Cemetery T was rich but small; one would have expected it to be used for a short time, and then abandoned, with a consequent close grouping of sequence-dates. But the reverse is the case. The sequence-dating of the T graves, where this is available, runs through from 40 to 78, with no appreciable gaps. This is surely suggestive of a cemetery for a ruling class or sect.

II. The structure and paintings

The well-known paintings (pl. I) were found on the wall marked *A* on fig. 3; a painting of two other figures was found on the south face of the partition.

The revised dating of the tomb by its contents adds point to the numerous parallels presented by these paintings to Gerzean art. Those collected by Kantor were chiefly motives in vase-painting. Others may be found in rock-drawings⁵ and on fragments of painted linen from Gebelein.⁶

These parallels should not, however, obscure unambiguous analogies of a later date. First the structure, rectangular, battered, brick-lined, and plastered, is a common

¹ In Kantor, *JNES* 3 (1944), 113.

² Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 19–20, pl. LXXXII.

³ *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 189.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 189–91.

⁵ Winkler, *Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde* (1937); *id.*, *Rock-drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, vols. I and II.

⁶ G. Galassi, 'L'arte del più antico Egitto nel Museo di Torino', in *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archaeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, N.S. 4 (1955), 5–42.

Protodynastic tomb-form. Not another certain Gerzean example is known.¹ With the contents imperfectly understood, it is little wonder that Reisner dated it to the First Dynasty.

Second, some of the painted motives are strikingly matched in art which is either definitely Protodynastic or generally assumed to be so. These motives are enumerated below for ease of reference to figs. 4 and 5. (1) The hero or heroic attitude.² (2) The king, conqueror, or leader shown at enlarged scale,³ (3*a*) threatening prisoners,⁴ who may there or elsewhere be shown, (3*b*) in a row,⁵ (3*c*) bound together,⁶ and (3*d*), like other subordinates, kneeling on one knee in submissive attitude.⁷ (4) The priest dressed in a skin.⁸ (5) Cloaked figures in resting or submissive attitudes, presumably with feet tucked in.⁹ (6) Affront to lions.¹⁰ (7) The trussed ox.¹¹ (8) The ground-line.¹²

All these are unrepresented elsewhere in Gerzean association. Other motives may be found readily in Gerzean art, but are also displayed with telling frequency or effect in Protodynastic. Such are lassos and hunting-dogs. More specific are: the single

¹ Matmar Cemetery 200 was Protodynastic (cf. Brunton, *Matmar*, 17 and pls. VIII and XX). Mostagedda grave 219 was problematical both as to construction and date. The bricks of the painted tomb, as recorded, were slightly thicker and narrower than those generally used in the First Dynasty and contained 'numerous fragments' of presumably R-ware pots. Kiln-bricks of dissimilar dimensions were certainly Gerzean (published examples in Kantor, *JNES* 3, 112). Examples of non-sepulchral structural brick-work are not absolutely definite: an obscure example from Badari (Brunton, *The Badarian Civilisation*, 47); Naqada South Town has been assumed Predynastic (Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 54); Hierakonpolis—in make-up of, revetted mound with Predynastic pottery (see p. 17, n. 8 below). It is interesting to speculate whether the introduction of brick coincided with the introduction of chaff-tempered R-ware.

² Main deposit, Hierakonpolis, cf. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis* 1, pl. XV, 2; Naqada grave 1915 has no known association, cf. Petrie and Quibell, op. cit., pl. LI, 7.

³ Main deposit, Quibell, op. cit., pl. XV, 1. 2. 4; great mace III (Scorpion), *ibid.*, pl. XXVI C, 4; great slate palette (Narmer), *ibid.*, pl. XXIX. At Saqqâra, Emery, *Great Tombs*, 1, fig. 31 (Djer).

⁴ Main deposit, Quibell, op. cit., pl. XV, 1. 2. 4; Narmer palette. At Abydos, Amélineau, *Nouvelles fouilles* (1895-6), pl. XXXIII (Wedimu). At Saqqâra, Emery, loc. cit.

⁵ Main deposit, Quibell, op. cit., XV, 7 (Narmer). At Abydos, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. IV, 20 ('Mena or earlier'); possibly pl. Va, 13 (Djer).

⁶ In Nubia, Arkell, *JEA* 36, fig. 1, pl. X (around neck of single prisoner, Djer). Main deposit, Quibell, op. cit., pl. XII, 4. At Abydos, Petrie, op. cit., pl. IV, 20 ('Mena or earlier').

⁷ In Nubia, Arkell, loc. cit. Main deposit, great mace II (Narmer), Quibell, op. cit., pl. XXVI B (prisoner), pl. XV, 7 (Narmer, prisoners), pl. XV, 3 (subordinates or worshippers). At Hierakonpolis, elsewhere in the Temple Enclosure, Quibell, op. cit., pl. II, top left, pl. I (subordinate or worshipper). Naqada, royal tomb, Vikentiev, *Ann. Serv.* 33, 208-34, pls. I and II; *ibid.*, 34, 1-8 (interpreted as prisoners). At Abydos, Petrie, loc. cit., in n. 6; Petrie, op. cit., 1, pl. XXXI, 20 (subordinate, Wedimu. Frequent on stelae).

⁸ Main deposit: Narmer palette and probably mace.

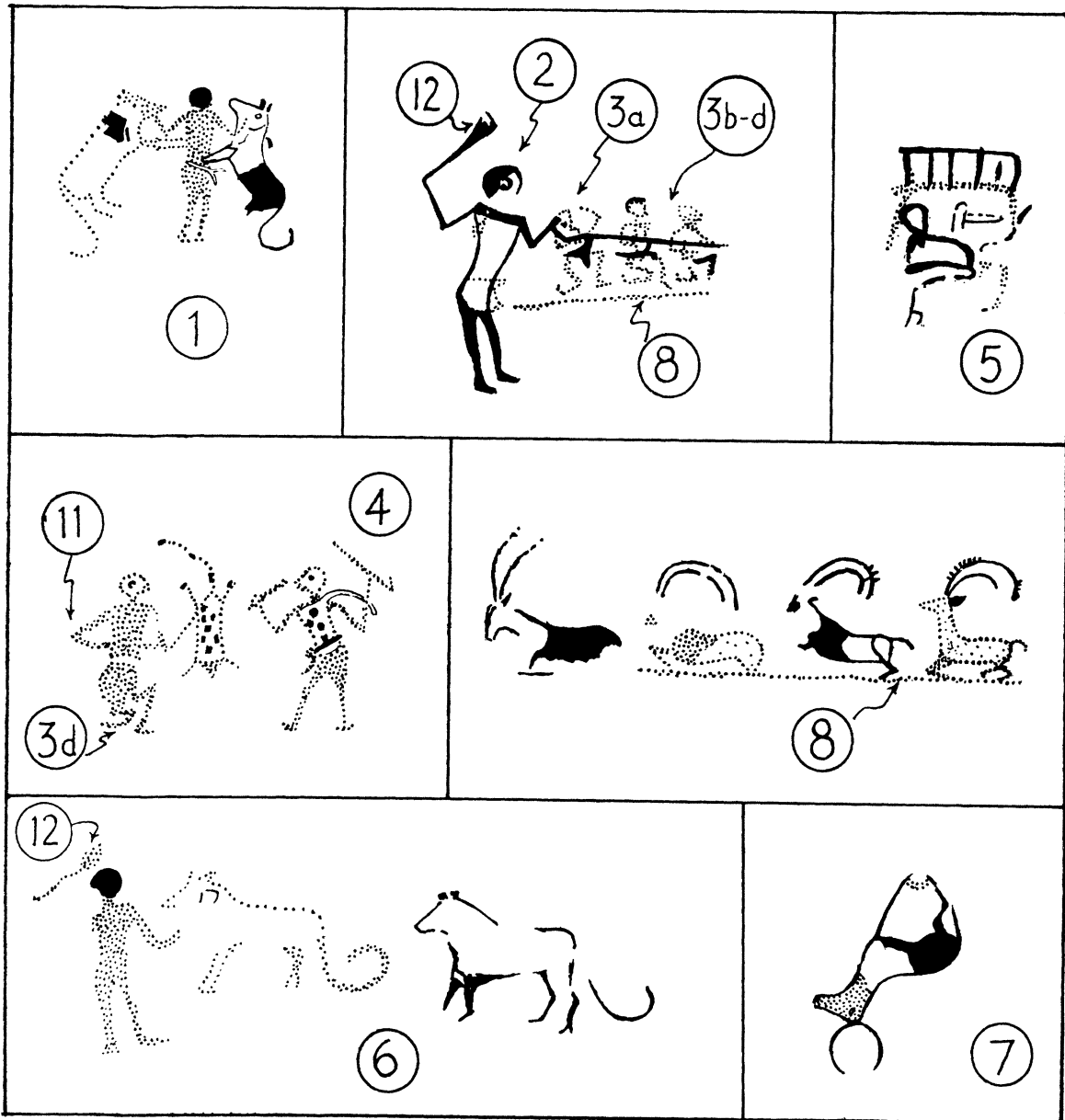
⁹ Main deposit: Scorpion and Narmer maces; possibly in a ship, Quibell, op. cit., pl. V. At Abydos, cf. Petrie, *Abydos*, 1, pl. XIII, 148 (Djer). At Saqqâra, Emery, *Hemaka*, 35 (Djer). These were very frequent on stelae at Abydos, markedly associated with Djer; all may represent women (cf. the wife of Perneb, Lythgoe and Williams, *The Tomb of Perneb*, fig. 34), but Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, II, 117 (following von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. 18, 44d) held those on the Scorpion macehead to be children. Those seated right of the priest in the painted tomb may be men. Figurines of unclothed women came from the problematical grave Ballas 394.

¹⁰ Hunters palette, cf. Petrie, *Ceremonial slate palettes*, A. 3.

¹¹ Main deposit, Quibell, op. cit., pl. XXII, 7. Naqada royal tomb, Vikentiev, loc. cit.

¹² Numerous examples quoted in notes 4-9 above. It is interesting to note, however, that some D-ware pots (e.g. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery*, pl. XXXIV, D 49 f) feature rows of antelopes, like those in the tomb, alternating more or less severely with rows of 'mountains'.

fronted awning in a high position, recognizably Gerzean and sometimes associated with figures, but Protodynastic only (9) when covering a single figure looking outwards.¹



■ black ●●●● red — white

FIG. 4

(10) The so-called foreign ship, probably appearing early in the Gerzean,² but having

¹ Narmer macehead. Also elsewhere at Hierakonpolis: great mace I, Quibell, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI A, top left. At Abydos, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. XI, 14 (Wedimu).

² Mostagedda area 11700 (sherd of C-ware, not necessarily Amratian; all dated graves from the area were Gerzean), and area 1600 (?on pot P 41 a, s.D. 47, 53), Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XXXVIII, 4. 9. At Naqada, grave 1389 (s.D. 44-59), Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LII, 71.

overwhelming influence on Protodynastic shipping.¹ (11) The bent rear arm, presumably a swaggering gesture, typically Gerzean as Kantor indicated, but occurring in notable Protodynastic contexts.²

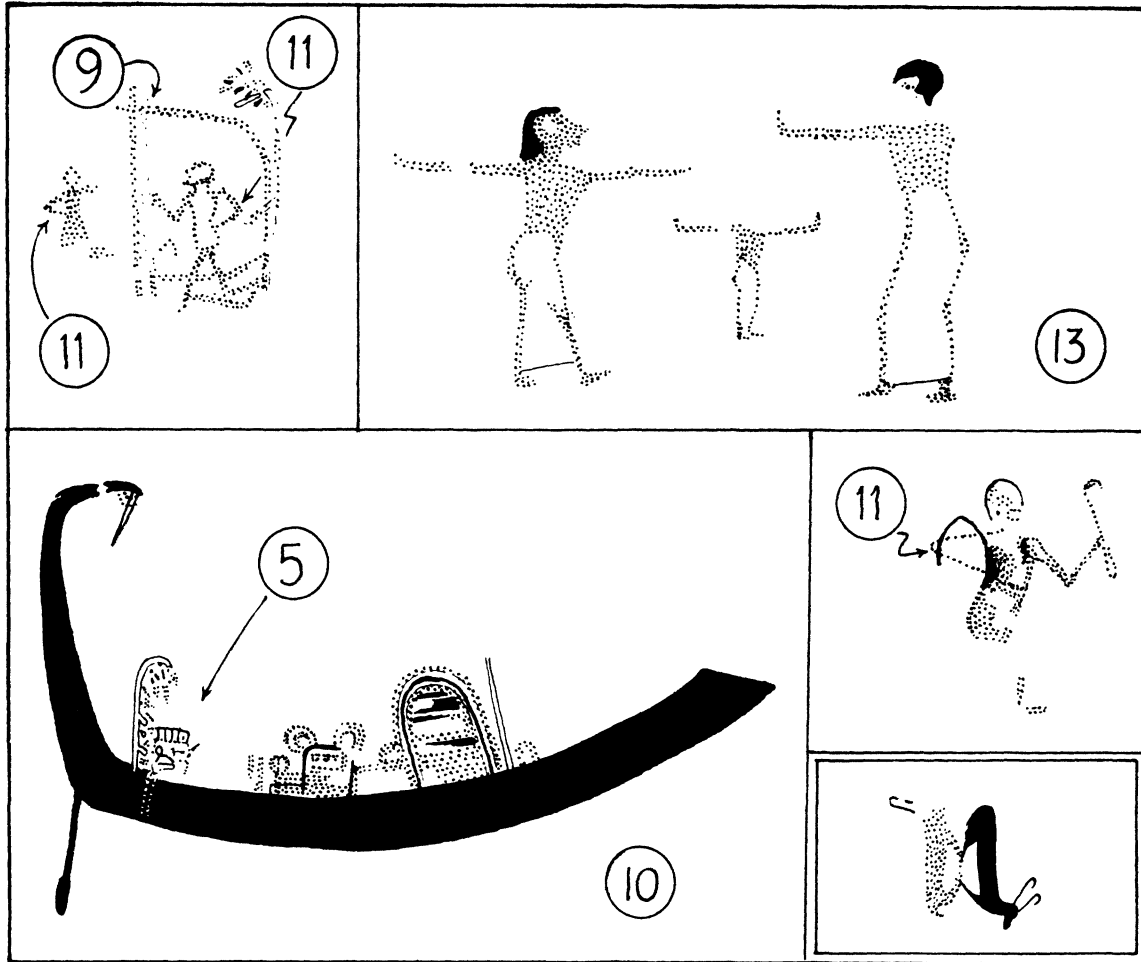


FIG. 5

A motive of a different character is (12) the pear-shaped macehead presumably brandished by the conqueror and possibly by the lion-affronter. Such maceheads are found in Gerzean graves and assumed to appear early,³ but are unrepresented in Gerzean art. In contrast they appear in Protodynastic art, and in definitely royal

¹ In Nubia, Arkell, *JEA* 36, fig. 1 and pl. 10. Hierakonpolis, main deposit: Scorpion macehead, Narmer palette, and possibly some broken ivories, e.g. Quibell, *Archaic Objects*, pl. 64, 14701. Naqada royal tomb. At Abydos, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. IIIa, 5 (Aha); *ibid.*, I, pl. XVII, 29 (Ka); *ibid.*, II, pl. XXII, 178. 179 (Peribsen); *id.*, *Abydos*, II, pl. XII, 266. 279 (in temple area). The often-quoted pot in the British Museum (cf. *Antiquity*, 34 (1960), pl. IXa) is best taken as Protodynastic by shape (Petrie, *Corpus*, L 47 a (s.d. 76), best matched as Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes: Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery*, 81 f or h).

² E.g. the Naqada royal tomb, the figures to right of second register. Bearing in mind differing conventions of relief-carving and outline-painting, possibly also on the Scorpion macehead, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XXVI c, 2, and Narmer on the Narmer palette. The figure to the right of the largest ship in the decorated tomb (here fig. 5, right) may be carrying a flail like Narmer.

³ Kaiser, 'Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur', in *Archaeologia Geographica* 6 (1957), fig. 22.

association,¹ besides having been found at the royal monuments, Abydos², and in massive concentration at the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis.

Finally, the controversial figures over the central boat deserve mention,³ since they lack the graceful gestures and emphatically feminine outline of similarly placed figures on Gerzean pots. If regarded as men, (13) their long kilts would have important later parallels.⁴ Their gestures are not precisely matched.⁵

Thus the tomb attaches manifestations of royalty of the First Dynasty and later to a typical Gerzean assemblage. There is no need to qualify this assemblage as late Gerzean, as Kantor felt compelled to on the evidence then apparent. In fact the tomb strongly indicates that at any rate in southern Upper Egypt, and at the very place traditionally associated with the rise of kingship, the period which 'preceded and paved the way for the First Dynasty'⁶ is that during which the most typical Gerzean material was current.

The implications can only be summarily discussed here. Chronologically, the problems of their reconciliation with Petrie's great system of sequence-dating must be left to another occasion. It is worth noting, however, that while the great mass of typical Gerzean material can be embraced between the mid-40's and mid-50's, Petrie placed the material from the royal monuments at Abydos between the late 70's and early 80's;⁷ secondly, that the denial by Kantor that s.d. 60-76 existed as a period of time⁸ can only mean that the fairly substantial material which is contained within these sequence-dates, and which differs quite markedly from the typical Gerzean, was either contemporary with the Gerzean or with the First Dynasty or overlapped them both.

As a social document the tomb very strongly emphasizes the role of chieftainship in the Gerzean culture⁹—this moreover in its exceptional size¹⁰ and situation in a small cemetery where other graves show features reminiscent of the royal monuments at Abydos.¹¹ It invites a search for evidence of chiefs' cemeteries elsewhere, and in this context the rich, small, and isolated T cemetery at Naqada (see above, p. 11) comes to mind. And the painted walls of the tomb can be seen as a commentary indicating how in rapid stages the chieftainship of tribal savagery grew into the kingship of a civilized

¹ See p. 12, n. 4 above.

² At Abydos: Djer, Ashmolean Museum E. 3153; Wedimu, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. XXXVIII, 85. 86. Their absence from Protodynastic peasants' graves (such as were dated by Petrie to s.d. 70's or by Kaiser to Naqada III) may be evidence of pacification and changed social organization.

³ Cf. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, I, 569.

⁴ Main deposit, Quibell, op. cit., pl. XVI, 4; XXXIX (Khasekhem); possibly Narmer on macehead; file of archers on newly cleaned relief in Ashmolean. Also on two-gazelle palette, Petrie, *Ceremonial slate palettes*, E. 14.

⁵ In view of royal and local associations with the falcon, it is worth suggesting that the attitude may imitate that adopted by certain birds of prey in the course of hovering, with outspread wings with the tips turned up.

⁶ Kantor, *JNES* 3, 136.

⁷ Petrie, *Abydos*, I, 22.

⁸ Kantor, loc. cit.

⁹ Childe, *New light on the most ancient East* (1958), 80; Kaiser, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 189-92.

¹⁰ In floor-area only Naqada grave T 5, Abadiya B 217, and apparently B 101 (cf. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 33) were larger; no other recorded Predynastic graves approach in size. All the Protodynastic royal monuments were larger, but comparable provincial tombs smaller, with rare exceptions such as el-ʿAmra b 91 and the multi-partitioned Armant 1207.

¹¹ Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, 22. Brick constructions and post-sockets.

state. Such a view involves taking the paintings partly as narrative and not as entirely eschatological.

Most writers have seen an element of narrative in the paintings, but some have exaggerated the role of warfare.¹ Certainly the conqueror with prisoners confronted by men with crooks (pl. I b) compose a most likely scene of conflict, and, above, a person may be intended struck by a throwing-stick (pl. I b); but the group right of the largest ship is problematical (pl. I b) and the figure on the extreme right is not necessarily fighting (pl. I a). The hero and lion-affronter may as plausibly be taken as symbolizing authority; and the figure kneeling before the priest is surely offering a skin rather than defending himself with a shield, and his overthrow may be an amusing illustration of magic. Elsewhere hunting and peaceful boating are the chief motives.

The contrast in types of boats has been noted often. Their courses may be intended as opposed—the Gerzean boats heading south as painted on the wall and the foreign ship north²—and their associated colours are certainly contrasting. (Contrasting colours of various motives are shown schematically in figs. 4 and 5).

The Gerzean ships, painted red, white, and green, are associated with passengers or crew with red skins, namely the helmsman of the largest ship (pl. I b), the typically Gerzean figure swaggering under its awning, the figure before him, and those gesticulating above. Other figures with red skins include the prisoners, the men with crooks confronting the conqueror, the similarly typical Gerzeans on the partition,³ the hero, the lion-affronter with red weapon, the priest and offerer. These figures face various ways.

In contrast the foreign ship is painted black, with a black passenger. Other black figures are the conqueror with black mace, the figure possibly struck by a red throwing-stick, and a badly preserved possibly swaggering figure below. This contrast in colour is emphasized by the odd juxtaposition of black and red antelopes in the centre of the wall (fig. 5, bottom right), by the pairs of black and red lions (fig. 4), and by the other animals, including those caught in a trap (pl. I b).

In general, typical Gerzean features are associated with red, but not with black. Of the black motives, the foreign ship and the macehead have been claimed by scholars as Asiatic in origin and associated with intruders. These intruders were defined by Winkler from rock-drawings and termed *Federschmuck-Leute* and later 'Eastern Invaders'.⁴ Their drawings show a marked contrast to those which can be identified as Gerzean and portray some frequent or significant motives painted black in the tomb—the leader at enlarged scale,⁵ and possibly threatening a prisoner,⁶ the macehead,⁷ and

¹ E.g. Petrie, *The Making of Egypt*, 67.

² This interpretation would involve regarding the high part as the stern. The seated figure would then face forward and the trace possibly of a mast would be in the correct place. The projection into the water could be regarded as the steering-oar, but the position of the branch is a contra-indication. The high part was seen by Kantor as the stern (*JNES* 3, 116) but by Quibell (*Hierakonpolis*, II, 21), Petrie (*Ancient Egypt and the East* (1933), 14), and Baumgartel (*Cultures*, I, 13) as the bows.

³ Quibell and Green, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXIX.

⁴ Winkler, *Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde*, 10; *id.*, *Rock-drawings*, I, 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII, 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV, 3, interpreted on p. 28 as dancers.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. XXII, 1.

the foreign ship.¹ On the other hand, the long kilt,² and possibly the hero³ (a conception also claimed as Asiatic) appear in these drawings and are associated with red in the tomb.

The knife and ivory handle from Gebel el-ʿAraq have often been discussed in this context. On the handle, figures associated with motives common also to the Eastern Invaders, namely the macehead,⁴ probably the foreign ship, and presumably the hero in a long kilt, attack and outnumber those probably associated with Gerzean boats, which mount awnings identical with those of the central boat of the painted tomb. Both parties wear the native sheath and fight with the Gerzean flint-knife, but the dangerous-looking aggressors bear the stamp of foreign influence and differ in physical appearance. And these contrasts are emphasized by the opposed directions faced by the boats.⁵ The superimposition of foreign culture on native is even seen in the knife itself which has been flaked down from its normal shape⁶ to fit an exotic and rather inefficient handle.

The painted tomb shows similar aggressors of Asiatic affiliation intruding far into the south of Upper Egypt. What impelled them? A combination of trade and brigandage may be a reasonable explanation: elephant-ivory, skins, timber, and possibly spices of Nubian origin being sought against the offer of technical and ideological innovation.

Geographically, Hierakonpolis was the limit of Upper Egypt and controlled the entry to Nubia;⁷ its chief, if reacting vigorously, could have made favourable terms with intruders. The paintings can be interpreted as partly a narrative of such a reaction by a Gerzean chief and of its consequences: first, resistance to aggression shown in the figures confronting the conqueror; second, assimilation of foreign ideology shown in the heroic attitude; third, authority over native and foreign, shown by the hero and lion-affronter imposing on black and red lions; fourth, harmonious co-existence shown in the paired antelopes and the peaceful passage of ships.

A ruler, accessible to such conceptions and techniques as divine kingship, structural brickwork, the sailing ship, and ground-line composition (the basis of writing), possessed the potentiality of the kings of the First Dynasty.⁸

To these techniques may be added carving in relief, since the decorated tomb dates the Gebel el-ʿAraq knife-handle. In its naturalistic and vivid style the handle contrasts markedly with typical Gerzean carvings and compares altogether better with the Hierakonpolis ivories, suggesting that already, during the currency of the Gerzean culture, a foreign-inspired school of carvers was established in Upper Egypt, producing

¹ See, for example, nn. 5 and 7, p. 16 above.

² E.g. Winkler, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, 2.

³ Winkler, *Völker und Völkerbewegungen*, fig. 30.

⁴ Bénédite, *Le Couteau de Gebel el-ʿAraq*, fig. 9, the top left-hand weapon.

⁵ The foreign ships head left to right by analogy with the well-known seals published in Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. III, D. E.

⁶ Bénédite, *op. cit.*, figs. 6, 7.

⁷ Wilson, *JNES* 14 (1955), 233-6.

⁸ Kaiser, *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 5-12 connects the period of the tomb with the removal of the settlement to its Protodynastic site in the valley—a period which provides a *terminus post quem* for the revetted mound in the Temple Enclosure (Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, 4-5).

objects in character with those which formed the regalia later buried as the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis.¹

In short, the conclusion is that the person once buried in the decorated tomb deserves consideration as one of the legendary Kings of Upper Egypt.

¹ A motive on the walls of the decorated tomb and matched in the Main Deposit, additional to those listed on p. 12, nn. 2-11, is the shoulder-harness worn by the figure on the extreme right of the paintings on the main wall and possibly by the conqueror (Quibell and Green, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVIII), cf. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, pl. X, 5 (an obscure photograph, but clearer in the original, Ashmolean Museum, E. 166).

RED AND BLACK EGYPTIAN POTTERY

By P. O. A. L. DAVIES

THE following is an account of some experiments on the colouring of ancient Egyptian pottery carried out at the University of Sydney in 1946 at the request of the Curator of the Nicholson Museum. The chemical engineering department were asked whether they could throw any light on the character of the colouring materials and the methods of manufacture of the red and black Egyptian pottery in the Museum.

There was a large number of these pots and samples of them were supplied for analysis and study. After some experiments some small-scale examples of various types of colour-pattern were produced, and were placed on exhibition alongside the Egyptian originals. These consisted of beaker-shaped red pots either with a black lip or a completely black interior. A report was supplied with the pots and both the report and the models appear to be lost.

This account has been prepared at the request of Dr. Arkell, Reader in Egyptian Archaeology in the University of London, from the notes and other records made at the time of these experiments. Two questions need an answer—the constitution of the colouring materials, and the manner in which the coloured pots were made.

Colouring material

The constitution of the colouring material is not difficult to establish by normal analytical methods, but the nature of the black constituent has been the subject of considerable controversy. Lucas states the original clay contained a considerable proportion of iron compounds and organic material.¹ He expressed the opinion that the black material was carbon and details several experiments that convinced him his opinion was correct. His general arguments and conclusions are in agreement with the experiments made in Sydney.

There remains, however, the opinion held by some authorities that the black colour is due to a black oxide of iron.² If a sherd from the black-lipped area of a pot is heated to a dull red in air its colour is lost, and at the same time carbon dioxide is produced. Reheating of the same sample in a strongly reducing atmosphere produces a further change of colour to a greyish-black with a metallic lustre which is not the same colour as the original black. Furthermore, this lustrous black may be bleached out by chemical action, which is not possible with the black of the original material. The difference in colour is similar to that between the metallic black of the figured Greek pottery and the dull mat black of the Egyptian examples. These results have been reported by Lucas

¹ *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 3rd ed. (1948), 420.

² *Ibid.*, 428.

and others, and point to the conclusion that the black colour of the Egyptian examples is due to free carbon.

Further investigation showed that the black portions of the pot contain considerable amounts of free carbon while the red parts contain none. Microscopic examination also revealed small particles of carbon which are similar to the carbon obtained from the destructive distillation of organic material.

It seems firmly established, therefore, that the black colour is mainly due to particles of carbon fairly evenly distributed throughout the black coloured areas. Black oxide is

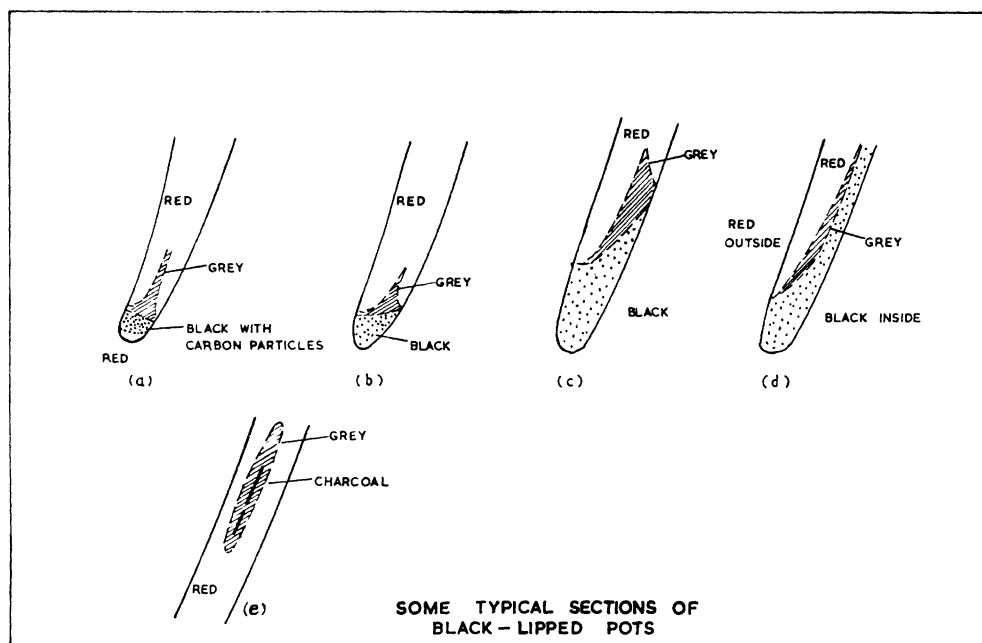


FIG. 1

probably also present as is indicated by the grey band which separates the black from the red regions where the pot is coloured black inside and red outside (fig. 1 *d*). These grey areas do not contain free carbon in detectable amounts. The red colour is due to the original ferric oxide present in the clay.

Before discussing the ways a pot of the desired colouring could be produced it is worth considering the features of the black regions of a pot in more detail. Typical structures are shown in fig. 1, where it can be seen that the general appearance is consistent with the removal of carbon originally present throughout the material by oxidation from the surface inwards. The carbon-rich areas remaining have grey regions of partly reduced red oxide shading off to the bright red of the ferric oxide at the red surface. The colour change between the zones is generally much sharper at the surface than inside the body of the pot.

Production of colours

Lucas suggests two methods by which the pots could have been made.¹ Either the

¹ *Op. cit.*, 434.

black and red areas could have been produced simultaneously or the pot burned red at first and then treated to produce the black areas. He describes experiments in which both methods were tried with some success. His own inclination was to the second method, in which he plunged the red-hot pot into a bed of dry organic material to blacken it. The strongest evidence in favour of this practice is that it is still employed in the Sudan to produce a blackened pot. Lucas had difficulty in avoiding staining of the outside of the pots by smoke, and such staining was absent in the Egyptian examples examined in Sydney. He found that this staining could be largely avoided if fairly elaborate precautions were taken, but did not report that he was successful in producing a facsimile of the black-lipped pottery by this method.

Further evidence against the second method can be illustrated with reference to fig. 1. If the black areas are produced by diffusion of organic vapours and smoke into the pot, one would expect to find black areas extending over the red areas near the surface. On breaking up one or two pots it was found that the opposite was invariably the case, as is shown in fig. 1. Parts of the pots were found where the carbon had not been completely removed during the firing, and although the surface was red, black regions occurred inside (fig. 1 *e*). This carbon could not have diffused from the surface in the manner suggested.

If the blackening of the pots after firing is rejected, it follows that the carbon in the black areas is derived from the organic material originally present in the clay. This conclusion is certainly consistent with the evidence just quoted. The black areas result from the pot being protected in such a way as to prevent the oxidation of the carbon in some places, so producing the black regions; elsewhere the original carbon was burned away, resulting in the red colour of the remainder. To settle the question one way or another a group of experimental pots was made and fired at Sydney during 1946.

Experimental pots

The original Egyptian clay was not available so the pots were made from white pottery-clay of high purity (kaolin) to which various materials were added. Thus the various factors could be investigated independently. Three series of pots were produced, the first of them having ferric oxide added to the clay in a proportion sufficient to produce a result approximate to the original red colour. In the second, starch was added to simulate the organic material in the original Egyptian clay, while in the third both red oxide and starch were added.

The pots were beaker-shaped, about 6 in. high, and roughly the same wall-thickness ($\frac{5}{16}$ to $\frac{3}{32}$ in.) as the original Egyptian pots. They were then fired in a muffle-furnace with a controlled heating cycle.

Some of the first series of the pots were plunged when red-hot into sawdust and also into oil and then broken for examination. The interiors were blackened, and the outsides stained with the smoke produced. However, the distribution of the black colour did not correspond with that shown in fig. 1 and it was not possible to prepare a black-lipped pot using this method. The remainder of this series were burned in a reducing

atmosphere, but the resulting pots were dark grey and not black. The colour could be removed chemically, which indicates that it was black oxide and not carbon. It is difficult to see how the Egyptians could have produced the necessary reducing atmosphere in any case.

Some of the second series of pots were burned in a reducing atmosphere which resulted in a completely black pot, the colour being due to carbon. The remainder were burned in a normal oxidizing atmosphere with portions of the pot protected by a 50:50

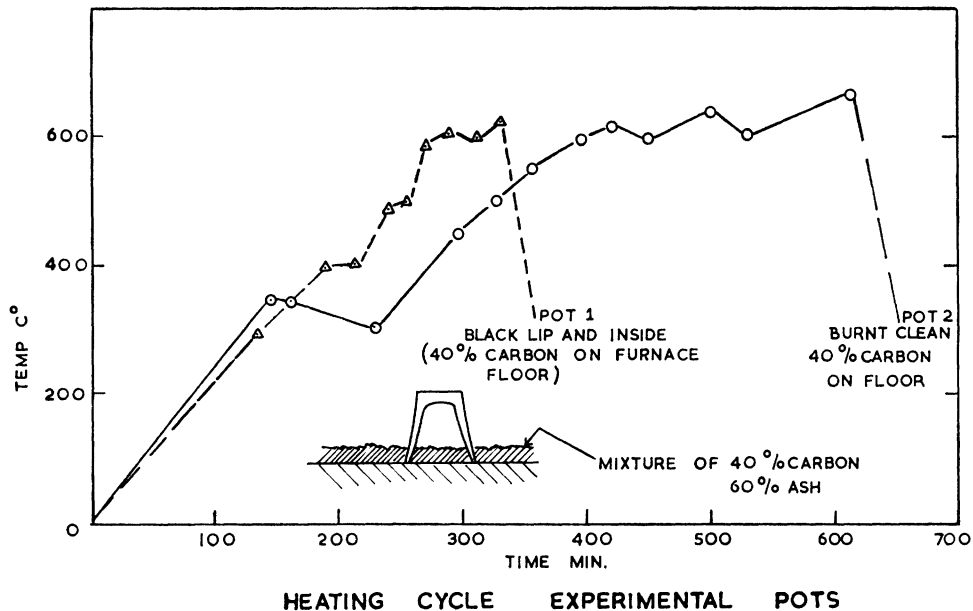


FIG. 2

mixture of carbon and ash. Provided the heating cycle was not prolonged the protected areas remained black.

The third and largest series was given a carefully controlled heating cycle with deliberate attempts to protect both the insides and the lips of the pots in some cases. They were placed lip down on a surface composed of a mixture of carbon and ash in varying proportions. This mixture was intended to represent the probable state of the floor of a simple kiln after a batch of pots had been burned. The rate of heating and the length of time the pots remained at high temperatures were varied as well. By this means it was found that several variations were possible.

The main factors which decide the extent of black obtained all govern the rate at which the carbon in the clay is oxidized and therefore lost. The rate of oxidation rises very rapidly with increase of temperature above a value around 600 degrees centigrade. Below this temperature the length of time the pot is heated is the main factor which decides whether the protected parts of the pot remain black or finish red after firing. This is illustrated by results shown in fig. 2, the curves representing the furnace temperature near the pot versus time.

If, however, a higher temperature is reached during firing, the final result becomes

much more sensitive to the maximum temperature reached during the process. This conclusion is illustrated in fig. 3 by the temperature record of pot 3 which finished red compared with pot 4 which remained black inside although it was heated for the same period of time.

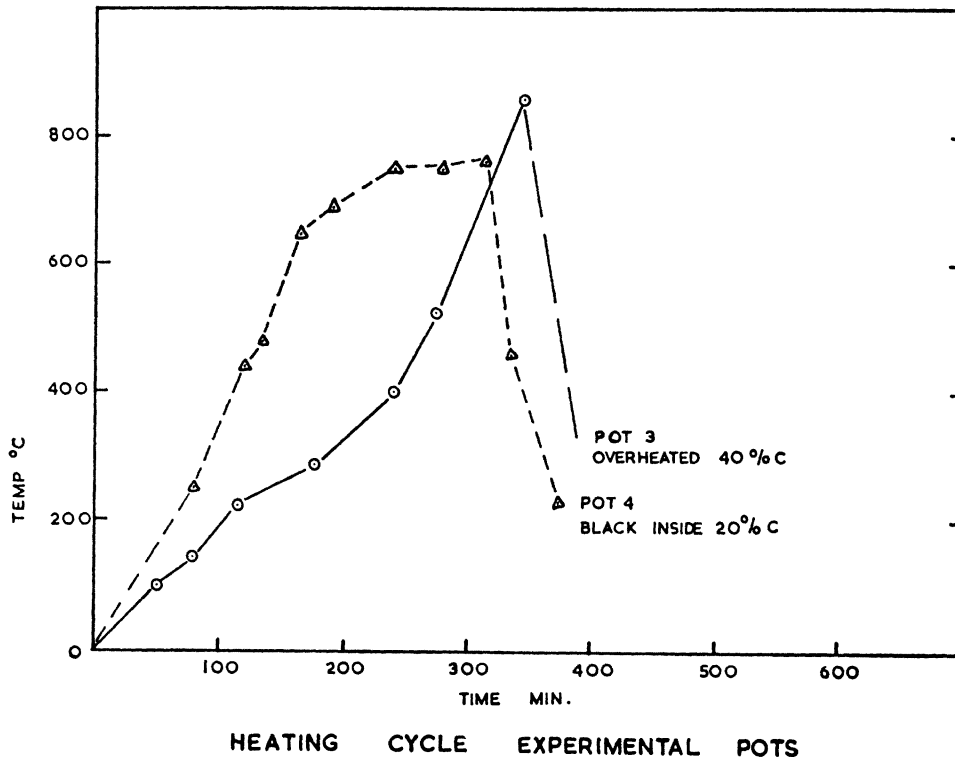


FIG. 3

These results were typical of the whole series of similar experiments on twenty or so pots. Another factor involved the proportion of carbon in the mixture on the furnace floor. This did not seem to affect the results provided it exceeded 10 per cent. It was found, however, that the temperature distribution in the kiln was important.

The results showed that a short heating cycle was most likely to produce a pot with a black lip or black inside although the behaviour was not very consistent. Better results were obtained when care was taken to keep the floor of the furnace cool and to heat the pots from above. These conditions are most likely to be found in a primitive kiln.

Some of the pots were subsequently broken and the general appearance of the colour-regions was similar to those sketched in fig. 1. In one or two cases where the pot was burned completely red, traces of carbon remained in the interior of the base which was considerably thicker than the remainder of the pot. Half-scale facsimiles of two beaker-shaped Egyptian pots were made and burned to approximately the same colour-pattern for exhibition in the museum.

It seems very likely that the Egyptians produced the black and red pots by burning them lip down on a hearth which retained a layer of ash and carbonized fuel from a previous firing. The colour was controlled, if this was done deliberately, by protecting

the black part of the pots and controlling the firing time. A short firing would give a black inside, while a longer exposure to the high temperature a black lip.

This process could easily have been discovered accidentally in the first instance, and with experience various colour-patterns obtained with more certainty. Pots that were burned completely red may have been recoloured black in the manner described earlier, but none of those examined at Sydney appears to have been treated in this way. It may have been that the black and red pots were produced more or less accidentally but, being more highly prized than those pots burned completely red, a higher proportion of them have survived.

A NEGLECTED WISDOM TEXT

By HANS GOEDICKE

IT is almost seventy years since Petrie purchased in Luxor a limestone stela which is now in the collection of University College, London, numbered U.C. 14333. The object, which most likely came from Armant, had suffered badly from salting, but fortunately it was possible to control the disintegration and save the inscription. An excellent copy was made by Griffith and published together with his study of the text.¹ It has not been studied since. The unusual content of the stela makes it desirable to rescue it from long neglect.

Translation

(1) A royal favour of Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, in that he permits^a the funerary offering consisting of bread, beer, meat, fowl, a 'thousand' of bandages (and) cloths, and every appropriate and pure thing for the venerated, the *r-prt*, the count and overseer of priests, Mentu-hotpe, son of Hēpy, true of voice.^b (2) He said: 'I was persistent and obeying, one to whom his lord gave his love.^c I was chief of the privy chamber,^d attentive, free from tremor,^e (3) (but) not disrespectful towards a powerful man.^f Love of me was in the body of the courtiers, the great ones of the palace, and the one enthroned there;^g (I was) one who entered the sight of his lord (with) the great ones behind him, (4) the doorkeepers bowing low until I reached the place where the Majesty was.^h Whenever I went out from there, my heart was exalted, and my favour was in the face of everybody.ⁱ His Majesty did (5) these (things) for his servant on account of my obedience.^j He appointed me a confidant of his Majesty in Armant, the foremost of his domains.^k The wise and the ignorant loved me;^l everybody thanked god for me (and) (6) asked for me duration on earth,^m inasmuch as his Majesty favoured me more than others who had been in this town.ⁿ I was one who brought up the youth, who buried the old and (7) any pauper. I gave bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked.^o I was a son of *Npri*, a husband of *Tyt*,^p (one) for whom *Sh:t-(8)Hr* made cattle exist, a possessor of riches consisting of all the treasures of the resting place of *Hnmw*, the creator of man.^q (When) a low inundation occurred during the twenty-fifth year^r (9) I did not let my district starve. I gave to it Upper Egyptian grain and emmer. I did not let misery come to pass in it until high inundations came again.^s I nourished the children (10) with (my) deeds, I anointed the widows.^t There was not a commoner miserable at my time.^u I strove to cause that I was beloved, so that my name might be good (and) that I might be vindicated (11) in the necropolis.^v

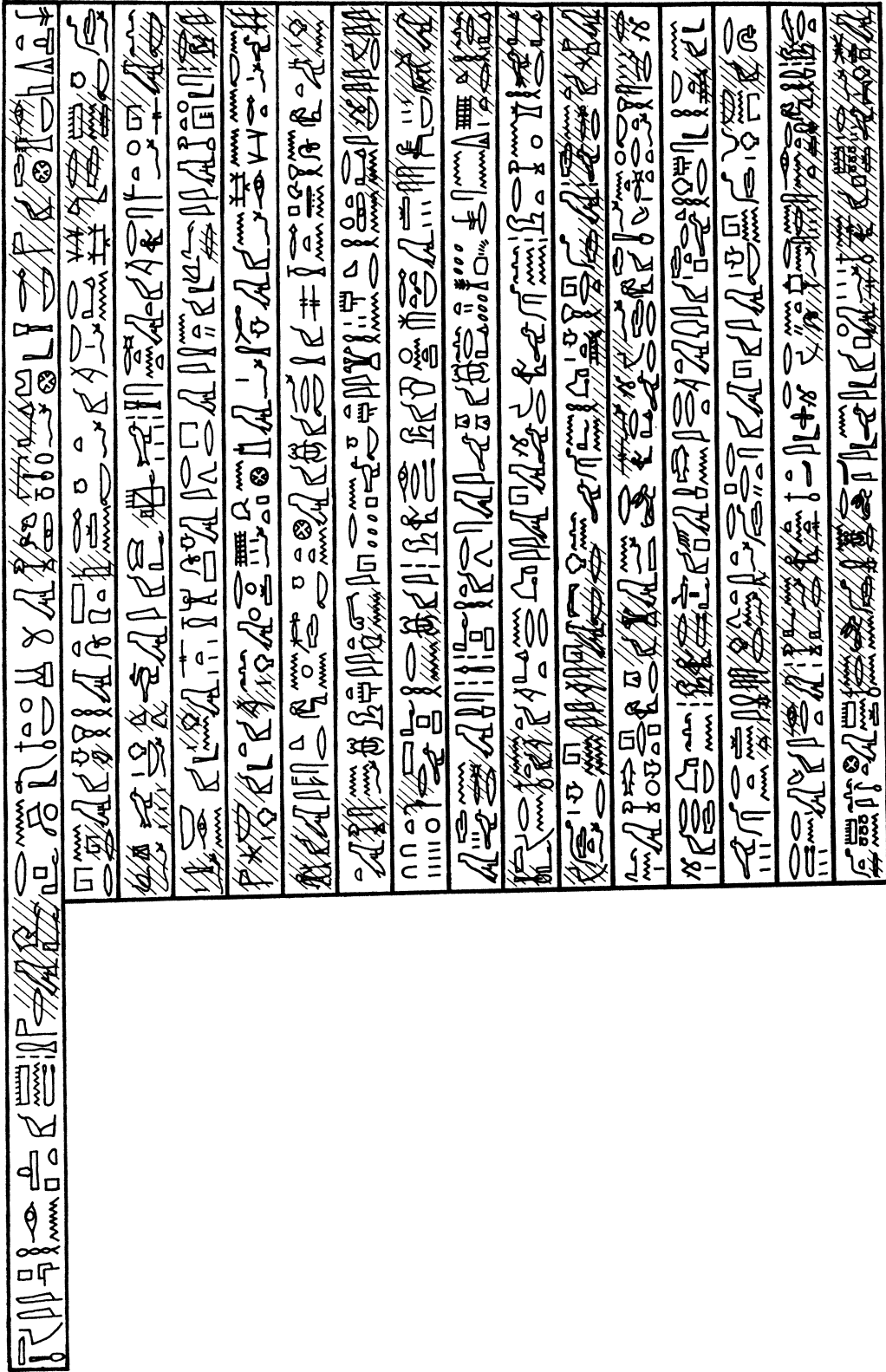
My instruction to my children (is) as follows:^w Contentment, attention, not contesting with a commoner:^x no superior who is haughty is beloved.^y To incline the heart towards one who wants to tell his problems (12) (and) towards him who wants to empty what is in him.^z To investigate his case, to remove his misery,^{aa} (for) a man should be placed according to what is proper for him;^{ab} further, be silent when a wish is being drowned.^{ac} To bow down (13) to everybody,^{ad} not to hide the face from a starving man:^{ae} "The helping hand is what is beloved."^{af} "Who is alone, O men?"^{ag} There should not be any opposition towards an inspector (14) (or) towards any official of the

¹ 'Stela of Mentuhetep son of Hēpy', *PSBA* 18 (1896), 195 ff. I wish to thank Prof. Emery for his kindness in giving me permission to publish this inscription.



THE STELA OF MENTU-HOTPE, SON OF HEPY

U.C. 14333



administration^{ah} apart from saying: "Let your heart be inclined.^{ai} Do not be prejudiced against a petitioner until he has said what he came for."^{aj} When a list of tax-dues to the Treasury of commoners, (15) widows, orphans is reported,^{ak} do to let breathe him who has fallen into wretchedness.^{al} The good character of a man is (worth) to him more than a thousand gifts in fact.^{am} The witness of all mankind (16) is that commandment of the Highest and the saying of the commoners:^{an} "The monument of a man is his goodness;^{ao} a forgotten one is the one evil of character."^{ap} If it comes to pass as has been said, my name will be good and enduring in my town (and) my monument will never decay.^{aq}

Commentary

(a) This rendering of the introductory formula anticipates a discussion which I hope to present soon. Its principal point is that $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ does not introduce a prayer for favours to be rendered but rather states benefits which have been granted in favour of a particular person. Originally limited to the king it is subsequently also connected with certain gods.

(b) In view of the name as well as of the arrangement and style of the stela,¹ it can be in all probability assigned to the Eleventh Dynasty, presumably to the earlier part of the reign of Mentuhotpe II, Nebhepetrē. From the statement in line 5 we learn that the owner of the stela was an official at Hermonthis where, according to his title, he acted as district-chief.² Beyond his primarily local function he also held the title *r-prt*. The common name of the owner of the stela makes it difficult to identify him; the stela of another man named *Mntw-htp* from the same region is now at Strasbourg,³ but there is no connexion between the two men. For the use of *mꜣc-hrw* cf. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 86; Ny Carlsberg, Inv. 1241 (= Clère-Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, § 32, l. 11).

(c) For *mn rd mdd mtn* cf. Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der XI. Dynastie*, § 5 b, d; Janssen, *De traditionele egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, 1, 19, 70.

Together with a further epithet, these two attributes undoubtedly belong together, as can be seen from the use of the personal pronoun to indicate the subdivisions of the text. The first section describes in general terms *Mntw-htp*'s loyal attitude towards his lord and the esteem he earned because of it, while the second section, introduced again by *ink*, stresses particular aspects.

(d) The important stage in *Mntw-htp*'s career is his service in the privy chamber of the king (*st-št:t*);⁴ several men who rose to high positions started their careers there; so *Tti* (BM 614, ll. 2-3),⁵ *Hty*⁶ and *Ihꜣ*.⁷ *ꜣꜣ n st-št:t* could be taken as a title, but is presumably rather a description of the position occupied.⁸ What *Mntw-htp*'s duties were

¹ H. W. Müller, 'Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches', *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 181 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II, 462 ff.

² For the combination of titles cf. Kees, *Untersuchungen zur Provinzialverwaltung*, 1, 93.

³ Spiegelberg-Portner, *Aegyptische Grab- und Denksteine aus Süddeutschen Sammlungen*, 1, Taf. XII, 20.

⁴ *Wb.* IV, 551, 13.

⁵ Blackman, 'The Stele of Thethi, Brit. Mus. No. 614', *JEA* 17 (1931), 55 ff.

⁶ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. 14.

⁷ Id., *El Bersheh*, II, pl. 21, 13.

⁸ Cairo 20086; Berlin 7731, etc. In the New Kingdom the situation was somewhat different; for *ꜣꜣ n pr* cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 134; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, 102; for *ꜣꜣ n ist* cf. Bruyère, *Deir el Medineh* (1924-5), 18.

in connexion with the privy chamber remains unclear, but it seems that they were hardly more than those of a page. That the position was not a particularly high one emerges clearly from the subsequent mention of important people and of the respect shown to them. On the other hand, this account of *Mntw-htp*'s advancement indicates that the king chose his officials from his immediate following, namely those people who had grown up in his service. This practice of relying on the ties of personal confidence for the selection of high officials and not on membership of a particular social class is found earlier in the reign of Merenrē, when we see *Kḥr*, who was brought up among the royal children, appointed as *hry-tp* in the nome of Edfu (*Urk.* I, 254, 1-5). This highly personal relationship between the king and his officials is well demonstrated in line 5 of the present text when *Mntw-htp* describes his appointment at Hermonthis as that of a 'confidant' (*mh-ib*).

(e) *wšh ib*, *Wb.* I, 256, 14 f.; in view of *Mntw-htp*'s position 'attentive' seems a better rendering than 'kind' or 'friendly'.¹ *Nhrhr*, *Wb.* II, 287, 2 must be in contrast to *wšh ib* and was translated by Griffith 'weariness (carelessness)'; the word is possibly to be related to *nḥnh* (*Wb.* II, 286, 6) attested once² when it is used of a land under the effect of fear. According to the context *nhrhr* seems to express the state of a humble person in exalted surroundings. From what follows it emerges that the word denotes the effects of excessive respect and thus is translated 'tremor'.³

(f) In view of the following *wsr*, 'mighty one', 'disrespectful' seems a better rendering for *kšhs* than 'haughty', the latter meaning suits the second occurrence of the word in line 11. For *kšhs* cf. Scharff, *ZÄS* 77 (1941), 18; Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), 72.

(g) *Smrw* are here distinguished from *wrw*, both denoting particular ranks; for the first cf. Cairo 20546; *Siut*, II, 7; Cairo 20539, l. 12; and for the second, BM 614, 2 (*Tti*); Louvre, C 15; Louvre, C 1; Louvre C 167, 5.⁴

Since *hṣw* is restricted in its use to activities of the king, particularly in connexion with the 'palace',⁵ *hṣw im* can only be understood in reference to the crowned inhabitant of the palace, i.e. the king. It is not necessarily restricted to one particular ruler and most likely refers to a royal lord of the past.

(h) *ḥk hr* is given by *Wb.* I, 231, 9 as verb with preposition (for the passage see also Ny Carlsberg, Inv. 1241 = Clère-Vandier, op. cit., § 32, ll. 6-7); but *hr* in this construction is the noun 'face' in its figurative use 'sight' (*Gesichtskreis*), as again below in line 4. *Hr phwyf*—see also Cairo 20765. For the translation cf. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 204; the vivid description of the audience resembles the account in *Sinuhe*, 249-52. The absence of a suffix after *hm* seems remarkable; so too the rather indirect expression *nty hm im*.

(i) The use of the imperfective *prr(·i)* implies repeated action. For *m hr n*, used as above, cf. Louvre C 11 (= Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 76, 18).

¹ Cf. Scharff, 'Der Bericht über das Streitgespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele', *Sitzb. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1937, 28.

² Couyat-Montet, *Les Inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmat*, no. 114, 6.

³ For *šw m* cf. Federn, *JEA* 36 (1950), 49.

⁴ Moss, 'Two Middle-Kingdom stelae in the Louvre', *Griffith Studies*, 310 f., pl. 47.

⁵ For the frequent expression *hṣi m ḥ* cf. *Wb.* III, 240, 8.

(j) *Nn* refers back to *hswt*; the particular favour is described in what follows. Noteworthy is the mention of *mdd mtn* 'obedience' as the reason for the high esteem; it throws an interesting light on the prevailing political situation. Those who were partisans of the king were apt to rise to power in reward for their loyalty.

(k) From the way in which it is presented it is clear that the appointment was not to a particular office but to the status of 'confidant of his Majesty'. One gets the impression that *Mntw-htp* was to act as the king's personal representative rather than as a local administrator in the usual fashion. This unusual position was in all probability due to the particular place of activity, namely Hermonthis (*Iwny*), which is described as *tpyt spwt·f*, 'the foremost of his (the king's) domain'. *Tpy* is possibly to be understood temporally as the first of the king's possessions, an interpretation that agrees with the historical background of our inscription which covers a major part of the rise of the Eleventh Dynasty. From the term *spwt·f* one is almost inclined to assume a particularly close connexion between those territories and the king, comparable to the *Hausmacht* of the German medieval rulers. The fact that *Mntw-htp* is not appointed to a specific administrative position but as 'confidant' of the monarch likewise suggests that the district of Armant was under the direct supervision of the king. The use of *spwt·f* in reference to the royal realm seems furthermore to imply a territorial limitation and could suggest that the realm did not cover all of Egypt. Such a limitation could serve as an indirect historical clue to the date of *Mntw-htp*'s appointment, namely, as preceding the final victory of the 'Theban' rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty¹ over their Herakleopolitan opponents.

(l) For the pair *rh-hm* cf. *Wb.* II, 445, 17; the ideas of knowing and not-knowing do not especially concern *Mntw-htp*, but are to be understood as a general expression. Despite the unusual grouping of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}^c$, *mrt wi* is undoubtedly to be read.

(m) The restoration *dwꜣ ntr n(i)*, suggested by Griffith, seems certain. For the expression cf. Janssen, op. cit., I, 118; for its meaning see also Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten*, III, 95 f. The statement is more meaningful than usual and is followed by the request made of the god expressed in an identically construed sentence. For a similar request cf. *Urk.* IV, 972, 13-14; Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II, pl. VII. There is a remarkable frequency of the expression *wꜣh tp tꜣ* around the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty; cf. especially *Siut*, IV, 25, 37, 66, 87; Chassinat-Palanque, *Fouilles à Assiout*, 79, 123; Cairo 20539, l. 20; Cairo 20030, i 5.

(n) *Nꜣst n* with imperfective *sꜣm·f*, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, § 181; Berlin 1203; Clère-Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire*, no. 17, ll. 5-6, p. 13. For the spelling of *k(y)w(y)* cf. *Urk.* I, 222, 170; 27, 16; Vandier, *Mocalla*, 186, Inscr. 5 (II δ 2).²

(o) For *šd nhn* and *ḫrs iꜣwy* cf. Janssen, op. cit., 113 f. and particularly Cairo 20530,

¹ The priority given here to Hermonthis confirms that the Eleventh Dynasty did not originate in Thebes but from 'Iwny which lay somewhat upstream. The first success of the Hermonthis family probably was to gain control over the Thebaid (*Wꜣst*) this being the initial step in their rebellion against the Herakleopolitan kings.

² The passage is similar to the one under discussion but uses *wꜣw* instead of *hꜣrw*.

l'Égypte ancienne, 15 f; 113. The date given, namely the 25th year, is only of limited value, since there is no mention of the ruler by whose reign it is reckoned. From its place in the biography of *Mntw-ḥtp* it seems most probable that this event occurred after his appointment at Hermonthis, i.e. under one of the rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty. 'Year 25' is a high date, and only two reigns in this dynasty could accommodate it, those of Antef, Horus Wah'ankh and Mentuhotpe II, Nebḥepetrē^c; of the two the former seems the more likely, although *Mntw-ḥtp* son of *Hḫi* lived probably into the reign of the latter in which time the stela was probably inscribed. This particular low inundation was a disaster for all of Upper Egypt and appears to be referred to in inscriptions from several different places.

For the use of the preposition *r* in expressions of time introducing events lasting over a period of time cf. *Wb.* II, 387, 26.

(s) *Wgg*—*Wb.* I, 377, 18, is identical with *Wb.* I, 376, 13, attested in *Sinuhe*, B 168; *Ptahhotep*, 9; cf. Gardiner, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 180; for the use of the word in connexion with the unpleasant effects of famine see James, *Ḥekanakhte Papers*, p. 30, n. 81.

R iw-t ḫrpw rsw can safely be considered a *sdm-t-f*-form despite Gardiner's hesitation on this point.¹ Cf. in this connexion *MDAIK* 18 (1962), 17 f.

(t) The preposition *m* after *snm* 'to feed' (*Wb.* IV, 164, 1) introduces the kind of sustenance. The group at the beginning of line 10 is mutilated so that the reading cannot be verified. $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ 'my arms' as read, without certainty, by Griffith is unlikely, and the group is probably to be restored $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$. The usual meaning of the construction *snm m* speaks against Griffith's rendering; furthermore, 'arm' as a metaphorical expression is restricted in its use to actions involving strength, and then it occurs in the singular.² If $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ thus is to be recognized as the instrument of 'feeding the children' it can only be a noun or a nominally used participle. For the expression, which occurs again in line 15 (note (*am*)), cf. *Urk.* VII, 11, 9; 61, 17; cf. also Gardiner-Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, VI, 1.

The nature of his benevolence to widows described here differs from what is usual, cf. Vandier, *Mocalla*, 247. Whether the 'anointing' has any significance beyond being a gesture of kindness is obscure.

(u) For *m:r* as a condition afflicting the *nds* cf. *Hatnub*, Gr. 22, 8.

(v) *ḫ* expresses here violent action without any hostile implication. This use is not mentioned by the *Wörterbuch* but occurs possibly in Pap. Sallier II, 10, 9.³ $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ either *r rdit mri-t(w) w(i)* or *r rdit mrwt(i)*. For the latter cf. *Wb.* II, 102, 19-21; but this phrase is generally followed by an adverbial complement.

For *m:r-ḫrw m ḫrt-ntr* cf. Cairo 20089, 10; 20322; 20578, etc.; Berlin 13272, 11; while *nfr rn* occurs already in the Old Kingdom; cf. Edel, *Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches*, § 27.

(w) Read *sb:wt(i) n ḫrdw(i)*; cf. *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 92, where the 'teaching' is primarily

¹ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, § 407, 1, n. 3.

² The group Vandier, *Mocalla*, Inscr. 9 (III 8), does not read *ḫwy* but *bi*.

³ Brunner, *Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duaf* (*Ägyptol. Forschungen* 13), 24, 48 translates *ḫ* *sich hüten*, a meaning for the verb not attested elsewhere and also difficult to reconcile with its primary meaning. The passage is better rendered 'pursue the words (matters) more than they' or 'pursue the words for them' which would suit the context more than does the current rendering.

a biography, and Cairo 20538, ll. 8–9 (= Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 68, 11) *ḥst-ꜥ m sbꜣyt irt-n-f hr mswf*. The idea of the father instructing his descendants is the classic convention used in ‘wisdom literature’ and is found in the teachings of Ḥordedef, Ptahhotep, Khety son of Duauf, King Merikarē, King Ammenemes, and in the ‘Teaching of a man to his son’.¹ While the other texts, particularly those that are approximately contemporary, are witnesses to a developed literary tradition in the North, the text of *Mntw-ḥtp* is the only early representative of this literary genre from the South. It is difficult to estimate the independence of his findings, and it is likely that his ‘teachings’ were influenced by a literary mode of which the Herakleopolitan court was probably a centre.

For the introductory *m dd* cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, § 224 end.

(x) Griffith, followed by *Wb.* II, 497, 17, understood *hrt* to be adjectival, but this would be untenable in view of *dd* being masculine. Since *m dd* introduces a literal quotation *hrt* cannot be connected with the preceding.

For *hrt* ‘contentment’ cf. Pap.Prise 6, 10 (= *Ptahhotep*, 117).² For *wꜣḥ-ib* as a desirable quality cf. *Sinuhe*, 203; Cairo 20538, l. 7; cf. also Pap.Prise, 19, 1 (= *Ptahhotep*, 624).

ḥꜣ ḥnꜥ occurs *Siut*, III, 16;³ *Sinuhe*, 111. The idiom is used normally of a contest with an equal in the sense of ‘combat’. When the activity is directed against a specific goal *ḥꜣ* is construed with *r* or with direct object.⁴ For *nꜣs* as a member of a social class to be distinguished from people of standing cf. *Siut*, I, 310;⁵ Volten, *Zwei politische Schriften*, 31; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 121. In *Urk.* VII, 9, 14 *nꜣs* seems to refer to a particular way of life.⁶

(y) For the passage cf. Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, 165. Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), 72, prefers to render *kꜣhs* by ‘harsh’ which would suit here, but not the occurrence in line 3 (cf. note (f)) so that ‘haughty’ seems preferable.

(z) *Hnn* introduces the first of two identically constructed clauses, and, being part of the advice to the children, the verbal forms are to be recognized as infinitives, as is also indicated by the use of the negative verb *tm*. For *hnn ib* cf. *Wb.* II, 495, 4; 494, 14, and line 14 here.⁷ For *mꜣr* denoting mental problems cf. *Peasant B* I, 280, *mꜣrw-i drw ḥft-ḥr-k* ‘my misery is (now) unfolded in front of you’.

¹ Cf. Posener, *Rev. d'Ég.* 6 (1951), 37 f.

² The numeration is that introduced by Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep d'après le Papyrus Prise*, which is also followed by Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, Prague, 1956.

³ A further occurrence is possibly *Hatnub*, Gr. 16, 5, reading *šm k(y)w r ḥꜣ ḥnꜥ nꜣwt-i* ‘when others came to fight with my town’.

⁴ *Wb.* I, 215, 6; cf. also above, p. 31, n. 3. *ḥꜣ* used transitively occurs in the Story of the Eloquent Peasant (B I, 278), *ḥꜣ-n-i mri-i* ‘I have fought my grounding-pole’ cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 9 (1921), 17, n. 10; also, in the same text, B I, 258.

⁵ The Editor, Mr. T. G. H. James, pointed out this indicative passage to me in connexion with a number of most valuable comments which he made on my manuscript and for which I wish to express my appreciation.

⁶ Gardiner (*ZAS* 45 (1908), 130) renders this passage ‘I spent my childhood, I spent my youth (?)’, translating *nꜣs* as ‘youth(?)’; but this involves a pleonasm, for it would seem difficult to draw a line between the two terms. To render *nꜣs* as ‘common life’, i.e. life not spent in official matters, seems to be appropriate for a man who does not hold any titles but who relates as the main feature of his life the good time he had with his wives.

⁷ *Hnn* ‘to attend’, cf. *Ptahhotep*, 268.

R ski·ty·fy hrt nt ht·f is parallel to *r dd·ty·fy mꜣrw·f*. For the meaning cf. the close parallel in *Ptahhotep*, 266. *Hrt nt ht·f* is similar to *ntt m ht·i* in *Peasant B* 1, 279.

(aa) *Sdm mdw* 'to investigate', *Wb.* IV, 386, 10–11 'to investigate a case' particularly as the duty of an official; cf. *Peasant B* 1, 234; B.M. 566. James points out that the hieroglyph used for *mdw* is the *hrw*-sign (𓅀).

For *dr mꜣr·f* cf. *Siut*, III, 5; *Peasant B* 1, 69–70.

(ab) It is uncertain whether this sentence contains advice for conduct or else is connected with what follows as an explanation of the suggested behaviour. The reason is that *rdi* can hardly be understood in the sense 'appoint' (*Wb.* II, 467, 37; *Urk.* VII, 12, 2), since there is no authority involved; it is used rather in a general way, 'place'; cf. Cairo 20086; Griffith, *Siut and Rifeh*, pl. 16, 14.

(ac) *Hrp·tw ib* cf. *Ptahhotep*, 618; Clère, *JEA* 35 (1949), 41; *Urk.* VII, 64, 7; *Ham-mamat*, no. 111, 4. For the sense cf. also *Ptahhotep*, 275.

(ad) *Hꜣm rmm*, cf. *Ptahhotep*, 62; *JEA* 16 (1930), 70; *JEA* 17 (1931), 59 (B.M. 614, 7); *JEA* 37 (1951), 51. The words here can hardly imply an expression of reverence; they are rather to be understood as 'greet in a friendly way', for *bw-nb* does not seem to express any social distinction.²

(ae) *Hbs hr*, cf. *Wb.* III, 64, 13–14; *Peasant B* 2, 105; Williams, *The Stela of Menthu-weser*, 24, 26 f.

(af) *Imꜣ* in connexion with the hand, cf. *Wb.* I, 79, 16.³ The passage gives the impression of being a quotation of a well-known saying.

(ag) This question introduces a new section dealing with the problems of life in a community; for the sportive writing of the interrogative *in-m* cf. *JEA* 47 (1961), 155.

(ah) *ꜥhꜣ* is used here in the sense of 'opposition' towards government officials. The distinction between the two kinds of administrators mentioned, *rwꜥ* and *sdꜣwty*, is difficult to determine; the first appear to be commissioners for a particular task, the second holders of regular offices. Occurrences of *rwꜥ* in texts of the Middle Kingdom are *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 110 f.; Berlin 1199; possibly Cairo 20003, 8. For the significance of the designation cf. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*, 13, 26; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 116. For a *rwꜥ* of an administration (*pr*) cf. *Urk.* IV, 667; Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. 26 (*pr-nswt*); Moret, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 34 (*pr-hnr*); Nauri Decree, l. 34 (*rwꜥ n pr*). For *sdꜣwty* cf. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 89; *JEA* 17 (1931), 61; Cairo 20011, 3; Helck, op. cit., 84.

(ai) For *wꜣw-hr* cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, § 179, 3 and *Hatnub*, Gr. 22, 13. What follows is a suggestion of how an official should be addressed. For *hnn ib* cf. above, note (z) and for the use of *wꜣh-ib·k* in pleading a superior for kindness see note (x).⁴

(aj) *Iwh* (here written *iwhꜣ*, as occasionally elsewhere), lit. 'load oneself', *Wb.* I, 56, 17, the figurative usage seems clear. *R dd·t·f iit·n·f hr·s* identical with *Ptahhotep*, 267.

¹ Used in parallelism to *hms sꜣ*, it means hardly more than 'greet' and not 'obey', as Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* 114, understands it.

² Cf. Louvre C 14; Cairo 20539, l. 11; *Siut* III, 3, 6; *Peasant B* 2, 108; *Hatnub*, Gr. 23, 8.

³ Cf. Gunn's suggestion (*Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, 105, n. 6) for reading the title *imꜣ-ꜣ* as 'friendly of arm'.

⁴ See Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten*, III, 93 f.

(ak) Since there is no indication that a new section starts with *smi*¹ it is impossible to detect here a major syntactical change. *Smi* thus has to be taken either as imperative, if the address to the officials is continued, or, more likely, as passive *s_{dm}f* in a virtual circumstantial clause.² There is some uncertainty concerning the object of *smi*. Possibly the sign $\overline{\text{sm}}$ is here not determinative of *smi*³ but should be read *mdyt* 'debenture', for which cf. *Wb* II, 187, 12. More likely we should understand here the noun *nt*, which is suggested below as a restoration for the subsequent lacuna (see note (al)). If understood correctly, it seems to mean the 'amount' placed to the debit (*iry*) of a person. For the construction cf. *Urk.* I, 164, 11. For *iry* in reference to obligations cf. *Urk.* I, 214, 14; *JEA* 24 (1938), 2, n. 5; further, the noun *iry* 'obligation' in *Urk.* I, 85, 2; *Urk.* VII, 58, 18; *Hammamat*, no. 19, 7; *Wb.* I, 105, 12. For the use of the preposition *r* here cf. its use in connexion with the expression *hryt-r* 'taxes due', *Wb.* III, 134, 4. The partly broken group of signs may not be *r mitt*, as suggested by Griffith and followed by the *Wörterbuch*, but $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{t}}$. For the term $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{t}}$ in reference to the 'treasury' see particularly the inscription of *Tti* (B.M. 614 = *JEA* 17 (1931), 55 ff.). *Tti* was in charge of this institution. For the order of persons cf. *Siut*, v, 10 and Cairo 20534, 11.

(al) The meaning of the broken passage is probably 'reduce the amount of their dues to a fraction' as suggested in *Amenemope*, xvi, 5-6.⁴ Thus $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{t}}$ seems a possible restoration. For *nt* cf. *JEA* 12 (1926), 129; Pap.Smith, 1, 7.

Snf, lit. 'let breathe' (*Wb.* IV, 162, 6-7), here probably not just figuratively but probably with a material meaning 'relieve' from taxes or debts; cf. the use of *snf* 'unload' oneself of problems in *Peasant B* I, 279. For *wzi r* cf. Breasted, *PSBA* 23 (1901), 239 ff.; Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 53.

(am) *Bist* 'character', cf. *Hatnub*, Gr. 23, 8-9; 24, 3; *Siut*, v, 22; for the meaning cf. the similar phrase in *Ptahhotep*, 493. *Ddiw* 'gifts, donations' as in line 10 (note (t)). For the position of *hzw* 'thousands' cf. *Urk.* I, 181, 12; 182, 6; these are not instances of abbreviated writings of **hzw* *m* X as Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §§ 398, 400 takes it; *hzw* is rather in apposition to the preceding word, and this construction appears to convey a special emphasis, its literal meaning being 'deeds, (even) thousands'. For the adverbial expression *m irrt* 'in fact' cf. *Horus and Seth*, 15, 4.

(an) *S_{dm} r3* 'testimony', cf. Spiegelberg, *Studien zum Rechtswesen*, 26; Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*, 12; *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 10. 23. *Ts pf hry* stands parallel to *r3 ndsw*; accordingly $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{t}}$, as a singular, denotes a person. For a spelling of 'Horus' the writing would be most unusual; the context, however, requires the mention of a (or the) god

¹ In the case of a new section we should expect it to be introduced by *iw* or by the personal pronoun or by the negation *mn*.

² To consider it as a *s_{dm}nf*-form, as proposed by Vandier, *Moralla*, 247, with a first person suffix supplied seems in two ways untenable: first, the context is written in the third person and second, it does not use the *s_{dm}nf*-form. Such a form used after a *s_{dm}f* would express relative past and not be a narrative form. For the latter it would need to be separated from the temporal scheme of the preceding verb-forms by an introductory *iw*.

³ *Smi* expresses the verbal report to a superior and not a written notification, for which *sir* is used.

⁴ For the attitude recommended here cf. also *Siut*, v, 11.

or the king, for the 'command' (*ts*) is contrasted with the 'talk' (*rs*) of the people.

(*ao*) The passage is undoubtedly a quotation, probably from some moralizing composition. It occurs in identical form in Louvre A 85 of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.¹

(*ap*) *Smḥw*, lit. 'one to be forgotten', cf. *Wb.* IV, 141, 1-3.

(*aq*) Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, 427.

¹ *Belegstellen ad Wb.* II, 71, 1.

SPELLS 38–40 OF THE COFFIN TEXTS

By R. O. FAULKNER

WHEN in Vol. 35 of this *Journal* the late Professor A. de Buck published his translation of Coffin Text Spell 312 under the title 'The earliest version of Book of the Dead 78', he quoted in his introductory remarks a dictum of Sir Alan Gardiner: 'Scholars should not shrink from translating difficult texts. At the best they may be lucky enough to hit on the right renderings. At the worst they will have given the critics a target to tilt at.' It is in this spirit that I proffer below an attempt to translate the spells which form the title of this paper in the hope that others may use it as a starting-point for further investigation.¹

The main interest of the spells here translated lies in the relationship of the deceased with his previously defunct father, which exhibits notable peculiarities which are discussed below. In Spell 38 both son and father speak; Spell 39 at the beginning appears to be taken up with a complaint of premature death, but from 168*d* onward the topic of Spell 38 is resumed, making an odd combination. Spell 40 starts off with a declaration of virtue, but again incongruously reverts to the father-son topic. We have the impression that the earlier parts of Spells 39 and 40 represent alien intrusions into what was either a continuation of Spell 38 or else a second spell of similar import.

Spell 38

- I, 157 Causing him who is in the realm of the dead^a to be kindly to a man.
The newly deceased son speaks: O ye of the Great Curtain, O ye of the Great West^b, ye
 I, 158 beings in the Broad Hall, I speak before you. ¹ Behold ye that father of mine, that attendant of mine, that guardian of mine, that champion of mine, that one to whom I have descended, him who is in the West, him who is in the realm of the dead.^c He has announced me to the Tribunal, he has said that your utterance will fetch me,^d for my days have been brought to
 I, 159 an end^e in this land of the living ¹ in which I was. He has said that I may take possession of his seat and take over his dignity^f in that sacred land in which he is.
 Have ye said that I may be brought to you^g in order that that father of mine may give place(?)^h to me, in order that I may inheritⁱ his seat and take over his dignity?^j Do ye say that I may bring^k to you his utterance?
 I, 160 *The speech of the previously deceased father:* ¹ Although he knows your abode and is aware of all that ye have done, yet I have seen the chest of Sia^l and I know what is in it; I have made sharp knives which will destroy the foe^m in the Broad Mansion on behalf of her who is in Kēdemⁿ—so says that father of mine who is in the realm of the dead.
The son speaks: Dost thou say that I should be brought to this sacred land in which thou

¹ I have read and discussed these spells with my students Miss Haikal and Mr. Uphill, and from these discussions some useful suggestions have emerged. Speleers' version in *Textes des cercueils du Moyen Empire égyptien*, pp. 17 ff., seems to miss the point.

art, thy seat which is in the realm of the dead, that I may inherit thy dignity? Transfer to
 I, 161 me thy power^o | in order that I may take over for myself thine office and say: My power
 is equal to thine.^p

The father speaks: My son has come from the Island of Fire in order to disturb(?) me,^q
 in order to open up the interior of the twilight,^r to make a doorway into the Netherworld,
 to take possession of his father's seat,^s to inherit his dignity, to emulate^t his power, and to
 take over his offices,^u so that his foes^v who are in the Island of Fire may exult over him,
 I, 162 even those who are in the sacred land in which he is, | who wish to throw down his house,
 to break up his gate,^w and to despoil his inheritance upon earth and in the Island of Fire—
 so says my father who is in the West.

The son speaks: God-like power is on thee in the West, in this sacred land in which thou
 art. Thou hast thy soul, thy power is with thee,^x for thou hast desired thy soul from me
 upon earth.^y Dost thou say that I am indeed^z brought to this sacred land in which thou art
 I, 163 in order to break up thine house, to throw down thy gate, to despoil thine inheritance | so
 that thy foes may exult over thee? Lo, I am here in this land occupying thy seat^{aa} and
 pulling together thy weakness. Lo, I . . .^{bb} thy companions, taking away thy poverty,
 strengthening thy gate,^{cc} perpetuating thy name upon earth in the mouths of the living,
 and setting up thy door and thy tomb at thy stairway(?).^{dd} Be secure, be secure,^{ee} be god-like,
 be god-like^{ff} in this sacred land in which thou art, in thine office and in these thy possessions
 I, 164 | in this sacred land in which thou art.

When I was in this land of the living, I built thine altars, I established thine invocation-
 offerings in thy funerary domain which was in the Island of Fire. I heard the word of the
 Wilful One(?)^{gg} within the Island of Life in front of the robing-room of the Pure Ones.^{hh}
 I, 165 I shall not perish, I shall not pass away, I shall not die because of them,ⁱⁱ | I shall not die
 suddenly. O ye Kindly Ones whose speech is not known, who are held in veneration, com-
 mand that I endure upon earth at my desire(?),^{jj} for I am^{kk} one who eats his meals in this
 land of the living.^{ll}

Notes

a. 'Him who is in the realm of the dead' (*imy hrt-ntr*) appears from what follows to be the father of the deceased, the former being expected to sponsor his son before the authorities in the Beyond. See 158a, at end.

b. Read *i tityw cw*, *i imyw-wrt cw*, referring to the judges of the dead. With the first phrase compare the familiar O.K. title *z3b tity t3* of the Chief Justice.

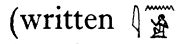

c. This long-winded description of the dead man's previously deceased father, which seems original here, occurs, often as an obvious interpolation, in a number of other spells, e.g. 30 (93b); 31 (103a); 32 (108a); 33 (114a, 116b, 121b); 34 (127b); 36 (135b), always occurring in the same group of coffins as the spells studied here, with the exception that in 127b the coffins B1P, B2Bo, B3Bo, B1L, and B3L join for once in the chorus.

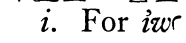




d. Read *dd·n·f int wi tp-r·tn*, with the prospective *sdm·f* form *int*, cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 448.

e. Read *s(i)cr·tw hrw·i*; for the expression see also *Pyr.* 291c (T).

f. B16C omits *it·i* and the subject-suffix of *nhm*.

g. B16C is corrupt, reading *ind dd·n·tn im int·i n·dn*.

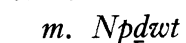


h. A guess based upon a possible connexion with *syr* 'need', lit. perhaps 'in order that that father of mine may become needy for me'. Some such meaning seems demanded by the context. B12C^b omits the suffix 1st sing. in the dative after *syr* (written  in B16C) and seems doubtful over the suffix in *it·i*, which is written .

i. For *iwr* 'inherit' B16C substitutes the unintelligible . De Buck points out on p. 144, n. 2* that B16C regularly substitutes this group (less ) for  and . An exception is 227 *f*, where a badly written  is found.

j. B4L ends here.


k. For the writing of the prospective *sdm·f* form of *in* 'bring' as *intw* (B12C^b) cf. also *Westc.* 7, 8; 8, 3. For the genuine passive *in·tw* see 159*d*; 160*g*.

l. The rendering 'Although . . . yet . . .' is prompted by the repetition of the particle *sk*, which may indicate a contrast here. An alternative possibility would be to emend the 3rd person into the 1st: 'Lo, I know . . . , lo, I have seen . . .'; on the tendency to confusion of pronouns in these funerary texts see de Buck's remarks *JEA* 35, 88 ff. 169*a* (Spell 39), however, confirms that these remarks apply to the newly dead and are thus correctly in the 3rd person here. In any case the father is pleading his recognition by the gods in view of his threatened displacement by his son, and his knowledge of the contents of the chest of Sia is a claim to the possession of all wisdom, and therefore to due consideration by the powers that be.

m. *Npdwt* 'knives' is represented in *Wb.* II, 250 only by the late writing  but this word and the verb *npd* 'cut to pieces' (loc. cit.) are clearly formatives in *n*- from *pd* 'sharpen', *Wb.* I, 568. The fem. participle *rdwt* (det. ) of B16C is preferable to the masc. *rd* of B12C^b because of the fem. antecedent; the verb occurs again in *Merikarēc*, 70. 119; *Adm.* 12, 10, cf. also the derivative nouns *rdt* 'slaughter', *TR* 19, 19; Cairo 20238, 13 and *rdt* 'offence(?)', *Pr.* 18, 1. Note that in both texts *hft(y)* 'foe' is determined with , a determinative unknown to *Wb.*

n. This allusion is quite obscure to me. On the locality *Kdm* see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* v, 180.

o. There is a considerable omission in B12C^b, from *ntk* in 160*h* to *shw·k* in 160*j*; B13C^b and B20C are extensively damaged, and B16C is corrupt. The present translation rests on the assumption that the archetype of 160*g* ff. read: *In dd·k in·tw·i r t3 pw dsr ntk im·f r st·k imyt hrt·ntr, iwr·i sch·k? Phr r·f n·i shw·k*; the presence of the particle *r·f* after *phr* points to this being an imperative, despite the preceding *r* in B16C, which may be an anticipation of the genuine *r* before *nhm·i* in 161*a*.

p. *shw·k* in B12C^b should obviously be emended to *shw·i*; B16C omits the suffix and determines *shw* with  as if it were the word for 'spirits', which makes poor sense. *R·k* at the end of the clause presumably refers back to *r dd*, in the sense of 'say . . . about thee'.

q. The expression *sd mdw* occurs also *CT* I, 155*d*, and is probably analogous to *sd·hrw* 'disturbance', *Concise Dict.* 274.

r. 'To open up the interior of the twilight' appears to be a figurative expression referring to the entry of the deceased into the Beyond.

s. Reading *r it̄(t) st nt it̄f* with B12C^b and (in part) B20C; B16C writes 𓂏 for $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ and has inserted a meaningless dative after *st*.

t. *Sphr*, lit. ‘copy’. Again B16C determines *ḥw* ‘power’ with 𓂏 .

u. B16C has a peculiar group for *ḥwt* ‘offices’, omits the suffix after this word, and follows up with a totally irrelevant *ḏd n.s.*

v. From here on the pronouns are in the 2nd person, but to preserve continuity with what has gone before they must be emended into the 3rd person, though English would use the 1st, since the father is referring to himself. The copyists may have deluded themselves into thinking that the son was addressing the father, as in 162i ff.

w. Reading *mr swhn pr·k ḏd ḥrrwt·k* and emending the 2nd person of the text into the 3rd, see the last note; the text of B16C is confused. B12C^b has omitted the initial 𓂏 of *ḥrrwt*; for the participle *mr* of that text B13C^b and B16C substitute the *ḏm·f* form *mr·sn*.

x. B16C has omitted *ḥw* except for the determinatives and has miscopied *ḥnc* as *snr*.

y. This may be an allusion to the funerary offerings which the dead father expected in the past from his living son.

z. Regarding *r·i* after *in·t(w)·i* as the enclitic particle. The son here enters a disclaimer that he intends harm to his parent, but it hardly nullifies the demand voiced in the son’s previous speech. Indeed, in 163b ff., where the son recites the benefits he is purveying to his father, he still claims to be occupying his father’s seat.

aa. For *ḏb; nst* ‘occupy a seat’ cf. *Pyr.* 906. 1171. 1325; *CT* 1, 174m.

bb. I cannot translate *sk ḥc·n·i*.

cc. B12C^b omits 163g–i and part of j.

dd. All the benefits here recited seem to refer to the *living* son’s obligations to his dead father, as if the son were now making a boast of his past good deeds to justify his present action. For ‘tomb’, instead of the fem. *ḥst*, B12C^b has the masc. *ḥsi* with det. 𓂏 ; B16C has *ḥs* without determinative. Since it is said to be ‘upon’ (*hr*) the stairway(?) (*rwdt*), *ḥsi* may refer to the superstructure of the tomb; *rwdt* or *rwḏt* determined with 𓂏 does not appear to be known, but in the present context ‘stairway’ (normally masc. *rwḏw*) seems the most plausible equivalent. B16C inserts an unnecessary 𓂏 after *hr*.

ee. *Wḥ ib*, lit. ‘enduring of heart’, is not used here in its more common alternative senses of ‘patient’ or ‘kindly’.

ff. Apparently old perfective 2 sg., perhaps in the hortative sense.

gg. Cf. Spell 39, n. w. In the light, however, of 173b (Spell 40), where emendation is absolutely necessary to make sense, we should perhaps emend into *mrrt·k* ‘what thou desirest’.

hh. This allusion is obscure to me; *ḏb;st* could mean either ‘robing-room’ or ‘sarcophagus’, cf. *Concise Dict.* 321, but the former seems the more probable.

ii. The suffix in *n·sn* refers to the ‘Pure Ones’ of 164h; cf. also 170i (Spell 39).

jj. Emending *mr·f*, var. *mrf·f*, into *mrt·i*.

kk. Var. B12C^b: ‘this N is’.

ll. Presumably meaning that the deceased returns to the present world to consume the food-offerings presented at his tomb.

Spell 39

1, 166 There are laid down the mats of Thoth in the Mansion of the Prince which is in Ōn—so
say all the gods, Mā'et being at the Great Palace to greet the primeval god^a who is superior
to the primeval gods, who are on their bellies and make greeting, she having turned back
and gone^b into the Island of Fire. My *ka*^c has been found there with them, living among
1, 167 those who had lived on earth and who are in the Island of Fire. † It^d has heard from the
mouths of those who perform rites^e that^f that father of mine who is in the West has raised
me up at the bringing about of the ending of my days^g in this land of the living when I had
not yet brought up my fledgelings,^h when I had not yet hatched mine eggs,ⁱ before I
1, 168 had attained^j my lifetime,^k before I had eaten the bread of † my nurse,^l before I had drunk
my due measure of milk,^m before I had furnishedⁿ mine house of the living in the Island
of Fire.

Do ye say^o that I shall be brought to the place of that father of mine, that attendant of
1, 169 mine, that guardian of mine,^p that champion of mine, that one to whom I have descended?
† Lo, I know your nature, I have seen your abode. As for him who brought me to birth,^q
he has made me into a body of his own flesh, the seed which issued from his phallus.

Ye have said that I shall receive his dignity and take over his seat, so that his foes will
rejoice over him when he is seen^r coming from the Island of Fire to yon^s sacred land in
which he is.

Ye have said that his abode in the Island of Fire is to be overthrown. Lo, to me belongs
1, 170 his *hbnnt*-bread^t which is on earth † and the *hnfw*-loaves which have been made(?).^u Lo,
I will act,^v that I may occupy his seat which is in the land of the living in the Island of Fire;
may it not be destroyed upon earth. I have heard the word of the Wilful One(?).^w within the
Island of the Living, in the midst of the robing-room^x of the Pure Ones, because of whom
1, 171 I die not by slow death,^y I perish not because of them, I do not perish suddenly. † Lo,
my being^z is created in this land of the living because of what has been created(?),^{aa} there
are established for me the offerings to the gods and the invocation-offerings to the spirits,
for I am their survivor,^{bb} it is indeed I who shall exist in this land of the living, my will^{cc}
shall create my members. My flesh obeys me, it lifts me up, for I am the Old One. I come
to you, for I have loved you, O ye who are very far away,^{dd} while that father of mine who
1, 172 is in the West is my guardian who is in the Tribunal of the God, † whether in his office,
in his yearly income,^{ee} in his dignity, in his affairs, or in wherever he is, in that sacred land
in which he is.

The father speaks: While I am in this sacred land of the living, I will be in it as thy
guardian who is in the Tribunal of Men.

Notes

a. The sense demands the singular here, despite the writing *p:tyw* instead of *p:ty* and the plural strokes of B16C; it is to be remarked that in 166d, where the plural is required, B12C^b also uses the plural strokes.

b. The fem. endings in *wdbt* and *šmt* show that they must refer back to Mā'et. The rendering as an old perfective, 'she having turned back and gone' seems the most plausible.

c. Var. B12C^b: 'the *ka* of this N'. This coffin frequently drops into the 3rd person, and such cases will not be noted further.

d. The *ka* of the deceased.

e. Lit. 'the doers', apparently a pregnant use of *irrw*.

f. The conjunction *wnt*.

g. On the expression *sr̄t hr̄w* see Spell 38, n. e; B16C has misplaced the *s* of *sr̄t*, inserting it between *r* and *int*.

h. Apparently a complaint of premature death; 'fledgelings' here is figurative for 'children'.

i. Here written with the ideogram of the chick within the egg, but in 176*k* (Spell 40) spelt out as *sw̄ht* and determined with the same ideogram. *Sn̄hn*, here translated as 'hatch', is literally 'nurse'. B12C^c starts here.

j. *Int*, lit. 'brought'; for the sense here cf. *Concise Dict.*, 22.

k. For the singular *hnt* 'space' of time, see also *Urk.* I. 125, 4. B12C^c omits *hnt*; see de Buck's note, p. 167, n. 3*.

l. For *p̄d̄* B12C^b has corruptly *pnd*.

m. *Hs̄* here is a fluid which is drunk, and its sense of 'milk' is indicated both by the context and by the name of the milch-cow goddess *Hs̄t*; once milk is described as *h̄dt Hs̄t* 'the white stuff of *Hs̄t*', Sethe, *Lesestucke*, 73, 15. The meanings allotted to *hs̄* in *Wb.* III, 160, 6 ff., namely 'mucus' and 'dough', may well be secondary. For *h̄ccw* cf. *ibid.* 364, 7, our text reading literally 'milk according to its measure' or 'portion'.

n. B12C^b has omitted the ending *-t* of the *sd̄mt̄f* form and writes in the 3rd person.

o. For the enclitic particle *rr* cf. *Wb.* II, 438, 6.

p. B12C^b omits *pf* after *ch̄c̄(i)* and *m̄h̄wȳi*, and ends here.

q. *Smsȳi* cannot mean 'my first-born', as that would be entirely at variance with what follows; it appears here to be an active participle, lit. 'my bringer-to-birth', and to be the subject in anticipatory emphasis of the sentences which follow. *Ir̄i* is the enclitic particle stressing the suffix of *smsy*. The relevance of the remarks of the deceased anent his father is not clear, unless they be intended to stress his hereditary right to his father's rank and seat.

r. *M̄w* is old perfective.

s. B13C^b inserts the demonstrative *pf* after *t̄* 'land'.

t. Written *ih̄bn̄nt* here, but *h̄bn̄nt* or *h̄bnt* in *Pyr.* 76*d*. The son here seems to be laying claim to the food-offerings deposited at his father's tomb.

u. The significance of *km̄* here is not clear, as none of the recorded meanings of this stem seem to suit the context well.

v. B16C inserts *sd̄m̄n̄i md̄w* 'I have heard the word', transferred in this coffin from 170*g*.

w. For this being cf. *CT* I, 45*a*, where he appears to be a manifestation of Seth. Possibly, however, we should emend into *mr̄f* 'which he desired', cf. Spell 40, n. *b*.

x. On *db̄t* see Spell 38, n. *hh*.

y. *N mt̄ sin̄*, lit. 'because of a death of waiting'.

z. *Wnn* is apparently infinitive with possessive suffix as subject of the passive *sdm-f* form *ir*.

aa. *Irt* is more probably perfective passive participle rather than infinitive. The following *s* cannot be a suffix, as it lacks an antecedent; the following words are therefore to be read *smn n(·i) htpw-ntr n ntrw*.

bb. *Ir-i* is the enclitic particle, compare *ink pw ir-f* 173a (Spell 40). For *tpy-t* 'survivor' cf. *Letters to Dead*, IV, 4 (n.); *Urk.* IV, 446, 11.

cc. Lit. 'heart'.

dd. Presumably the dead in the Beyond whom the newly deceased speaker cherished while yet alive; the rendering as a plural is necessitated by the plural pronoun *tn*.

ee. Lit. 'his yearly bread', perhaps the wages of his office. For *rnptwt* 'yearly sustenance' cf. the Pyr. examples quoted *Wb.* II, 435, 1.

Spell 40

1, 173 *The son speaks*: I am he who is created; he is created^a and endures in this land according as he desires.^b There is no testimony against me,^c there is no complaint against me,^c I have no falsehood, I have no crookedness, I have no wrongdoing, I have no enemy, I have no accuser, I have sent nothing against him,^d I have not implanted an obstacle against him with evil intent, that he should speak evilly against me in the Tribunal. I am the Old One, and I detest death until I have become aged,^e until I pass to the blessed state. My bread is in my hand, and the inheritance which my father had shall not be taken from me (?),^f
 1, 174 for it is I who am upon his seat, and Rē' has commanded that I bring life to an end¹ in this land of the living among the blessed ones who attain to food-offerings until I come to you as I have desired. While I was in this land of the living I built a shelter(?)^g in the realm of^h Rē' through fear lest he should see the wrong which was being done in the Island of Fire.ⁱ I am the Old One who has attained his blessed state, I greet(?)^j that father of mine who is in the Tribunal, to whom I have descended: Behold,^k it is said that I am brought to thee in order to be with thee in this sacred land in which thou art; a word to thee thyself is indeed spoken^l in order to bring me to occupy thy seat, so that I may receive thy dignity,
 1, 175 that I may oust^m thee¹ from this thy place in this sacred land in which thou art, and in order that the spirits who are with thee may speak against thee. The son comesⁿ to oust his father from his place and from his dignity . . . having commanded^o . . . until I become aged, [until] I [come] to you, for I love the very distant ones.^p Lo, thou art in this land content as my guardian who is in [the Tribunal of the God].

The father speaks: Lo, I am here as [thy] speaker who is in the Tribunal of Men,^q I establish thy landmark, I pull together [thy] weakness . . . so that the spirits who are thine equals may say of thee . . . the realm of the dead . . . Thy statue is made for thee upon earth, thine associates have given orders to(?)^r the land for thee, thy gate is strengthened for thee
 1, 176 by means of what I have done. I am . . . the blessed state. Thou art here in this sacred land in which thou art through my speaker who is in the Tribunal of [the God].^s

The son speaks: Lo, I am here in this land of the living [through] thy [speaker] who is in the Tribunal of Men until I come to you, for I love the very distant ones. Do not [hinder?] or oppose me . . . when I had not yet brought up my fledgelings, when I had not yet hatched mine eggs,^t when I had not yet pressed out the marrow(?)^u of . . . in the Island of Fire . . . his spirits who speak on my behalf, who are sent on my behalf. I am the Old One, THE EQUAL OF. . . .^v

Notes

- a. $\overline{\text{sdm}}\cdot f$ must surely be the passive $\overline{\text{sdm}}\cdot f$, since to interpret it actively gives poor sense.
- b. Clearly the name *Imrf*, on which see Spell 39, n. *w*, must be emended into the $\overline{\text{sdm}}\cdot f$ form *mr·f*.
- c. Where English employs a preposition + pronoun, Egyptian has a possessive suffix, lit. ‘my testimony’, ‘my complaint’.
- d. *Scil.* his potential accuser. ‘To send something against someone’ perhaps implies the utterance of spells with intent to harm. In B13C^b the verb is lost; in B16C the det. Δ which we would expect is absent.
- e. B13C^b correctly *r iwt·i*; for *iwt* B16C has *hw**t*, which appears to be a *vox nihili*.
- f. Mostly destroyed in B13C^b, while B16C appears to have suffered some corruption; I suggest that the original reading may have been *n nhmw iwsw hr it·i m·i*.
- g. *Nm* with this determinative is not known to *Wb.* except in a writing of *nm* ‘be one-sided’, *Urk.* VII, 59, 15, where the det. is not exactly as here.
- h. Cf. *Wb.* v, 586, 9.
- i. An utterly obscure allusion.
- j. Cf. *icnw n* ‘hail to . . .’, *TR* 35, 2; *BD* 33, 3.
- k. Here apparently begin the actual words spoken by the son to his father.
- l. Despite its position in the sentence, *ds·k* can make sense only if attached to the dative in the 2nd person after *mdw*. The position of the dative itself, following nominal subject, is perhaps to be explained by its referring to *mdw* rather than to *dd·t(w)*, lit. ‘a word to thee is spoken’ rather than ‘a word is spoken to thee’. *Wnt* after *dd·t(w)* is the enclitic particle.
- m. For *nš* ‘expel’, ‘oust’, cf. *Urk.* I, 100, 8; *Peas.* B1, 97; *Merikarēc*, 47.
- n. B16C ends here.
- o. The words after *ist wd·n* are lost in a lacuna.
- p. See Spell 39, n. *dd*.
- q. Here the father is unmistakably acting as the son’s sponsor and advocate, despite the threats against him in the preceding speech.
- r. Regarding *shn* here as a variant of *shn* ‘command’, *Concise Dict.* 238.
- s. There seems to be some confusion of ideas here, for in 175*k* the father himself is apparently the ‘speaker’.
- t. See Spell 39, n. *i*.
- u. The translation of the damaged word as ‘marrow’ rests upon the determinative, see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, Sign-list F39, with n. 1. In this context ‘spinal cord’ or ‘spine’ fits less well, since these can hardly be ‘pressed out’. No word *dht* with this sense is recorded in *Wb.*
- v. In red ink.

As already remarked, the interest of these spells lies in the relationship between father and son, which is ambivalent, to say the least. At the beginning of Spell 38 (158*a* ff.) the newly dead son refers to his father as his protector and sponsor in the next world and announces that the latter is prepared to hand over his seat and dignity

to his son. The son then appeals to the Tribunal to effect this transfer. It would seem that the father was rather taken aback by his son's readiness to take over his rights, for in 160*b* ff. he asserts his own claim to recognition by the authorities. In 160*g* ff. the son retorts with a direct demand to his father to hand over his rights: 'Transfer to me thy power in order that I may assume thine office and say: "my power is equal to thine"' (160*h*–161*b*). The father's reply to this is a bitter complaint that the son not only wants to take over his place and dignities, but threatens to hand him over to the mercy of his enemies who wish to despoil him (161*c* ff.). The son's retort (162*d* ff.), while admitting that he is occupying his father's seat, in effect says that, far from being ill-disposed towards his father, he not only maintained the latter's offerings on earth, but even in the Beyond he is sustaining him.

The earlier part of Spell 39 appears to include a complaint that the newly deceased was cut off in childhood, before he had even been weaned, which strikes us as irrelevant to the present topic, though it finds an echo in Spell 40. Possibly, however, this complaint may be purely rhetorical, expressing the son's view that, whenever he died, it was too soon for his taste, though even so it seems out of place in the present context. But in any case the general trend of the Spell is clear; the son expects his father to induct him and act as his advocate before the celestial tribunal and yet lays claim to all his parent's rights and privileges in the Beyond.

Spell 40 begins with a declaration of virtue which again seems irrelevant. But it is not long before the familiar claim is put forward, this time in the most unequivocal terms, for in two places (174*o*, 175*c*) it is plainly stated that the son's intent is to oust (*nš*) his father from his place. Yet here again the father defends his son before the celestial tribunal and indeed makes no complaint against the latter's unfilial pretensions. The Spell ends with a damaged echo of the son's complaint of premature death which has already been noted as occurring more fully in Spell 39.

The utterly contradictory attitudes of the dead son to his father, as indicated in these texts, can perhaps be best explained on the assumption that there were current in early Egypt two distinct and originally separate beliefs about the relationship of father and son in the Beyond. In one view the son expected his father to guard and protect him in death just as he had once done in life, and to sponsor him before the tribunal in the other world, and the father accepted these duties as a matter of course. The alternative notion was that just as the living son inherited his father's earthly office and rank, so after death he would expel his father from the rank and dignity which the latter had hitherto enjoyed in the other world, and assume them for himself—an utterly selfish idea which is a complete denial of the filial piety normally expected of the Egyptian. With characteristically Egyptian conservatism and disregard of consistency, the ancient compiler of these spells included both these views of the father-son relationship in a single body of texts, doubtless in the hope that one way or another the interests of the newly dead would be served. Such at least appears to me to be the most likely explanation of the blatant contradictions of these texts.

ONCE AGAIN THE PROTO-SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

[*Editor's Note:* The following article was completed before Sir Alan Gardiner saw what Dr. J. Leibovitch had written on the same texts in 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions proto-sinaitiques', *Le Museon*, 74 (1961), 461 ff. As his conclusions are widely different from those of Leibovitch, Sir Alan has preferred to publish his article with only slight modifications for the consideration of his colleagues.]

So scarce and so defective are the strange semi-pictorial inscriptions which Petrie found at Serâbî el-Khâdim, closely associated with genuine Egyptian hieroglyphic records, that any new accession to their number is a matter of some importance. To Georg Gerster¹ belongs the merit of having recognized as proto-Sinaitic and of having made



FIG. 1


accessible in admirable photographs² two more rock-texts which Petrie must have seen but which he evidently regarded as of little significance; the bull's head reproduced in my fig. 1³ Petrie did indeed draw, but without noticing the zigzag *mim* immediately to the right of it and a broken indeterminate sign immediately below it. These three signs together clearly formed the top of a vertical inscription, but the rock below them has disintegrated so completely that nothing can be said about the continuation. The special interest of this hopelessly mutilated little record resides in its position *in situ* in the Wâdy Naşb less than a yard away from a rock stela of Ammenemês III's twentieth year which Peet and I published⁴ for the first time from a hand-copy brought back by

¹ *Sinai*, Verlag Ullstein, Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Wien, 1961.

² *Op. cit.*, fig. 65.

³ I have to thank my friend T. G. H. James for having traced for me both figures from Gerster's photographs.

⁴ Gardiner and Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 14, no. 46. Individual inscriptions of this book will be quoted below as Sin. followed by a numeral, and commentaries upon them will be found in the text to Černý's second edition.

Petrie; all that is preserved of this stela is three horizontal lines of hieroglyphs at the top and below these the beginnings of six vertical columns. To the left of the stela Petrie or whoever was responsible for the hand-copy added the word  which we faithfully retained in our publication, but of which Gerster's photographs show no trace; where Petrie's draughtsman found it is unknown, but it can the more justifiably be ignored because he misplaced the above-mentioned bull's head beneath the vertical

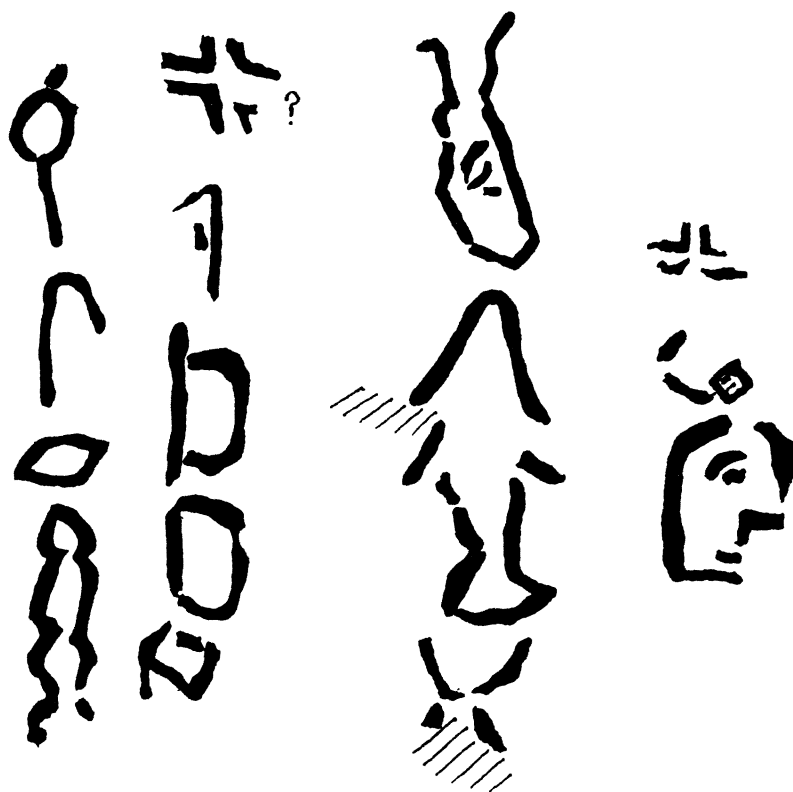




FIG. 2

columns, whereas its true position as shown by Gerster's photograph is about 20 cm. to the right of them, i.e. practically on a level with the stela.¹ Though Petrie left the stela unpublished, as indeed he did with all the inscriptions discovered by him, he mentioned it in the text of his *Researches in Sinai*, p. 27, and marked its exact location by a cross added to one of his photographic views (fig. 20); thence we learn it to be situated on the north side of the pass in the east flank of the Wâdy Naşb,² thus lying alongside the route or one of the routes by which the Egyptians approached their still distant objective of Serâbî el-Khâdim. From this very precise information a definite conclusion with regard to the date of the proto-Sinaitic inscriptions can and must, in my opinion, be drawn. The position of the foreign signs so close to the hieroglyphic stela, coupled with the isolation in the Wâdy Naşb shared by both is surely convincing proof of their contemporaneity. This conclusion finds further support in the second

¹ Černý's second edition of our book ignores all proto-Sinaitic inscriptions since he elected to reserve these for a separate later publication.

² See Černý's text, p. 76.

proto-Sinaitic inscription of which Gerster was the discoverer. The location of this is not shown in his photographs, but his printed description¹ explains that its four columns are situated 2 metres to the left of the stela, so that it may fairly be considered to belong to the same cluster of writings and consequently to be subject to the same general interpretation. This second new proto-Sinaitic text, of which a tracing from the photograph is given here in fig. 2, proves to be somewhat disappointing, several of its characters being unknown to the main material from Serâbîṭ;² indeed, the only signs which justify the description as proto-Sinaitic are the bull's head, this time facing towards the right, a human head which one inclines to identify as the letter for *rōsh*, and a large fish standing upright which has a parallel written horizontally in the stela 352 of my original numbering.

The problem of the date must now be discussed in a wider perspective. It has long been known that certain Asiatics described either as  *ram* or as  *Retjnu* people took part in some of the Egyptian expeditions to Serâbîṭ. This was, however, not a regular occurrence, since among the multitude of inscribed monuments from that site, apart from a single mention from the reign of Sesostriis III³ and another dated in year 6 of Ammenemēs IV⁴ all the evidence of such participation is from the reign of Ammenemēs III. I quote a summary of the facts as given by Černý in a periodical not easily accessible to most English readers:⁵ 'The number of Asiatics, compared with that of Egyptian participants, is always small, e.g. Sin. 120 mentions 20 men of Retjnu beside 200 quarry-workmen (*hrtj-ntr*), 20 boatmen, 14 carpenters (*hmwtj*), and 30 peasants (*shjtj*). From this fact we can safely draw the conclusion that these Asiatics were not used in the mining work, but rather as experts acquainted with the country and intermediaries in the contact with local inhabitants, in some cases perhaps as hostages against the annoyances of various kinds which were to be expected from surrounding tribes, even at a time of official peace.'

Other stelae report the presence of 6, 10, 10, and 20 Asiatics respectively, all of them without mention of individual names and therefore presumably men of humble rank. But there is also some evidence of foreigners who enjoyed greater consideration and may indeed have accounted themselves equal in station to the leaders of the Egyptian expeditions. Among the finds from Serâbîṭ was a small obelisk⁶ showing three kneeling men with beards whose outlandish names Iashi, Ḳeni, and Ihenem combine with their appearance to indicate that they were foreigners, in all probability Semites. More striking, however, are several depictions of a man riding upon a donkey whose name written in Egyptian hieroglyphs is given as Khebbedum and who is described as a 'brother of the prince of Retjnu'.⁷ This man was present in person at least in years 4, 5, and 13 of Ammenemēs III and was evidently held in high honour by the Egyptians. The like will also doubtless have been true of six other Retjnu men of whom one is shown similarly riding upon a donkey in the expedition of year 18 (Sin. 115).

¹ Gerster, *op. cit.*, p. 61, l. 14.

² This can most conveniently be consulted in my original essay in *JEA* 3, see the plate opposite p. 12.

³ Sin. 81.

⁴ Sin. 120.

⁵ *Archiv Orientální*, 7 (1935), 385.

⁶ Sin. 163.

⁷ For references and detailed descriptions see the article by Černý quoted above.

Is it not plain that these foreigners associating with their more cultivated Egyptian partners year after year must have learnt much from them and have acquired many of their habits? Nothing will have impressed the Semites more than to find their Egyptian fellow-workers able to utilize miniature carved pictures to record not only their names, but also their occupations, their religious preferences, and their doings. Surely it is absurd to suppose that the Asiatics, among whom there were doubtless some men of enterprise and intelligence, would have allowed several centuries to elapse before attempting to evolve a script of their own. Now, in the reign of Ammenemēs III, they had a golden opportunity to acquaint themselves with this extraordinary technique possessed by the Egyptians. To copy accurately the hieroglyphic signs which they saw everywhere displayed upon the walls of the temple being built in honour of the goddess of the place will have been well within their power, and indeed the proto-Sinaitic script shows with what skill they could imitate such simple objects as a bull's head, as the human eye, and as the sign for water. But such ability could be of no use without the help of Language. It is not proposed to speculate further here as to exactly when, where, or how the momentous step was taken of assigning to the borrowed signs new values enabling them to make communications in their own Semitic speech, but I now venture to express my conviction that Gerster's new proto-Sinaitic inscriptions go far towards exemplifying the system of writing employed by the Semites who accompanied the Egyptian expeditions of the reign of Ammenemēs III. It is unlikely that the commanders of those expeditions would have objected to the addition of such uncouth alien records to their own far more skilful memorials, and we must assume that two Semites capable of carving in stone were present on the particular occasion when Ammenemēs III's expedition of year 20 passed through the Wâdy Naṣb.

I thus return to the opinion which I expressed in my original essay on this subject,¹ and which now appears to me to have much more serious grounds in its favour than I was able to adduce forty-six years ago. No new defence of the decipherment which I then offered will here be attempted, and my identification of the name of the goddess Ba'alat in the proto-Sinaitic inscriptions has received so large a measure of support from scholars of undisputed authority that any further elaboration of it can be safely left in their hands. I desire, however, to voice my gratification that Gerster has himself wholeheartedly and explicitly accepted the validity of my arguments.² I conclude by repeating a warning which I have more than once expressed elsewhere: only a few of the proto-Sinaitic signs have been explained in indisputable fashion, and it is even doubtful whether any other word than Ba'alat has been ineluctably demonstrated. More evidence is urgently needed, but it is very questionable whether this will ever be forthcoming.

¹ Speaking of Petrie's contention that the monuments with the unknown script dated from the reign of Hashepsowe or thereabouts I wrote: 'This conclusion may be correct, but I am by no means convinced that the end of the Twelfth Dynasty would not be a more probable date'; I then went on to refer to the Semites mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Serâbît, *JEA* 3, 13.

² Gerster, *op. cit.*, 59.

REFLECTIONS ON THE *LEBENSMÜDE*

By RONALD J. WILLIAMS

THE age of turmoil and social revolution in Ancient Egypt which we know as the First Intermediate Period was particularly productive of literary works of merit. The greatest of these, although at the same time the most perplexing, is that known by various titles: in German as *Das Gespräch* or *Streitgespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*; in French as *Le Dialogue du désespéré avec son âme*; in Russian as *Беседа разочарованного со своим духом*; and in English as *The Dispute of a Man with His Soul*, *The Dialogue of a Misanthrope with His Soul*, or simply *The Suicide*.

No other work of Egyptian Wisdom Literature has been the subject of more comment by scholars with the outstanding exception of the *Wisdom of Amenemope*. This may be attributed to a number of factors, chief of which is the problem raised by the damaged state of the papyrus. Because the beginning of the text is lacking, nothing is known of the setting of the work, nor of the personality of the *Lebensmüde* himself. Furthermore, there are several small lacunae in the manuscript,¹ and a full understanding of the work is rendered even more difficult by the presence of a number of scribal errors² and the occurrence of some rare or unknown words, the meanings of which remain obscure.³

Many interpretations of the work have been put forth during the last sixty-five years, beginning with Erman's masterly pioneer publication.⁴ He believed that the poems contained in the work were autobiographical and described actual events in the man's life. This led him to see an inconsistency in the argument, since both the man and his *bai* appeared to vacillate in their positions. This view was later to be followed by Breasted.⁵ For Erman the theme of the work was scepticism concerning the value of funerary preparations.

More than thirty years later Meshchersky attacked the problem of the enigmatic parables recounted by the *bai* in ll. 68–85.⁶ What most scholars have regarded as two stories he assumed to be one, comparing the section with a passage occurring in the *Wisdom of Amenemope* (4/12–5/6) which had been published just five years before. These two works, he believed, both alluded to an otherwise unknown folk-tale about an envoy and a commoner. A hungry commoner, at the instigation of his wife, committed a crime by insulting an envoy. As punishment he was exposed to the perils of water and

¹ E.g. ll. 8 f., 10, 14, 27 f., 39, 51.

² E.g. ll. 15, 81, 89, 102, 106, 111, 112, 130, 142.

³ E.g. *nḥpw* (16), *sdḥ* (18), *nḥt* (43, 45), *šwyt* (48), *sw* (54), *ss* (82, 84), *hyt* (137), *šyt* (139), *h* (148).

⁴ A. Erman, 'Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele', *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1896), Phil.-hist. Kl., 2, 1–77. The hieratic text alone had actually been published a generation earlier by C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849–59), Abt. VI, pl. 111 ff.

⁵ J. H. Breasted, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912), 188–98.

⁶ Н. Мещерский, 'К переводу "Беседы разочарованного с своим духом"', *Записки Коллегии Востоковедов при Азиатском Музее Российской Академии Наук*, 2 (1927), 365–72.

storm, but escaped with his life, while his wife and children perished. In despair he uttered a lamentation. This account, a purely imaginative composite of hints derived from both works, seems to have no relevance in the context of the Dialogue, and some years later Lurie rightly rejected Meshchersky's hypothesis.

Five years later, Suys published a fresh study of the work which, unfortunately, swarmed with errors of detail.¹ However, he correctly appraised the text as a duel between the traditional beliefs in the religious preparations for the after-life and the more popular views of those who were denied the opportunity of such costly arrangements.

A great advance was made when, after the lapse of another five years, Scharff published his careful and painstaking treatment of the text in which he laid a solid foundation for all subsequent studies.² For him, the man and his *bai* represented two opposing *Weltanschauungen*: the man desirous of suicide and the hope of a blessed immortality, and his *bai* urging a hedonistic attitude and a despising of all funerary preparations. Although Scharff believed that the fourth poem had some personal reference to the man's state, he denied that this was true of the second poem, as Erman had maintained.

A couple of years later, Lurie published an interesting article which has not received the attention it deserves.³ In it he pointed out that Osiris is never mentioned in this text which does, however, refer to Thoth and Rē̄c. In view of this fact he dated the text before the Eleventh Dynasty when, as Polotsky had demonstrated,⁴ the expansion of the cult of Osiris first began.

That same year, Alfred Hermann, in a review of Scharff's monograph,⁵ advanced the novel view that suicide does not enter into consideration at all in our text, but that the man was mortally ill. For him, the work is concerned with two different concepts of death. Sainte Fare Garnot took issue with Hermann's thesis five years later.⁶

In an address delivered in 1947, de Buck surveyed the contents of the Dialogue.⁷ He characterized the man as representing the conservative element in Egyptian religious thinking, whereas his *bai* was a spokesman for the modern, heretical views then current.

A major treatment of the work appeared from the pen of Weill in the same year,⁸ in which he presented scholars with a penetrating analysis of the views of his predecessors. The work was seen by him as enunciating two concepts of death: that of the man, looking forward to a blessed immortality, and that of his *bai*, irreligiously insisting on a total denial of immortality. Weill was the first to suggest that the four poems are

¹ É. Suys, 'Le Dialogue du désespéré avec son âme', *Orientalia* 1 (1932), 57-74.

² A. Scharff, 'Der Bericht über das Streitgespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele', *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1937), Phil.-hist. Abt. IX.

³ И. М. Лурье, 'Беседа разочарованного со своим духом (к датировке крестьянского восстания в Древнем Египте)' *Государственный Эрмитаж, Труды Отдела Востока*, 1 (Leningrad 1939), 141-53.

⁴ H. J. Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie* (Leipzig, 1929), 57.

⁵ A. Hermann, 'Das Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele', *OLZ* 42 (1939), 345-52.

⁶ J. Sainte Fare Garnot, 'La Vie et la mort d'après un texte égyptien de la haute époque', *RHR* 127 (1944), 18-29.

⁷ A. de Buck, 'Inhoud en achtergrond van het gesprek van den levensmoede met zijn ziel', *Mededeelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*, 7 (1947), 19-32.

⁸ R. Weill, 'Le Livre du "désespéré". Le sens, l'intention et la composition littéraire de l'ouvrage', *BIFAO* 45 (1947), 89-154.

later insertions from earlier sources, and are not integral to the argument of the work.

Junker next sought to reinterpret the work,¹ finding the key in the fourth poem where, as in the letters to the dead,² the latter were recognized as beneficent rather than malevolent. He regarded the text as a psychological study. Although good had perished from the earth, the hope was advanced that the blessed dead might be able to assist in the restoration of *Marat*. For this reason the *Lebensmüde* longed for death from lofty motives, although his *bai* sought to dissuade him.

A fresh approach to the work was offered by Spiegel.³ He believed that the text described the suicide of the leader of the uprising in the revolutionary period, and that it was written by a disciple of this social reformer. This necessitated, of course, a return to Erman's view that the poems referred to events in the man's own career.

A psychoanalytical study of the Dialogue was made by Jacobsohn in a paper read in 1951⁴ and published the following year.⁵ According to him, the man was driven to suicide because of the turbulent condition of the land. He maintained that the novel element in the work was the realization that the *bai* had the power of determining a person's destiny in this life. The tensions created in the man's mind were then resolved by the 'integration of personality', brought about by the man's discovery that he and his *bai* might be united in life or death. This daring interpretation has failed to win many adherents.

Jacobsohn's views were attacked two years later by Lanczkowski,⁶ who insisted that the work must be related to its historical context. He asserted that a characteristic feature of the First Intermediate Period was the rise to prominence of the cult of Osiris, as Polotsky and Lurie had already argued. The *bai*, he claimed, represented this Osirian movement, whereas the man manifested clear anti-Osirian traits: suicide, destruction by fire, justification with Rē̄. In short, he considered the text to be *anti-Osirian* rather than *ante-Osirian*; the latter we have seen to be the view of Lurie fifteen years earlier.

A fresh transcription of the hieratic text, which may be regarded as definitive, was then published by Faulkner.⁷ This was accompanied by a translation and grammatical notes which included not a few improvements over earlier treatments. In his reading and understanding of the work, Faulkner profited by suggestions of Sir Alan Gardiner.

The next year a thought-provoking study by Gertrud Thausing was included in the Junker *Festschrift*.⁸ She insisted that the *bai* was driving the man on to suicide, but that

¹ H. Junker, 'Die Lösung im "Streit des Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele"', *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1949), Phil.-hist. Kl., 17, 219-27.

² Cf. A. H. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928).

³ J. Spiegel, *Soziale und weltanschauliche Reformbewegungen im alten Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1950).

⁴ H. Jacobsohn, 'Der Papyrus des Lebensmüden', *Proceedings of the 7th Congress for the History of Religions* (Amsterdam, 1951), 106-8.

⁵ H. Jacobsohn, 'Das Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seinem Ba', in C. A. Meier, ed., *Zeitlose Dokumente der Seele* (Zürich, 1952), 1-48.

⁶ G. Lanczkowski, 'Zur ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte des Mittleren Reiches. II. Der "Lebensmüde" als antiosirianische Schrift', *ZRGG* 6 (1954), 1-18.

⁷ R. O. Faulkner, 'The Man Who was Tired of Life', *JEA* 42 (1956), 21-40.

⁸ G. Thausing, 'Betrachtungen zum "Lebensmüden"', *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 262-7.

eventually they were reconciled and a compromise achieved. She furthermore sought to interpret the baffling stories of the *bai* in an allegorical fashion.

The most recent study to be devoted to the work is a contribution by Frantsev to the volume of essays in commemoration of Wladimir Golénischeff.¹ The author believes our text to be the earliest document to illustrate the struggle between a materialistic, hedonistic view of the world, on one hand, and a conservative, religious, and 'idealistic' view, on the other. The references to 'fire' and 'brazier' in the work, he thinks, were used metaphorically to represent the internal conflict within the man.

Meanwhile Otto had been concerning himself with the Egyptian concept of the *bai*, especially as it is to be found in the Coffin Texts, and the results of his investigations appeared in several valuable articles.² These discoveries were utilized in a penetrating literary analysis of our text by Siegfried Herrmann,³ which has led to new and fruitful insights into the meaning of the work, and has shown that the conflict of new ideas in it was far more complex than had been realized formerly. He pointed out that the Dialogue was designed to reconcile the traditional views with regard to the after-life and funerary rites with the novel concepts of the *bai* which first made their appearance during the Heracleopolitan period.

In the early period, as is well known, the *bai* was thought to form no part of man until after death. The Pyramid Texts make this clear in such passages as the following: *To him come the gods in humility and the spirits, that they may lead NN to his bai.*⁴ *You are come to your bai (which is) Osiris, who is effective among the spirits and mighty in his (cult-)places.*⁵ The expression 'come/go to the *bai*' is equivalent to the phrases 'go to the *ka*' or 'go to the spirit (*ih*)' in the sense of 'to die', as Sethe has remarked.⁶ But a group of Coffin Texts (Spells 99–104), originating in the Heracleopolitan period, put forth the heterodox view that the *bai* existed with a living person; indeed, that it was a constituent part of every man, to be released at death. Or, differently stated, the Spells refer to powers and capacities which are loosed at death and embodied in the *bai*. These powers are described as coming forth as excretions from the corpse to form the *bai*: *It is these ṣnw¹tyw⁷ of Atum which take you [i.e. the bai] away when you come from the effluences of my flesh and the sweat of my head.*⁸ The rubric of Spell 94 also asserts this fact by stating its purpose to be *To remove the bai from the body.*⁹

It is clear, then, that when our author depicts the man as debating with his *bai* before

¹ Ю. П. Францев, 'Философское значение "Беседы разочарованного"', *Древний Египет. Сборник статей* Moscow, 1960), 206–15.

² E. Otto, 'Die Anschauung vom *b*' nach Coffin Texts Sp. 99–104', *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome, 1941), 151–60; 'Die beiden vogelgestaltigen Seelenvorstellungen der Ägypter', *ZÄS* 77 (1942), 78–91; 'Sprüche auf altägyptischen Särgen', *ZDMG* 102 (1952), 187–200.

³ S. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgestalt mittelägyptischer Literaturwerke* (Berlin, 1957), 62–79.

⁴ *Pyr.* 1144a–b (Spell 510).

⁵ *Pyr.* 215b (Spell 223).

⁶ K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, I, 157 f.

⁷ This is the probable reading of the spelling . It may, however, also be read *ṣtyw* or *ihṣtyw*, but not *ṣṣtyw*.

⁸ *CT* II, 94 g–95 a (Spell 99); cf. also *CT* II, 100 a–101 a (Spell 101), 108 d–g (Spell 102).

⁹ *CT* II, 67 a; cf. also the rubrics of Spells 89 and 101: 'Utterance for a man to send forth his *bai*' (*CT* II, 55 a and 98 a).

vacillation of purpose in the man's mind, swinging first one way and then another and postponing a decision.¹

Indeed Lurie, perhaps because of the metathesis of consonants in the second occurrence of the verb,² rendered it by *поведи*, 'lead, conduct', in l. 18, but by *отвратишь ты*, 'you impede, hold back', in ll. 49 f. That a verb with the same consonants, but determined by Δ , means 'lag behind, delay', is well attested.³ But, in view of the determinative 𐤀 or 𐤁 in our text, surely we have to deal with a homonym of different meaning, just as the same consonants with the determinative 𐤀 mean 'to grieve, sadness',⁴ whereas when determined by 𐤁 they mean 'exultation'.⁵ As another example of homonyms with opposite meanings we may cite 𐤀𐤁𐤀 which means both 'wait, delay', and 'hasten'.⁶

The man, then, chides his *bai* for not allowing him time to make the requisite mortuary preparations, pointing out that there is a proper time decreed for all men: *Life is a set portion; (even) trees fall!*⁷ In the next sentence, *Trample upon the evil, that (I), miserable wretch, may endure*,⁸ we understand the man to ask his *bai* to put aside the evil intention of suicide, following which the man appeals to the funerary gods for aid, significantly avoiding mention of Osiris, as we have already observed.

The *bai*, in a very short speech, retorts that the man is merely human—not a god or king! There is then no profit in living further at such a time. He should not grieve because he is no longer a man of wealth and finds it impossible to make elaborate provisions for the after-life.

The man, however, referring to the loss of his wealth, is still hopeful that the means may be forthcoming for him to make suitable funerary arrangements, for if his *bai* skips off there is no hope for it without them. He emphasizes the bliss to be attained in the West if adequate steps are taken for burial, and in a poetic passage, perhaps derived from an earlier source,⁹ he contrasts the happy fate of his *bai* under such circumstances with that of the *bai* of a 𐤀𐤁𐤀 *nnw*, i.e. one not accorded the necessary rites (cf. ll. 63 ff.). He then implores the *bai* to wait until an heir is available to undertake the responsibilities of the mortuary cult: *If you impel me toward death in this way, you will not find a place where you can rest in the West. Be indulgent, my bai, my brother, until my heir comes who will make offerings and stand at the tomb on the day of burial, that he may prepare (?) the necropolis bier.*¹⁰

The *bai* replies that burial is of no account, for all men alike end up as the *nnw*. The man should enjoy a brief moment of carefree life without worrying about such

¹ Op. cit., 31, n. 11.

² Such a metathesis is by no means unparalleled; note, for instance, the spelling 𐤀𐤁𐤀 for *hi* in *Hatnub* Gr. 24/5.

³ *Wb.* I, 118, 19.
⁴ *Wb.* I, 118, 20–22. The word 𐤀𐤁𐤀 in l. 131 which P. C. Smither interpreted as 'detention', and derived from the verb meaning 'delay' (*JEA* 25 (1939), 220), may equally well be a substantive with the meaning 'illness, sadness', to be connected with the former root and the Coptic ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲏ , 'sigh'.

⁵ *Wb.* I, 119, 1.

⁶ *Wb.* IV, 38, 4–8 and 9 ff.

⁷ Ll. 20 f.

⁸ Ll. 21 f.

⁹ Very possibly the first personal pronoun referred originally to some god.

¹⁰ Ll. 49–55. Faulkner's emendation of the text (op. cit. 34, n. 46) is therefore quite unnecessary, as Thausing has also observed.

nonsense. It goes on rather sententiously, in the style of a Wisdom teacher, to make its point clear by relating two parables. The term parable, rather than allegory, is preferred here because such stories, whether well known in folk-lore or specially devised for the occasion, are employed solely to illustrate the main point, and there is no need for us to seek a deeper meaning in all the details as Thausing did.

The first parable concerns a peasant who transported his harvest by boat. Although he survived a sudden storm, soon after, his wife and children perished in a crocodile-infested lake, as Faulkner has convincingly shown.¹ The point of the story comes in the words of the bereaved peasant: *I have not wept for the mother yonder who cannot come forth from the West for another (period) on earth. I am concerned for her children, crushed in the egg,² who have seen the face of the crocodile-god before they have lived!*³ That is to say, life, however short it may be, is better than none at all, and so the *bai* suggests that the man should be thankful for the life which he has already enjoyed.

The second tale is more difficult to understand. A peasant demands of his wife an afternoon snack, but is refused by her, since she is keeping the food for the evening meal. The husband sulks for a time, but eventually returns home. Although the details are tantalizingly obscure, the point seems to be that it is useless to demand what one cannot have, and therefore the *bai* hints that the man should not insist on having the luxury of death *and* funerary preparations to boot.

The man, in answer, recites four poems of great literary merit, which form the high point of the work. It may well be, as Weill and other scholars have asserted, that these poems were of independent origin, and have been incorporated into the work from other sources. There are clear literary reminiscences of the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* in the second of these poems,⁴ which afford patent evidence of the priority of the former. The sequence in which we find the poems in the work seems to indicate a psychological development on the part of the man.

In its refrain, *Lo, my name reeks through you*, the first poem (ll. 86–103) expresses the man's grief at his *bai*'s desertion of him. If his *bai* has its way, and forces him on to suicide without adequate provision for the means of immortality, then the man's name, i.e. his very existence, will be brought to nought. In the second poem, with the refrain *To whom can I speak today?* (ll. 103–30), he sadly reflects on the evil conditions of the time. There is no one to whom he can turn for comfort—not even his *bai*! Hence death would be a welcome release, as he affirms in the third song which begins with the repeated line *Death seems to me today* (ll. 130–42). This train of thought finally leads him to reflect on the felicity and power of the deceased in the final poem, beginning *To be sure, he who is yonder* (ll. 142–7). It would appear that such reflections have at last led the man, who had heretofore rejected the idea of imminent death, to welcome it as a blessed release.

The last word belongs to the *bai* who declares that the man himself must choose

¹ Op. cit., 35 f., n. 62.

² This does not necessarily mean that the children are as yet unborn, but is a hyperbolic expression for extreme youth; cf. *Sinuhe*, 68; *Kuban*, 16; *Bentresh*, 3. ³ Ll. 76–80.

⁴ Ll. 107 f. = *Ipuwer*, 5/10; ll. 114 f., cf. *Ipuwer*, 1/5; l. 115, cf. *Ipuwer*, 2/2, 4/5, 5/12 f.; ll. 122 f., cf. *Ipuwer*, 4/5, 5/13.

between life or death: *You must make offering on the brazier, (or) cling to life as you say.*¹ Once again the reference to offerings suggests the funerary ceremony mentioned in l. 13. On this interpretation there is no necessity for the gratuitous emendation of the text from *you say* to *I say* urged by Faulkner.² The *bai* goes on to assure the man that it will not leave him if he chooses to live, i.e. will not force his death, although it obviously would prefer to accompany him to the after-life immediately: *Desire that I (remain) here after you have rejected the West, or desire, rather, that you reach the West, your body be buried in the earth, and I alight after you have died. Then we shall make our abode together.*³

On this note of reassurance the *bai* ends the debate. It will not force the man to suicide, yet if he chooses death without the traditional mortuary paraphernalia, the *bai* will still rejoin him and assure him of immortality. Our text is thus a vehement attack on the futility of costly and elaborate preparations for the preservation of the body after death, but hardly, as Frantsev would have us believe, a denial of any doctrine of an after-life.

¹ Ll. 149 f.

² Op. cit., 39 f., n. 115.

³ Ll. 150-4.

THE GODS OF THEBES AS GUARANTORS OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

THE political revolution which in the Twenty-first Manethonian Dynasty transplanted the secular power of the Pharaohs from Thebes to Tanis carried with it administrative consequences that are as yet only partially understood. At least it seems clear that in the southern capital priestly influence encroached ever more insidiously into all the practical affairs of life. The appointment of officials was now settled by oracles, and the same method was employed for judicial investigations of one kind and another. The highly interesting class of papyri which I. E. S. Edwards' recent volumes¹ have made known for the first time reveals that even for the sake of children oracular protection was invoked to stave off accident, disease, and other dangers of the most diverse kinds; and that the utility of these beneficent devices extended also beyond the grave is seen from such writings as the decree of Amen-Rē^c designed to secure deification and other posthumous blessings to the noble lady Neskhons.² The present article is concerned with two lengthy inscriptions of a somewhat similar nature which have hitherto eluded translation into English on account of their terribly mutilated condition; they describe recourse to the great Theban triad in order to obtain official confirmation of the proprietary rights of two prominent women of the same period, namely Hentowē the daughter of Isimkheb and Ma'karē^c the daughter of King Psusennes II. If the hieroglyphic texts have not been included here it is because comparison of translations with their originals is always difficult when both are printed on different pages of the same book; obviously the practical course is to keep them separate, and I have the less hesitation in doing so in the present case since Černý has the intention to publish his own copies of the hieroglyphic texts at no far distant date.³

I. The property of the lady Hentowē

This inscription, carved in neat small hieroglyphs on the north face of the Tenth Pylon at Karnak (Porter-Moss, II, 62 (65)), consisted, when first seen by Champollion and Rosellini, of no less than fifty very long horizontal lines. Champollion,⁴ describing this text as 'pitoyablement mutilé', published only a few phrases from consecutive lines which he numbered from 1 to 10. According to Porter-Moss Rosellini's manuscripts give excerpts from eleven lines; these will not have differed from those of Champollion, whose supplementary observations are intercalated in the following translation.

¹ *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, fourth series, 1960.

² *JEA* 41, 33 ff.

³ The respective inscriptions will be referred to below as Hentowē and Ma'karē^c followed by the line-number.

⁴ *Notices descriptives*, II, 178-9.

(1) at time of morning in (a?) God's passage¹ by the first prophet of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, Pinūdjem (justified),² the son of Menkheperrē (justified). Introduction to the first prophet of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, Pinūdjem (justified) (2) *Isimkheb* 'Souvent mentionnée à propos de constructions et de dons d'argent, (3) *Hentowě* (4) Officers, prophets, god's fathers, wēb-priests, lector-priests, and scribes (5) Year 5, first month of the Inundation season, day 1, on this day in the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, (6) Coming by the third prophet of Amūn Tja[nūfe³ (justified), the son of] Nesphonmūt (justified). (7) to? *Hentowě* whose mother is *Isimkheb* 'Grands dons faits par Hontho, fille de Isé' (8) Year 6, third month of the Summer season, day 19 (9) good, says Pinūdjem (justified) your⁴ servant; bring⁵ *Hentowě* whose mother is *Isimkheb*, this first great mistress of the Harem of Amūn (10) *Hentowě* 'Le nom de sa mère' your servant, to her son, to the son of her son, to her daughter, to the daughter of her daughter,⁶ not to

Here Champollion's extracts and partly erroneous paraphrases come to an end. Meagre as they are, they suffice to introduce some of the principal *dramatis personae* and were evidently taken from near the beginning of the fifty lines seen by him. The scene is set in the temple of Karnak, where a great concourse of priestly persons and officials assembled to bear witness to the oracles delivered in the presence of the high-priest of Amen-Rē Pinūdjem II. The questions to be answered by the deities appear all to have been addressed to Amen-Rē by the third prophet Tjanūfe, but two separate occasions seem to be envisaged, namely in the 5th and 6th years of one of the Tanite kings, and also a year 8 is mentioned on one of the loose blocks to be described below (L). Champollion was mistaken in thinking that the inscription dealt with gifts made by *Hentowě* to the Theban triad; it is only her own property that is involved, the sole purpose being divine confirmation of her ownership. Discussion of *Hentowě*'s family connexions is deferred until after my translations. The single word *in* in Champollion's l. 9 may possibly suggest the presence of *Hentowě* herself, but this is far from certain, the more so since she is again and again referred to in the third person.

The ten lines from which Champollion took his extracts appear to have been succeeded by a dozen or more of which not a single trace remains, unless it be among the unplaced blocks alluded to above. Then follows the main inscription, of which parts of 27 lines are still *in situ*, these consisting, however, solely of the beginnings and the ends

¹ The expression $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ signifies a 'passage' or 'corridor' in a royal tomb, see *JEA* iv, 135, 139 and *Wb.* iv, 354, 14, but the absence here of the determinative \square might seem to favour the conjecture made in a letter from Nims, namely that Champollion wrongly read $\overline{\text{A}}$ in place of Δ , since a similarly written $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ occurs in several texts of this period, see *Wb.* i, 535, 13. I confess that I find this guess improbable.

² Throughout this inscription the names of all males are followed by the epithet *m^s-hrw* which is here apparently meaningless.

³ Tjanūfe is second prophet of Amūn below in l. 11, where the father is again named; both are also mentioned on a sandstone block from Karnak dated in a Year 40, where the father was given the title of fourth prophet of Amūn, see *Rec. trav.* 22, 53. Champollion's publication appears to have two mistakes, printing $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ for $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ in the name of Tjanūfe and $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ for $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$ in the name of the father.

⁴ 'Your' here and below refers to the Theban triad.

⁵ As written *in* appears to be an imperative.

⁶ These exact words also in Ma'karē l. 4, where they refer to property of that lady which is to be guaranteed to her descendants at some future date.

of lines with a huge intervening gap. These lines are here numbered afresh. What remains of ll. 1-10 amounts to very little, but from l. 11 onwards much more is preserved, so that particularly in ll. 11-16 and again in ll. 19-27 the ends join up with the following beginnings so as to exhibit considerable lengths of consecutive text. Even in the best cases, however, the centre presents a yawning void slightly exceeding the combined lengths of the blocks adjoining to left and right; in other words, at least half of every line is missing. Not improbably some part of what appears to be lost may have survived in the twelve blocks of varying sizes which are still to be seen on the ground in the immediate neighbourhood, but I have failed to determine the exact location of any of these, though the two which I have labelled K and L show parts of the base-line marking the conclusion of the text in l. 27.

That this sadly defective, yet by no means negligible, inscription has been accessible to scholars is the merit of G. Maspero, whose *editio princeps* in *ZÄS* 21 (1883), 73-74 was later replaced by a slightly fuller text in his *Momies royales de Dêir el-Baharî* (1889), 705-6. No translation was added in either place, nor am I aware of any attempt at interpretation elsewhere; it was presumably on account of the inscription's ruinous condition that Breasted refrained from any mention of it in his *Ancient Records*. My own interest dates from the early days of this century, when it fell to my lot to write the slips for the Berlin Dictionary; from these, copies of which are still in my possession, it appears that I must have had some additional material at my disposal, perhaps a photograph or else a collation by Sethe. For my present undertaking I have been fortunate in having important help from colleagues: to Nims I owe excellent inked-in photographic prints, while to Černý I am indebted, not only for further photographs, but also for careful copies made at Karnak in 1943; it is only from these two sources that the loose fragments are known to me, except that the one lettered J by me has recently been copied by Caminos on my behalf. Pending a definitive edition of the whole, Maspero's text will be found sufficiently accurate for superficial control.

In the following pages I have attempted a rendering of even the most incomplete sentences, it being clear that from this procedure the general drift can usually be recognized. It is not always possible to determine where the question addressed to Amen-Rê^c begins and where it gives place to the oracular response, but, the phraseology being extremely repetitious, the reader will as a rule be able to form his own opinion on this point. My disjointed versions will at least make it plain that the composition was homogeneous throughout, promising good things to those persons who recognized and abetted Hentowē's ownership, or alternatively dealing out threats to those who might dispute it. Evidently this public proclamation was regarded as constituting valid legal evidence of the lady's rights.

(1) ^{nearly the whole of the line lost} [all] . . . (2) *who shall tamper [with anything of them]*^{1 11/12 of}
^{a line lost} *his?* (3) *you shall close the West in front of them*^{2 4/5 of a line lost} *this decree [made by*

¹ Restoring *kt[kt nkt imw]* from Ma'karē^c 6. *Ktki* is best known as an intransitive verb meaning 'quiver' or 'shake', *Wb.* v, 146, 1-5, but here probably means 'interfere with', 'disturb', or the like, cf. P.Turin 1882, rt. 1, 2 in *JEA* 41, pl. 7.

² The striking phrase, *h̄tm 'Imnt r-h̄t-w* doubtless means that certain malefactors who were named will be debarred from the West after death.

*Amen-Rēc, Mūt, and] Khons, (4) the great gods (concerning) the [fields¹ which] ^{4/5 of a line lost}
 them together with the fields (5) ^{2 groups} in inspection? ^{5/6 of a line lost} [you shall] establish their
 sons in their places, they being rich (6) and honoured favour? ^{9/11 of a line lost} private
 fields² for ^{2 groups} Haremakhē³ (justified) ^{2 groups} (7) the ^{11/12 of a line lost} make the ^{3 groups} (8)
^{11/12 of a line lost} [you shall] cut them out⁴ from the land, (9) you shall not [give] them [their
 places].*

*Thereupon⁵ the ^{7/8 of a line lost} [cause] (10) it to be made into ?⁶ to give it to Hentowē
^{2/3 of a line lost} of the House of Amūn ^{about 8 groups}*

[Thereupon] (11) the second prophet of Amūn Tjanūfe (justified) the son of Nesp[honmūt
 (justified) approached] again⁷ [into the presence of the great god saying: 'My good lord'
^{1/3 of a line lost} her children.'⁸

Very strong assent⁹ by the great god.

*Thereupon he approached again into the presence of the great god saying: 'My (12) good
 lord, as for any people who shall dispute¹⁰ with Hentowē [and with Isimkheb?] ^{nearly 1/2 a line lost}*

[Thereupon he approached again into the presence of] the great god saying: 'My good
 lord, as for this decree which Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, made in respect of¹¹ the private
 fields which (13) Hentowē obtained by purchase¹² in the region of the arable land¹³ of
 the nome of In¹⁴ ^{more than 1/2 a line lost} [which] Nespnebbed (justified) [caused] to be made for
 Neskhnos his daughter, he giving? his share of men-servants, maid-servants, copper. . . .
 (14) clothing, house, garden, country field, and? whatever ^{about 1/2 a line lost} [give¹⁵ this share of
 Nesp]nebbed (justified) which [fell] to him¹⁶ of the property of Isimkheb his mother to

¹ Restored from l. 12. At the end of the line *w hnc n' iht* can still be read.

² The technical term *ih't nmhw* again in l. 12 and fragments A4, J5; also *Ann. Serv.* 4, 185 and often in the so-called Will of Ewerot, *ZĀS* 35, 14-16; it probably designates land belonging to private owners (ιδιόκτητος γῆ) as opposed to that belonging to Pharaoh, see *JEA* 19, 21.

³ For this personal name, not uncommon in late times, see Ranke, 247, 17; the reason for the mention of this man here is obscure.

⁴ The suffix *w* 'them' doubtless refers to *rnw* 'names' lost in the preceding lacuna. For the threatened punishment *fdk rn m p' t'v* overlooked in *Wb.* I, 583, see here again in ll. 19, 20, J4.

⁵ The introductory *chc-n* occurs again in l. 11, A1, B4, and F4, in each case apparently to preface a mention of Tjanūfe or some other priest whose duty it was to put a question to Amen-Rēc. Here, however, it is followed by the feminine article *t'* and the use must be different; can the reading have been *t' psdt* 'the Ennead'?

⁶ Here a strange, unintelligible sign.

⁷ Restore *w hm* 'repeated' at the beginning of the line. This was preceded no doubt by *chc-n*, see n. 5 above, the complete formula being *chc-n w hm-n' f spr m-b' h p' ntr c'* still preserved further on in this same line. Exactly the same formula except substituting *r* for *m-b' h* in the 'Stela of Banishment', Brugsch, *Reise nach d. Grossen Oase*, pl. 22, ll. 16-17, 23.

⁸ Here the question put to the god must have been very short.

⁹ *Wšd* in this sense occurs in several other oracle texts, see *Wb.* I, 375, 14; so again here in five of the fragments.

¹⁰ *Dd irm*, literally 'speak with'; so again in l. 15; P.Bologna 1086, 18 = *ZĀS* 65, 94. Similarly *mdw irm*, P.Berlin 8523, 18 = *ZĀS* 53, 108.

¹¹ The text has apparently *n w*; for the first *n* perhaps emend the equally strange *hr-n* in the same context l. 15.

¹² For *in r swnt* see the examples quoted by Černý, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 130, n. 3; see too below p. 65, n. 2.

¹³ *Kjyt*, literally 'high ground', as a general term for 'arable land' see my *Wilbour Papyrus*, Commentary, pp. 28-29.

¹⁴ The geographical name beginning apparently with 𓆎 might be Esna, Dendera, Armant, or even Heliopolis. A similar geographical expression in the Fragment B2.

¹⁵ The restoration of 'give' or some similar word is necessary to explain the dative 'to Neskhnos' some distance farther on.

¹⁶ For this idiomatic use of the expression *h'i r* see *JEA* 13, 34, n. 13.

Neskhons, thou¹ shalt give it to Isimkheb² this daughter of (15) Nespnedbed (justified), thou shalt not cause to increase? of any houses which^{about 1/3 of a line lost}

[Very³ strong assent by the great god.

Thereupon he approached again into the presence of this great god saying: 'My good lord,] as for any people who shall dispute with Hentowě and with Isimkheb her daughter in respect of⁴ this share of Nespnedbed (justified) (16) which fell to him of the property of Isimkheb his mother so as to^{about 1/2 of a line lost} in their possession^{about 7 groups} and one find [him] in the right, one shall give to him servant and [he] (17)⁵ to Isimkheb 'Open for Hentowě' and one shall give her^{about 1/2 of a line lost} [Mūt], great lady of Ishru, [Khons] Nefer-hōtēp, the [great] gods [Khon]s, the great gods^{about 13 groups lost} (18) [Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, great god, mighty] beginner of existence,⁶ Mūt, Khons, the [great] gods^{about 1/2 of a line lost} Hentowě her (?)^{about 15 groups lost} (19)^{about 6 groups lost} Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, the great [god, mighty beginner of] existence^{about 1/2 of a line lost} you shall cut their name(s) out from the land, [you shall not allow] them [to flourish] in them.⁷ As for the evil thing which any great one of the army, [their fathers?], their [mothers], (20) their children, their brother, their sister, and any people of any sorts who are in (?)^{about 1/2 of a line lost} any word which is upon it⁸ you shall make for them you shall kill them, you shall cut their name(s) out from the land, you shall not allow them to flourish in them.⁹

Said by [Amen-Rēc,] (21) King of the Gods, this great god, mighty [beginner of existence, Mūt], Khons, the great gods: We will turn [their hearts]¹⁰^{about 1/2 of a line lost} [Hentowě, this daughter of?] Isimkheb, not to injure¹¹ her, not to [do to her any] evil [thing] by which they may achieve mischief (?).¹² As for him who shall neglect what is said and shall strive¹³ to kill (22) Hentowě, your servant, to injure her and to do to her any evil things^{about 1/2 of a line lost} [Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods], the great god, mighty beginner of existence, Mūt, Khons, the great gods¹⁴ Hentowě, this daughter of Isimkheb your servant¹⁵ you shall cause them to be safe.

Said by Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, this (23) great god, mighty beginner of existence,

¹ Amen-Rēc is obviously here addressed.

² A second lady of this name, not identical with the mother of Nespnedbed, but his daughter.

³ The very long restoration here proposed is based on the text beginning with *wšd* in l. 11.

⁴ For *hr-n* here see above, p. 60, n. 11.

⁵ The line begins with an obscure word, and the equally obscure *wn* following appears to be an imperative.

⁶ For this constant epithet of Amen-Rēc see *JE A* 41, 96 ff.

⁷ This phrase occurs again in l. 20. Certain people who do not support Hentowě's claims are here being mentioned, but it is not clear where the address to the deities began.

⁸ The feminine suffix possibly refers to *ty wdt* 'this decree' lost in the lacuna.

⁹ See above, n. 7.

¹⁰ Restore *phr hstyw*, see *Wb.* I, 544, 14 and Gunn's note *JE A* 41, 89.

¹¹ For the rare verb *sc* see *JE A* 34, 16; it probably had some special meaning which cannot be ascertained from the existing material.

¹² The verb *shw* determined with the sign of a knife is unknown to *Wb.* and the meaning is obscure.

¹³ For *dnn* see the examples collected by Caminos, *Late-Eg. Miscellanies*, p. 52, to which I can add only Mar. Karnak, 39, 17. 19. The sense *sich abmühen* given in *Wb.* v, 577, 2. 3 is clearly not far wide of the mark; the word refers to actions involving a special effort, whether voluntarily exerted as here, in the Karnak passages, and in *JE A* 41, pl. 10, 4. 6, or whether imposed upon someone, as when said of a soldier who has 'many labours'; my former interpretation *Mes*, p. 21, n. 3 was mistaken.

¹⁴ Here a short, unintelligible word.

¹⁵ It is not clear where the address to the deities began, but it is evident that prosperity is here promised to people who support Hentowě's claims.

Mût, Khons, the great gods: As for any great one of the army, his mother, his [sister] about 1/2 of a line lost against her, you¹ shall say . . . ,² you shall exercise your great heavy wrath against them,³ the like of it⁴ by the decree of Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, this (24) great god, mighty beginner of existence, Mût, Khons, the great gods who rest upon the ground of silver⁵ of the House of Amün, about 1/2 a line lost and (if) the sister of another heir who belongs to the people who sold⁶ the houses to Isimkheb shall come forth from them tomorrow or after tomorrow to say 'Not yours indeed is the house, (25) we will sell⁶ it to another', you shall charge an (?) agent ^{2 groups} any agent of Nē, nearly 1/2 a line lost


[Said Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, the great god,] mighty beginner of existence, I will confirm the houses which Isimkheb bought from their lord(s) for Hentowě her daughter in the hand of⁷ Hentowě my servant (26), in the hand of (her son),⁸ the son of her son, the heir of her heir, and the child(ren) of her children eternally.



Said by⁹ Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, this [great god, mighty beginner of existence] about 1/2 a line lost let her give (them) to them'.

Said by Amen-Rēc, King of the Gods, this great god, mighty beginner of existence: As for the scribe of the House of the God's Adorer of Amün who shall conceal (27) this decree from the child's children of Hentowě and shall delete writings from it in order to do to them large lacuna

The main inscription on the wall ends here, but part of its l. 27 is preserved in l. 5 of fragment L, where it reads as above in l. 23: [*We will exercise our*] *great heavy wrath*

¹ Words addressed to the Theban gods must have stood in the long lacuna of l. 23.



² The word  here is perhaps an interjection, but the meaning is obscure.

³ Here and in a number of other Late-Egyptian cases, most of them quoted to me by Černý, the abstract word  clearly signifies a god's active 'wrath' or 'displeasure', a meaning not recorded in *Wb.* I, 413, 12-17. The most convincing evidence is the epithet *pꜣ nty bꜣn pꜣyꜣf bꜣw* (or *bꜣwꜣf*) *r mt* 'whose wrath is worse than death' appended to *pꜣ Hkꜣ* 'the Ruler' in the common oath-formula *wꜣh Imn wꜣh pꜣ Hkꜣ*, see *Hier. Ostr.* 46, 2, *rt.* 10; 47, 1, *rt.* 12, *vs.* 5. 13; also *Ostr. Cairo*, 25, 237, *rt.* 11; *vs.* 4, published by Daressy, where the determinative  is added, as also elsewhere, showing that some hostile reaction is meant; in *Ram. Adm. Doc.* 54, 16 the adjective *bꜣn* is replaced by *ꜣ*, 'greater', and in *JEA* 12, pl. 36, 9 the adjective is inadvertently omitted. Equally clear is the same meaning in the stereotyped sentence which is the subject of the present footnote; this is found again in fragm. L2 and in ll. 6, 8 of the oracle-text in favour of Ma'karēf to be translated later. To illustrate in detail other contexts where the same sense is indisputable would unduly extend this already overlengthy footnote, but mention must be made of the imprecatory formula *iwꜣf m bꜣw n Imn Mwt Hꜣsw* 'he is subject to (lit. 'in') the wrath of Amün, Mût, and Khons', *Ann. Serv.* 27, 66; *ZÄS* 50, pl. 4, l. 6. Lastly, I have no doubt that the same meaning is to be recognized in the often repeated *iwꜣ šdꜣf r nꜣyꜣw bꜣw* 'I will rescue him from their wrath', Edwards, *Amuletic Decrees*, L6, *rt.* 65; T1, *rt.* 62 (for the many variants see the Index, p. 122), where the Editor renders *bꜣw* as 'manifestations'. The translation 'might' used by me in former years is clearly inadequate in the instances here treated, though suitable in passages like *Sinuhe* R88.

⁴ The construction here is obscure.

⁵ This expression is found again Naville, *Inscription historique*, top right, l. 3; a temple-floor (*sꜣtw*) of silver, is often mentioned elsewhere, see *Wb.* III, 424, 8; *Ann. Serv.* 47, 17.


⁶ Lit. 'gave'; see below, p. 65.

⁷  here is doubtless simply another writing of  which follows immediately afterwards at the beginning of l. 26; the same spelling also after *smn* + object in l. 3 of fragm. B; the repetition of this adverbial complement is very confusing.

⁸ For 'her son', here clearly omitted by mistake, see l. 10 in Champollion's excerpts.

⁹ Here begins what appears to be the second of three successive utterances by the god, and a possible remedy for this unusual state of affairs would be to emend the text so as to make an address to the god begin here; but the hieroglyphs appear to give 'Said (by)', not 'Said to'.

against them like Another part of the same concluding line is found on fragment K, but this I have been unable to place.

The twelve loose fragments mentioned on p. 59 add but little of interest to the main text translated above. Nearly all offer parts of several lines, but their generally square shape precludes the presence of complete sentences. It is evident that here we have hardly anything more than the same alternation of appeals to Amen-Rē, Mūt, and Khons and the same brief formulae of oracular approval; my footnotes will have illustrated the recurrence of words and expressions familiar from the above pages. In the absence here of the complete hieroglyphic text intelligible analysis is impossible, and the best that can be done is to give renderings from the two least uninteresting fragments. On B we read as follows: (1) *Amen-Rē, Mūt, Khons, the great gods* (2) . . . *fields of the arable land of the nome of* (3) *one shall establish the fields in the hand of Hentowě and* (4) *Thereupon he approached again in the presence of the great god saying 'My [good lord]',* (5) *Neskons (justified) went to*  (6) *where he put them. Very strong assent by the [great god]* (7) *mother (or Mūt?) Isimkheb* Here, it will be observed, practically the only novelty is in l. 5, where the word *hn* is unintelligible in the absence of context. Fragment L at least contains a date unexpected in this place; the following words can be read: (1) *of all sorts* (2) *which (or who?) are to right and left of the great god of (or in?) Year 8, fourth month of the Inundation season* . . . (3) *saying which the heirs shall do to cause property (?) to be given to them* (4) *writings of the House of the God's Adorer, and one shall* (5) [*we will? exercise our*] *great heavy wrath against them like.* The words of l. 5 have been translated already on p. 62, and mention was made on p. 59 of the base-line proving that we here have part of the concluding l. 27 of the main text.

It is not surprising that Champollion failed to recognize the purpose of this abominably mutilated text, which Maspero in his turn did not venture to translate. However, a careful reading of the above pages will leave no doubt that the sole subject was the personal property of a lady named Hentowě, who from the great extent of the inscription devoted to her interests must have been one of the most important personalities of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Perhaps she was even the wife of a high-priest of Amen-Rē, since in Champ. 9 we read *Hentowě, whose mother is Isimkheb, this First Great Chief of the Harem of Amūn*, but it is here uncertain whether the title belongs to the daughter or to the mother. In Champ. 7 we again read *Hentowě, whose mother is Isimkheb* and in l. 25 mention is made of *the houses which Isimkheb bought from their lords for Hentowě her daughter* and which Amen-Rē apparently promises to confirm in Hentowě's hand; Hentowě herself had acquired certain fields by purchase (l. 13). A second Isimkheb is, however, mentioned in l. 15; she was a daughter of Hentowě, and it appears to have been anticipated that legal objection might arise against both ladies in respect of some property which had been inherited by Nespneded¹ from the

¹ The name is more familiar in the Greek form Smendes; besides the bearer of the name who became the

possessions of his mother Isimkheb (ll. 15, 16); it had previously been said (l. 14) that this property ought to be assigned by the oracle to Isimkheb (II), the daughter of Nespnedbed. From these data Maspero apparently rightly concluded that Hentowě and Nespnedbed were brother and sister as children of Isimkheb I, and that from their marriage with one another was born a second Isimkheb. The inscription mentions also a second daughter of Nespnedbed named Neskhons to whom he had given his inheritance of various kinds of property (ll. 13-14). No discussion can here be devoted to Maspero's further contention that Isemkheb (I) was the wife of the well-known high-priest Menkheperrē; the relationships of the priestly family at Karnak are too complex and problematic to be dealt with in the present article.

II. The property of the lady Ma'karē

In most respects similar to the oracular text in favour of Hentowě translated above is another likewise inscribed on a wall of the temple of Karnak, where the property requiring the guarantee of the Theban triad is that belonging to the great lady *Ma'karē*, the daughter of King Psusennēs (II). The little that remains of this equally defective inscription stands on the north face of the Seventh Pylon, see Porter and Moss, II, 54 (16). Discovered by Mariette in 1874 it was first published in his *Karnak* (1875), pl. 41; but there is a later revision of the text in Maspero's *Momies royales*, 694-5, which must still be used until Černý can find time to supply his own copy, this agreeing closely with that at my disposal when I put the inscription on slips for the Berlin Dictionary nearly fifty years ago. Maspero printed a translation in *Revue Critique* for April 28, 1877, and this was reprinted later in his *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie*, III, 314-18; Maspero also recalled that a previous version had been given by Brugsch and a partial one by Lauth. I have now been able to use, not only my own slips, but also an admirable photograph lent by Černý, and the hieroglyphs being beautifully cut and well preserved there is seldom doubt as to the reading; here again, however, we have to deplore the loss of the entire upper portion, estimated by Mariette as two-thirds of the original whole. There remain at the bottom only eight long horizontal lines written from left to right, and of these l. 1 shows only scraps of signs and l. 8 terminates in the middle. More serious is the absence of an entire block at the right end, depriving us except in ll. 4 and 5 of the equivalent of about ten squares. Some compensation is found in the fact that the formulae used are repeated over and over again, so that what is missing in one place can as a rule be restored from another. It needs only a cursory comparison of my translations to reveal that both in purpose and in form the inscription asserting the proprietary rights of Ma'karē bears a close resemblance to that devoted to the property of Hentowě. My footnotes will show that several of the formulations employed are common to both, though again there are differences of phraseology which preclude any possibility of the same authorship. As regards the content the greater generality of Ma'karē is doubtless an illusion arising from the fact that there only the concluding lines are preserved, and it is well-nigh certain that the very extensive lost parts of the

founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty at Tanis, two others are known who were high-priests of Amūn at Karnak, see *JEA* 34, 48.

text will have provided, as in Ḥentowě, considerable information about the date and attendant circumstances of the appeals to the oracle, and we should doubtless also have learned much about the relatives and other persons from whom Maḳkarēḳ may have inherited or have otherwise obtained her possessions. That both inscriptions alternated requests or questions addressed to Amen-Rēḳ, Mūt, and Khons with the oracular assent given by them is, of course, sufficiently clear. In Maḳkarēḳ only four paragraphs survive, the second and fourth giving in almost identical language the replies to the appeals made in the first and third respectively. As testimony to this analysis I lay great stress on the word $\times \text{𓂏} \text{whm}$ 'repeated' occurring towards the end of Maḳkarēḳ 4, separated from the accustomed sequence of divine names only by a small lacuna which may possibly have contained the words $\text{𓂏} \text{he said to}$; the repetition spoken of can only have been the renewed approach to the oracle which Ḥentowě (ll. 11. 12. 15) expresses with the formula *Thereupon he approached again* ($\text{whm} \cdot \text{n} \cdot \text{f spr}$) *into the presence of the great god saying*; it was clearly not the gods who took the initiative, but rather the priest to whom the vindication of Maḳkarēḳ's rights had been entrusted.


Thus the quadripartite structure of our eight lines appears to be firmly established. It would be wrong, however, to ignore a difficulty which, on a first reading, might seem to vitiate this conclusion. It is certain that the greater part of ll. 1. 2 belongs to the address to the gods, and this accords well with the writing $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ for the pronoun 'you' in the sentence *you shall confirm to her* etc. But exactly the same writing occurs in the middle of l. 4, where it is evident that the gods are speaking and that we must understand 'We will confirm them in the hand of her son,' etc. Conversely $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, correctly used for 'we' three times in l. 8, is twice used for 'you' in l. 6, where likewise $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ properly the writing of 'our', is improperly employed for 'your'. It is impossible to decide whether these miswritings are purely graphic, or whether they reflect some deep-rooted misconception in the mind of the scribe finally responsible. To obviate confusion on our own part I shall translate the pronouns in question in the way that the actual writings dictate, but shall add a bracketed *sic* where I am convinced that the sculptor or his instructor has gone astray.

In both inscriptions difficulty arises for the translator owing to an ambiguity in the common verbs *in* and *di*, both of which can on occasion discard their ordinary meanings of 'bring' and 'give' in order to take on the more specialized senses of 'buy' and 'sell'. Peet was apparently the first scholar to deal with this subject in a comprehensive fashion.¹ That Ḥentowě obtained at least some part of her possessions by 'purchase' is clear from the use of the completely unambiguous verb *swn* in l. 25, and from the employment of the same stem in the expanded phrase *in r swnt* for 'buy', literally 'bring by purchase' or 'barter', in ll. 12. 13; nor can there be any doubt that *in m snwz* in Maḳkarēḳ 5 is an unorthographic variant of the same phrase found also in late manuscripts of a supplementary chapter of the Book of the Dead.² We are here concerned, however, with the employment of *in* for 'buy' without any explanatory adjunct; this development was proved by me as long ago as 1906,³ and an example is to be seen in

¹ *Griffith Studies*, 122 ff.

² *Bull. Inst. fr.* 41, 123. 126-7.

³ *ZÄS* 43, 34, n. 22.

Ma^ckarē^c 1, and another perhaps in l. 3, unless there *m snnw* is lost in the following lacuna. Less easy to prove, though almost certain, is the use of *dī*, literally 'give', as an equivalent of English 'sell'; this occurs in Hentowē 24. 25 where I have so translated it; so too in Ma^ckarē^c 4. 7, where the literal rendering would be *any things of any sorts which the people of the land gave to her* and where the supposition of a gratuitous gift is extremely unlikely. Similarly when in Ma^ckarē^c 4. 6 we read *any things of any sorts which she took as a child of their property* the sense to be attributed to  is probably 'acquired' and I can think of no other interpretation than that Ma^ckarē^c, while still a child, obtained these things by indirect inheritance. However, before we embark on our translation, the student needs to be warned that the explanations offered in this last paragraph are somewhat hypothetical.

Sixteen or more lines completely lost.

[Again¹ he said to ? Amen-Rē^c, King of the Gods, this great god, mighty beginner of (1) existence, Mūt, Khons], the great gods ^{about 1/3 of a line lost} which she bought from the people of the land² ^{about 8 groups} [the people of] (2) the land (or ?) which she obtained³ as a child of their property, you shall confirm them to her. Any things of private owners⁴ you shall [confirm them in the hand of her son, the son of her son, her daughter, the daughter of her daughter, the children of her child]ren⁵ down to eternity.

Said Amen-Rē^c, King of the Gods, this great god, mighty beginner of existence, Mūt, Khons, the [great] gods ^{about 8 groups lost} [As for] (3) any king, any first prophet of Amūn, any great one of the army and army-captain, (or) any people of any sorts, be they men or be they women, who shall have power,⁶ together with those who shall have power hereafter to confirm any things of any sorts which Ma^ckarē^c, the daughter of King Psusennēs loved of Amūn bought ^{about 8 groups lost} [from ? the people] (4) of the land, together with any things of any sorts which the people of the land sold⁷ to her (or ?) which she obtained⁸ as a child of their property to confirm them in her hand, you (sic) will confirm them in the hand of her son, the son of her son, her daughter, the daughter of her daughter, the children of her children down to eternity.

Again⁹ [he said to ? Amen-Rē^c, King of the Gods], this great god, mighty beginner (5) of existence, Mūt, Khons, the great gods: Kill¹⁰ any people of any sorts of the entire land, be they men or be they women, who shall dispute¹¹ about any things of any sorts which Ma^ckarē^c, the daughter of King Psusennēs loved of Amūn, bought¹² by purchase of the South

¹ [*Whm*], lit. 'repeated' conjecturally restored from l. 4 below.

² *ʿswn:s . . . mdī nʿ rmt n pʿ tʿ* not seen by Mariette or Maspero.

³ Lit. 'took', see above in my comments.

⁴ This phrase is not repeated in the parallel passage of l. 4. For *nmḥ* see above p. 60, n. 2.

⁵ This rigmarole restored from l. 4 below.

⁶ *ʿr šhrw* here doubtless in the sense of Coptic ερ-ϣϣϣϣ, see *Wb.* iv, 260 and *ZÄS* 58, 156; in *Urk.* vi, 71, *r šhrw* translates *phty*.

⁷ Lit. 'gave'.

⁸ Lit. 'took'.

⁹ *Whm*, see above in my introductory remarks.

¹⁰ As the original stands, *hdb* here can only be the imperative.

¹¹ The preposition *n* (for *m*) is lost after *mdw*, see l. 7; *Wb.* ii, 179, 17 gives *mdw m* as commonly used for 'Böse reden über'. Compare *gd* in a rather similar sense above p. 60, n. 10.

¹² Lit. 'brought'; here we have to render *m snnw* as if it were *r swnt* on account of the following genitival *n*, which is faultily written as $\overline{\text{—}}$ when this phrase is repeated in l. 7.

Country¹ together with² [any] things [of any sorts which the] people of (6) the land [sold to her] (or ?) which she obtained³ as a child of their property. Those who shall tamper with⁴ things among them tomorrow or after tomorrow we (sic) shall exercise our (sic) great heavy wrath against them,⁵ we (sic) shall not forgive them either.⁶

Very strong assent by this great god,⁷ Mūt, Khons, the great gods.

Said Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, this great god, [mighty beginner of existence, Mūt, Khons, the] great gods: (7) We will kill any people [of] any sorts of the entire land, be they men or be they women, who shall dispute about any things of any sorts [which Ma'karē, the daughter of King Psusennēs bought by purchase] of the South Country, together with any things of any sorts which the people of the land sold⁸ to [her] (or ?) which she obtained⁹ as a [child of their property. Those who shall tamper with things among them] (8) tomorrow or after tomorrow we will exercise our great heavy wrath against them, we will not forgive them either,¹⁰ we will give their noses to the ground¹¹ and they shall be [subject to the wrath ?¹² of this great god], Mūt, [Khons], the great gods. END

In our inscription the lady Ma'karē receives no title, but is described simply as 'the daughter of King Psusennēs loved of Amūn'. This designation cannot fail to recall the dedication on the plinth of a famous Nile-stature in the British Museum, where, omitting some irrelevant epithets, we read *the first prophet of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, Shoshenḳ loved of Amūn the son of King Osorkon loved of Amūn, his mother (being) Ma'karē, the daughter of King Psusennēs loved of Amūn*;¹³ and precisely the same filiation is found on a magnificent statue in the Cairo Museum, where however the name of the queen's father is broken away.¹⁴ Discussing the British Museum statue Maspero¹⁵ rightly returned to the view of Lepsius according to which the Osorkon there mentioned was the first Pharaoh of that name, the son of Shoshenḳ I the founder of the Twenty-second dynasty; a later Osorkon could hardly have been in the position to marry the daughter of a king of the Twenty-first dynasty. Consequently the Psusennēs whom the statues name as high-priest Shoshenḳ's mother's father can only have been the Psusennēs II whom Manetho makes the last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty. This conclusion, accepted by E. Meyer,¹⁶ Breasted,¹⁷ and Vandier¹⁸ is of deep interest as confirming what

¹ This geographical reference suggests that some of Ma'karē's property was acquired only after her arrival from her northern home. However, the expression is too obscure for any historical conclusion to be drawn from it.

² The definite article *p* here seen after *hm* throws doubt on the suggested restoration following, though this is strongly supported by the repetition in l. 7. ³ Lit. 'took'.

⁴ For the verb *ktkt* see p. 59, n. 1. The phrase was doubtless repeated below in l. 7, though there in lacuna.

⁵ For this formula, found again in l. 8 and also in Hentowē 27 see p. 62, n. 3.

⁶ Here partly destroyed; to be restored *bn iw-n ḥtp n-w gr* as in l. 8.

⁷ This formula, many times repeated in Hentowē, only here in Ma'karē. The addition of Mūt and Khons after *p* *ntr* *ḥ* is unexpected. ⁸ Lit. 'gave'. ⁹ Lit. 'took'. ¹⁰ See above, n. 6.

¹¹ Probably to be read *iw-n di šrt-w n p* *itn*. This threat is apparently unknown elsewhere.

¹² Possibly to be restored *iw-w [m b:w p:y ntr ḥ] Mwt [Hnsw] n ntrw ḥw*, see p. 62, n. 3.

¹³ Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. 15; further bibliography Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, 299, II; a photograph in Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures*, pl. 43.

¹⁴ Cairo 42194, see Legrain, *Statues de rois et de particuliers*, III, pp. 3, 4 and pls. iii, iv.

¹⁵ *Momies royales*, 735-6. ¹⁶ *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 2, p. 33. ¹⁷ *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 738-40.

¹⁸ *Clio*, 3rd ed. 523.

Lastly, behind Hentowē there follows, likewise holding a sistrum, *the king's daughter of his body, his beloved, the Chief of the Harem of Amūn, Nedjemmūt*. It seems not unlikely that the two grown-up women and the child Maḳkarēḳ in front of them were sisters and daughters of a Tanite king who can hardly have been other than Psusennēs I, but this conjecture does not increase the probability of the hypothesis which I am here combating. At this point I must leave the tangled story of these late relationships to those better able to disentangle it.

QUEEN TWOSRE AS GUARDIAN OF SIPTAḤ

By J. VON BECKERATH

THE much-debated problem of the succession at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty seems now to be finally solved: there existed only one king Siptaḥ (prenomen Sekha^c-enrē^c-setpenrē^c in his first year and Akhenrē^c-setpenrē^c afterwards) who reigned after Sethos II.¹ Very scanty details are known, however, about the personality and the reign of this king.

The weakness of his position is evident: his name was omitted from the sequence of the legitimate rulers,² his power appears to have been restricted by the important rôle played by two other personalities—the queen Twosre³ and the ‘Great Chancellor of the entire land’ Bay. Both these latter persons received the extraordinary honour of being provided with tombs in the Valley of the Kings.⁴ The importance of Bay is manifested by his unique title and, more definitely, by the peculiar epithet ‘who establishes the king on the seat of his father’ given to him in two different inscriptions.⁵ His name was found on several pieces from the foundation deposits of the funerary temple of King Siptaḥ.⁶ Twosre is depicted together with Siptaḥ in her own tomb, a fact which hitherto was interpreted as meaning that she must have been his wife. Besides her normal titles as a Great King’s Wife (*hmt-nsw wrt, nbt-tswy*), she is designated on the stela of Bilgai⁷ the ‘great mistress of all the land’ (*hnwt rst n ts nb*). Later, after the death of Siptaḥ, she adopted the full titles of a Pharaoh (King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sitrē^c-meryetamūn, Son (*sic*) of Rē^c Twosre-setpetenmūt) and built for herself a funerary temple.

Queen Twosre occurs on the various pieces of her jewellery⁸ as the wife of Sethos II.⁹

¹ W. Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 39–52; J. v. Beckerath, *ZDMG* 106 (1956), 241–51; and most recently Sir A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 44 (1958), 12–22.

² Cf. the representations in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu (*Medīnet Habu*, IV, pls. 203 and 209): Ramesses II is followed there by Merneptaḥ, Sethos II, Setnakhte, and Ramesses III.

³ *Ti-wsrē*. There cannot be the slightest doubt of her identity with the *Θούωρις* of Manetho, i.e. **Θουωρις* (T-wōsrē). The σ before ρ was probably omitted for reasons of euphony rather than by confusion with the name of the hippopotamus-goddess Thoēris (T-wēre).

⁴ The splendid tomb of the queen (no. 14), on which cf. especially *JEA* 40 (1954), 40 ff., was later usurped by Setnakhte for his own burial. The smaller tomb of Bay (no. 13) is almost completely destroyed and was perhaps never finished.

⁵ At Gebel es-Silsila (Porter–Moss, v, 211, no. 38) and near Aswān (ibid., 245).

⁶ Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, pl. 17, no. 12; pl. 18, nos. 10, 11, 12, 13.

⁷ Gardiner, *ZAS* 50 (1912), 49–57. I agree with Helck (op. cit., in n. 1) in dating this stela to the reign of Siptaḥ even if Twosre appears here as the true regent. The scene at the top of the recto represents a male king and the inscription begins with the title ‘Horus, Strong Bull . . .’ which cannot refer to the queen. This form of the Horus title was likewise avoided by Hatshepsut.

⁸ Th. Davis, *The Tomb of Siptah, the Monkey Tomb, and the Gold Tomb*, 35–44, pls. VII–XI.

⁹ The position of another Great King’s Wife, the King’s Daughter Tekha^c, is still uncertain. She is known

From the representations in her tomb, on the other hand, it was concluded that she was the wife of SiptaḤ too. Since the latter must have been the successor of Sethos II it was suggested that he married the widow in order to legitimize his own kingship.¹ This conclusion implies that SiptaḤ must have been a usurper and Twosre the heiress to the throne. She does not bear, however, the title of a king's daughter.²

The Great Harris Papyrus describes the last years of the Nineteenth Dynasty as a time of anarchy. Years of struggle between local rulers were followed by the rule of a Syrian usurper who plundered the whole land and acted even against the gods. This story is distinctly reminiscent of the Egyptian tradition from the times of the Hyksos³ and it has long since been recognized as the common literary description of a chaotic situation occurring before the accession of the current Pharaoh or dynasty.⁴ Nevertheless, we may conclude from it the animosity of Ramesses III towards the last ruler (or rulers) of the preceding dynasty which is confirmed also by the suppression of their memory.

The existence of the interregnum assumed by Rowton⁵ between the two dynasties is impossible as is shown, *inter alia*, by the fact that the most important officials of the Egyptian state—the vizier and the viceroy of Nubia—held their offices from the years of SiptaḤ into the reigns of Setnakhte and Ramesses III.⁶ For the same reason it is very unlikely that an unknown usurper should have ruled between SiptaḤ and Setnakhte. The Syrian usurper mentioned in Papyrus Harris—if indeed he was not a mere literary fiction—could well be the king SiptaḤ, as suggested by Helck. This identification was taken into consideration earlier by the present writer but rejected since it seemed impossible that Setnakhte should have buried his predecessor whom he apparently considered as an enemy.⁷ I was not aware, then, of the probability pointed out by Gardiner of an independent reign of Queen Twosre. Later⁸ I accepted Helck's suggestion, which is based on very good observations, concerning the importance of the Asiatics in the New Kingdom.⁹ It was Twosre, obviously, who caused SiptaḤ to be buried in his tomb at Bibān el-Molūk and who changed his cartouches throughout her own tomb and perhaps elsewhere into those of her long-deceased husband Sethos II.

I do not, as Helck does, believe that the regnal years of Twosre are counted from the accession year of Sethos II nor that her mortuary temple was built during the reign of SiptaḤ. On the other hand, while agreeing with Gardiner in the dating of the mortuary temple and of the royal titles of the queen to the time after the death of SiptaḤ, from a statue of Sethos II to be his wife, but this statue is usurped (Gardiner, *JEA* 44, 17). At all events she cannot be identical with the mother of the usurper Amenmesse, for this 'God's Mother and Great Mother of the King' was never a king's daughter nor the wife of a king.

¹ As did King Ay at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

² Cf. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, p. 7, n. 6, against Petrie, *History*, III, 122, and myself, *ZDMG* 106, 248.

³ Cf. especially Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 14. 75–77.

⁴ Weill, *La Fin du Moyen Empire*, 38 ff.; v. Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben*, 76–79.

⁵ *JEA* 34 (1948), 63.

⁷ *Tanis und Theben*, 77.

⁶ Helck, *op. cit.* 45–47.

⁸ *ZDMG* 106, 248.

⁹ The original name of Raʿmesse-siptaḤ, the later king SiptaḤ, would have been *Yrsw* in the same way that Bay was the correct name of his chancellor who was very probably likewise of Asiatic origin and who later received the courtly name Raʿmesse-khaʿmentēr.

I find it difficult to attribute to her sole reign seven or eight years.¹ There is, in my opinion, much probability that in her later years she considered the reign of Siptah as her own while she always respected the reign of her husband Sethos II. This assumption is strongly supported by the alterations in her tomb. It seems to me, therefore, most probable that Twosre counted her years retroactively from the death of her legitimate husband as did the famous Hatshepsut. The figure given by Manetho for Thuōris (7 years) would then include the years of Siptah. Since Siptah was still alive in his year 6 the sole reign of Twosre was probably no longer than about two years (beginning at the earliest in year 6 and ending, if the figure of Manetho is correct, in year 8). The only inscriptions which may be attributed to the sole reign of the queen—I think Gardiner is right in their attribution—are the graffiti from her tomb dated to years 6 and 7 respectively,² and the Ostrakon Cairo 25293 from year 8.³ In this same year I should like to date also the Ostrakon Deir el-Medīna 594 referring to the work done by the artist Neferhōtep in the tomb of the chief workman Pnēb (year 8, III prt, 5).⁴ The same artist was already working in this tomb in the first two years of Siptah.⁵ This king probably did not see his eighth year, and year 8 of Ramesses III seems to be much too late.

The resemblance of Queen Twosre to Hatshepsut, who likewise adopted the titles of a male Pharaoh, is indeed striking. It would be still closer if the view expressed by Gardiner in his last study on this topic⁶ should be proved true. This view differs from that of Helck (which was accepted hitherto likewise by the present writer) mainly in explaining the weakness of the position of Siptah not by his illegitimate origin but by his youth. From the epithet of Bay 'who establishes the king on the seat of his father' Gardiner deduces that Siptah must have been the son of a king, and from the rôle of Bay as a 'king-maker' (implied by the same words) and of Twosre as a regent he concludes that Siptah was still a boy at the time of his accession. He does not think, however, that Siptah was the legitimate hereditary prince but conjectures that he may have been the son of a Syrian concubine. Twosre who could not, at all events, have been his mother would thus perhaps have been his stepmother—exactly as Hatshepsut was the stepmother of the young Tuthmosis III.

I am happy to be able to publish here a piece which proves the soundness of Gardiner's very ingenious idea in the most satisfactory way. The very damaged limestone statue Munich Glyptothek no. 122 which is now in the Aegyptische Staatssammlung⁷

¹ So Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 445.

² Gardiner, *JEA* 40, 43. It now no longer seems impossible that the work in the tomb of Twosre, which began in year 2 of Siptah should have continued up to year 7 of the queen, the distance between these dates being only five years according to my conjecture (cf. Gardiner, loc. cit., on Ostr. Cairo J. 72452).

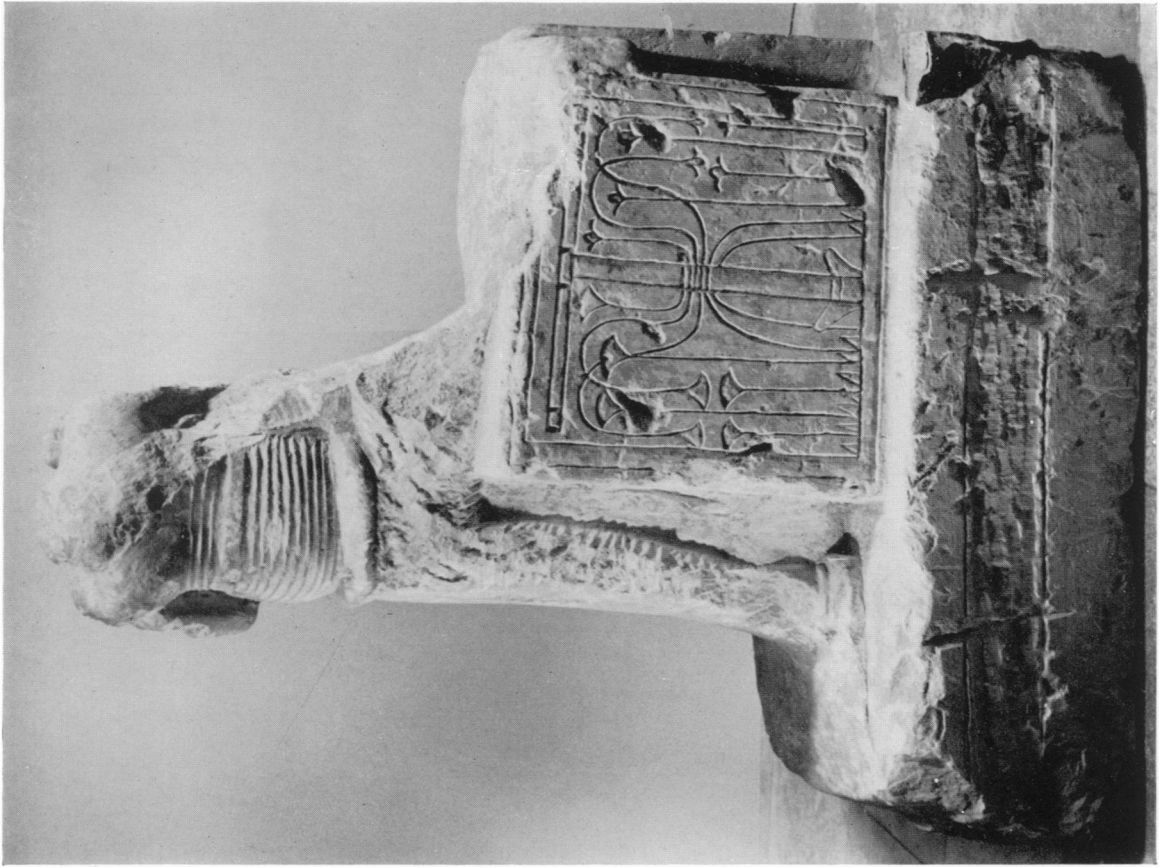
³ Daressy, *Cat. gén., Ostraca*, 74.

⁴ Sauneron, *Cat. des ostraca hiérat. non-litt. de Deir el-Médīneh (Doc. de fouilles de l'IFAO, t. XIII)*, p. 22; wrongly attributed on p. xi to the reign of Sethos II who died during his sixth year.

⁵ Ostr. Cairo 25521. Černý, *Cat. gén., Ostraca hiérat.* 10-11. 22-25, pls. XV-XVI.

⁶ *JEA* 44, 12 ff.


⁷ See pl. III. The height of the preserved portions is 0.76 metres. The writer is deeply indebted to the Director of this collection, Professor H. W. Müller, for most generously entrusting to him its publication. For the photographs he wishes to express his thanks to Dr. D. Arnold.



A GROUP-STATUE IN MUNICH (Glyptothek no. 122)

was purchased in Egypt in 1912 by the late Freiherr von Bissing and published in a few words without illustration by P. Wolters.¹ Subsequently it was banished to the magazine because of its bad condition. The small headless figure of a Pharaoh who holds the sceptre and the flagellum in the right hand and wears a pleated kilt is represented sitting upon a high base decorated with his (carefully erased) cartouches and with two pairs of foreign captives. The statue was said to come from el-'Amarna and was hitherto thought to represent King Akhenaten. Wolters describes it as part of a destroyed group and compares it with the well-known statue in the Louvre.²

As the result of a short examination I was convinced immediately that the statement in the museum's inventory ('Kopfloze Kalksteinfigur des thronenden Amenophis IV über einer mit Reliefs und Inschriften verzierten Basis') must be wrong. The figure of the king does not sit upon the throne but on the lap of a much larger figure which was intentionally destroyed. Of this larger figure there remain only traces of the arm on the back of the king. In front of the throne there are likewise distinct traces of the legs. The feet of the little king are placed on a lateral projection to the right of the throne. The throne itself is decorated with the two united plants of Upper and Lower Egypt and with two lines of completely erased inscriptions, a horizontal one running round the two sides and the back, and a vertical one on the back. Evidently the group represented originally a Pharaoh as a child sitting on the lap of his tutor. This Pharaoh cannot therefore have been Akhenaten as stated by v. Bissing and Wolters. Even in style the statue does not show the characteristic features of the 'Amarna period.

After cleaning the statue we found on the band hanging down from a leopard's head in front of the kilt of the king two very small and partly unreadable cartouches in a single vertical line: . Here are undoubtedly the names of King SiptaḤ in the second period of his reign, to be read Akhenrē-setpenrē [SiptaḤ-meren]ptaḤ. I did not at that time know the short notice of Wolters who explicitly states that he (or v. Bissing) read here the names of Akhenaten. So firmly was he convinced of his attribution (influenced apparently by the wrong account of its provenance) that he perceived the nomen of Akhenaten in the first cartouche on the statue.

We have here, then, clear evidence for the correctness of Gardiner's conjecture that King SiptaḤ was merely a boy and that this statement holds good not only for the beginning of his reign. The question now arises who may have been represented by the destroyed great figure. At first I thought it might have been the chancellor Bay; but it is unthinkable that Bay—no matter how important his rank—should be represented sitting on the throne. Thus the identification of this figure as being of Queen Twosre becomes almost certain. The careful removal of her figure as well as the erasure of the inscriptions including the cartouches of SiptaḤ³ must be the work of a later ruler wanting perhaps to usurp for his own purposes the statue of the king.

It seems now proved that SiptaḤ was only a child wholly in the hands of his step-mother Twosre and of the chancellor Bay. It is no longer possible, therefore, to

¹ In *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 1913, 162, under the accession number (?) 531.

² Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue sommaire* (1932), II, 477-8, pl. LXV (from Salt Collection).

³ The cartouches on the kilt were apparently overlooked because of their very small size.

identify him with the Asiatic usurper of the Harris Papyrus. On the other hand, it seems unlikely, as already pointed out, that any ruler should have reigned between the end of Twosre's reign and the accession of Setnakhte. Thus the suggestion of Černý (mentioned as a possibility by Gardiner) that Bay might have been the Syrian referred to becomes very probable. Apparently it was he who was the true ruler of Egypt during the reign of Siptah. Being unable or even unwilling to usurp the throne for himself he caused a dependant child to be crowned as a puppet-king. Thus the passage in the Papyrus Harris, already cited, may well refer to the reign of Siptah. It is noteworthy that the text does not say the Syrian usurper made himself a ruler (*hkꜣ*) but designates him merely as a chief (*wr*). Bay may have been indeed, as Helck suggested, of Syrian origin. His name cannot, however, have been *Yirsw* since we know already of two names of his, the proper name Bay and the courtly name Ra'messe-kha'mentēr. *Yirsw*, the name given to the alleged Syrian usurper in the Harris Papyrus, is not Syrian but possibly a made-up Egyptian name as suggested by Gardiner; it is not to be identified with the Egyptian name *Irw-sw*.¹ The alternative is to assume as did Spiegelberg² that the true name has been omitted from the text in the papyrus, perhaps intentionally. In that case it would be necessary to insert between *ir sw* '... made himself' and *ꜣꜣ* (the latter group containing the determinatives of the name only) the name Bay. One can easily understand why in a text from the early Twentieth Dynasty this name would be made unintelligible, or even omitted.

¹ Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, 40, 7; apparently a hypocoristicon of a name like 'God N is the one who made him'.

² *OLZ* 2 (1899), cols. 263-4.

TOPOGRAPHIC AND ETHNIC NOTES. III¹

By S. YEIVIN

Nos. 28–31 in Shoshenḳ I's list of conquered towns

It seems that in launching his Asiatic campaign Shoshenḳ I aimed among other things at disrupting the routes of the southern trade between the roadstead of Elath–Ezion Geber (on the Gulf of Elath, the Red Sea) and the Mediterranean anchorages, whether in Philistia or in Israel; hence the havoc wrought by the Egyptians in the settlements of the Negev (according to his list) and on the sea-shore (archaeological evidence).²

It seems, therefore, logical to look in that part of the list, which deals with the northernmost extension of his route for a possibility of identifying the ancient name of the riverine port, the remains of which were represented by Tell Abu Hawam (prior to its disappearance by excavations), since several scholars had tended to associate the destruction of Stratum III at this *tell* with Shoshenḳ's campaign in Israel.³

Now, Shoshenḳ's list cites under no. 27 (following Beth-Shean, Shunem, Taanak, in that order) Megiddo,⁴ which guards the entrance of the 'Iron pass (from the Valley of Jezreel), while no. 32 is 'Iron, guarding the same pass at the opposite entrance (from the Sharon plain). The list gives four more place-names between the two fortresses enumerated above. One of these four names (no. 30) is badly damaged by the scaling of the surface along the edges of two stones (near the joint);⁵ the remaining three have not been so far identified with any otherwise known ancient names.

Now, within the 11 km. which separate Megiddo from 'Iron (as the crow flies), it is difficult to place four settlements, even taking into account possible deviations to the north-west and south-east from the direct route connecting the two strongholds; nor are remains of such ancient settlements known on the surface within the area under discussion. It seems, therefore, that both the logic of the situation, as well as the archaeological survey of the region concerned, suggest the probability that these four places (nos. 28–31 in the list) are to be found north-west of Megiddo. They may represent settlements involved in a local subsidiary campaign, ordered by Shoshenḳ while

¹ The first series of these notes (A–D) appeared in *Atiqot*, II (1957/8), 155 ff.; the second (E) in *Atiqot*, III (1961), 176 ff.

² S. Yeivin, 'Did the Kingdom of Israel Have a Maritime Policy?', *JQR* 50 (1960), 193 ff.

³ R. W. Hamilton, *QDAP* 4 (1934), 5 ff., 19 ff. Mazar, on the other hand, attributed this destruction to the Aramean invasion under King Hazael; B. Maisler (Mazar), *BASOR* 124 (Dec. 1951), 24–25; cf. also S. Yeivin, loc. cit., and below, pp. 78–79.

⁴ J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), 89 ff.; cf. now B. Mazar, *VT Supp.* 4 (1957), 58 ff.; and *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak. III. The Bubastite Portal*, pls. 3–5.

⁵ According to W. M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, pl. 78, one can make out at the end of this place-name the signs *rw*-^c with the foreign land determinative; but see below, p. 77.

staying at Megiddo, or places on a different route of march from Megiddo westwards and then southwards, avoiding the 'Iron pass.

No. 28 reads and should be transcribed *i-d/t-i-r/l*. It seems to the author that this name should be identified with (יה)ל(א)יד Yid'ālā, mentioned in the list of Zebulonite towns: *and Kattath and Nahalal and Shimron and Idalah and Beth-lehem . . .*¹ The identified place-names prove that the list is proceeding from the east westwards: Nahalal = Ma'alul,² Shimron = Tell Semūniyye,³ and Bēt-Lehem.⁴ It seems, therefore, quite possible to identify Yid'ālā with a small *tell* on a south-westerly spur of the hill, on top of which is now located Rāmāt Yishay (formerly known as Jedda). The *tell* is known as Tel Rīsīm (Tell er-Rīsh: iv, 163, 234).⁵ The archaeological evidence too agrees with the suggestion made above, since sherds of Israelite periods have been reported there.⁶

No. 29 lists a place-name which is to be transcribed as *i-i-w-d/t-h-m-r/l-k*, and all scholars are agreed that it should be read *yad hammelek*.⁷ It has already been pointed out that such a name represents an official state enterprise. Mazar, who probably based himself on the *yad* erected by Absalom,⁸ thought that the name referred to a royal stela, which had been erected near Megiddo. On that interpretation, the builder of the monument and its purpose still remain to be established. Moreover, it is rather difficult to assume that even a vain and self-glorifying Pharaoh would be likely to list as three separate place-names: (a) a city (Megiddo), (b) its threshing-floor ('Adar), (c) a nearby royal stela (Yad hammelek). The last-mentioned name refers indeed to a royal enterprise, but in the present author's opinion it is to be considered a royal estate, a state-domain.⁹ It is known that in the first century A.D. there were large royal estates in the north-western part of the Valley of Jezreel (the Megiddo plain) centred on Beth-Shearim.¹⁰ It is quite likely that these large estates had constituted royal properties ever since the days of King David, who conquered those last Canaanite

¹ Josh. 19: 15.

² Cf., F. M. Abel, *GP* II, 394.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, 464.

⁴ Cf. *EB* II, s.v. (Hebrew). There is little doubt that biblical Bēt-Lehem (of Zebulun) is to be identified with the *tell* situated some 2 km. south-west of the village of Beth-Lehem (where the most ancient remains belong to the Roman period), marked on the map as Tel Hāzīr (Tell Khūḏeyra: iv, 169. 236), but scheduled (in the Mandatory Schedule) as Khirbet Khūḏeyra.

⁵ In *EB* III, s.v. Yid'ālā, the author of the article concludes that the version Yir'ala (following the LXX) should be accepted as correct; and following the tradition reported in the Jerusalemite Talmud he suggests its identification with Ḥawwara, which he locates at Khirbet Ḥawwara, about 2 km. south-west of Beth-Lehem. Now neither the maps nor the Schedule of Ancient Sites reveal any trace of such a site. It seems, therefore, that he mistook Khirbet Khūḏeyra, already mentioned (preceding note), for Khirbet Ḥawwara; but this site marks the location of biblical Bēt-Lehem.

⁶ On the files of the Dept. of Antiquities. It is true that Mazar (*VT Supp.* iv. 62) proposes to transcribe this place-name as 'Adar and to identify it with the threshing-floor (Aram. אָדָר) of Megiddo; since he, too, could not assume, apparently, that there had been room for four settlements between Megiddo and 'Iron, he sought for a different solution to explain four names on this short stretch.

⁷ It is, of course, possible that the *w*-sign represents a reading *yod* (like the later Phoenician *bod* = . . . בֹד), which may reflect the north-Israelite (dialect) pronunciation, as against the southern (Judaite) *yad*.

⁸ Cf. 2 Sam. 18: 18.

⁹ Cf. E. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis*, iv, 1961 (b) (s.v. *yad*), for the possibility of interpreting *yad* as referring to a place.

¹⁰ At least there were in Beth-Shearim central storehouses for the produce of these domains; B. Mazar, *Beth-Shearim*² (Jerusalem, 1958), 26 (Hebrew).

enclaves in the Valley of Jezreel that could not be subdued before his time by the Israelite tribes;¹ and these enclaves became royal property through the act of conquest. Yad hammelek would, therefore, be a central settlement in such an area founded by David (or possibly Solomon?); the name, however, may perhaps refer to the town called later Beth-Shearim.²

If we do not accept the hypothesis that Yad hammelek may be the older name of Beth-Shearim, the former can be identified with one of the smaller *tells* in the vicinity of new Nahalal: Tell el-Beydā (near 'Ayānōt) or Tel R^e'ālā (Tell el-Ghaḷṭa),³ or perhaps with the rather sparse settlement on top of the natural hill guarding the narrow pass through which flows the Qishon River between Mount Carmel and the mountains of lower Galilee on the Jezreel side of the straits.⁴

As stated above, no. 30 is badly damaged so that it does not permit any transcription. A perusal of the latest publication,⁵ shows that Müller's suggestion was partly correct, and one can see the remains of the *rw* (the crouching lion)-sign.⁶ However, it is not followed by an ^ʿ (the arm), but by two small circles (on the right), which seem to be the remains of the \bar{t} (the hobble). Moreover, towards the top of the rectangle on the left, the author seems to see remains of a head of the Egyptian vulture (\bar{r}), which may have been a phonetic complement of *h* \bar{r} (Gardiner, *EG*³, Sign-list, G 1). It seems plausible to suggest that the place-name may have been [h]- \bar{r} -[b-r]- \bar{t} (= *Heblat*), and to consider it the ancient name of Tell Abu Hawam, the riverine port near the estuary of the Qishon River. Different versions of this name occur in the Bible. In the delimitation of the territory allotted to the tribe of Asher its western boundary is described as follows: *And . . . the boundary turneth to Ramah, and to the fortified city of Tyre; and the boundary turneth to Hosah; and it goes out to the sea from Hebel to Achzib . . .*⁷ The last part of the verse should be interpreted as meaning that the western boundary of the territory abutted on the sea near Hosah, whence southwards the sea-shore became the actual boundary line, between Hebel⁸ and Akhzib, i.e. between the promontories

¹ These unconquered enclaves are enumerated in Jud. 1: 29 ff.; cf. S. Yeivin, 'David's Administration', in *Kingdoms of Judah and Israel* (Jerusalem, 1961), 47 ff. (Hebrew).

² Cf. the hypothesis put forward by the late J. Halperin, *BJPES* 11/3-4 (1945), 64, that the place was named after the priestly 'watch' (*b^ene s^e'ōrīm*), who settled there, apparently as cultivating tenants of the royal domains confiscated by the Roman authorities after the first war (A.D. 66-73) and the destruction of the Second Temple; theoretically, at least, all Judaea became the emperor's private domain after that war, cf. G. Alon, *The History of the Jews in the Land of Israel during the Periods of the Mishna and Talmud*, 1 (Tel-Aviv, 1953), 5; S. Yeivin, *The War of Bar-Kokheba*³ (Jerusalem, 1957), 35 (both Hebrew). Excavating at Beth-Shearim Mazar found (during the season of 1956) Israelite remains of the eighth century B.C. (B. Mazar, *IEJ* 6 (1956), 261-2). His trial trench was perforce very narrow; and it is possible that when a larger area is investigated, remains dating back to the tenth-eighteenth centuries may also be found.

³ A surface-survey revealed the presence of Israelite sherds on both sites (cf. the files of the Dept. of Antiquities).

⁴ This is Tel Qāshish (Tell Qassīs; iv, 1605. 2322); the archaeological surface-finds are summarized in the files of the Dept. of Antiquities. The author wishes to thank the present Director of Antiquities, D. A. Biran, for the permission to quote these files.

⁵ *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak III. The Bubastite Portal*, pl. 3 (the photograph).

⁶ W. M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, 1, pl. 78.

⁷ Josh. 19: 29. The AV and RV give slightly different translations.

⁸ If it is sought to identify this name with Makhliba, mentioned in the Annals of Sennacherib, one has

of the Carmel range (on the south) and *Rosh Hanniqra* (on the north), all along the plain of Acre. Then, again, the same town is mentioned in the enumeration of cities not subdued by the tribe of Asher: . . . *the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Sidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob.* . . .¹ Here the name occurs with a 'feminine' ending and a metathesis of *b—l*: *Ḥebel—Ḥelbah*.²

Numerous recent commentators have considered the enumeration of the two cities Ahlab and Helbah in the last-mentioned verse an erroneous repetition of one and the same place-name.³ But in the present author's opinion there is no need to assume a mistaken repetition in this case, and one may surmise that there actually were two cities, the names of which were derived from the same radical *ḥbl*:⁴ 'Aḥlab, the northerly of the two within southern Phoenicia, and Ḥebel(ah) or Ḥelbah on the Israelite coast south of Achzib.

This Aḥlab should probably be identified with Makhliba, mentioned in Sennacherib's third campaign (of 701 B.C., along the Phoenician coast) in the following order (north to south): Sidon the Great, Sidon the Lesser, Bit (Bet)-Zite (Zeyt), Zarephath, Makhliba, Hosah, Achzib, Acre.⁵ This Makhliba is usually identified with the Lebanese village of Maḥālib, south of Litani River, dominating its ford.⁶

Ḥebel(at) = Ḥelbah, on the other hand, is enumerated with the southern series of cities in the Plain of Acre (such as Aphik and Rehob). If it be identified with Tell Abu Hawam, it would be the southernmost anchorage in the Plain of Acre, near the Carmel range. Such an identification will also fit the description of the western and southern boundaries of the territory of Asher: *and reaches to Carmel . . . and to Shihor-libnath . . . and . . . the boundary turneth to Ramah and to the fortified city of Tyre, and the boundary turneth to Hosah; and it goes out to the sea from Hebel to Achzib.* . . .⁷ This will also be a further justification of the identification of Shihor-libnath with the Qishon River.⁸

The question arises now whether such an identification would fit the archaeological context at Tell Abu Hawam. The excavator of the site thought that the place had been destroyed by Shoshenḳ I (stratum III), and not resettled till the Late-Israelite (Persian)

either to assume that one *m* was omitted by haplography at the beginning of the name (*M[m]ḥbl*), or that the MT understood the original *m* to be a prepositional prefix, being led astray by the adverbial *ah* at the end of the place-name *Akhzib(ah)*; but cf. below, n. 6.

¹ Jud. 1: 31. The problem whether *Ahlab*, too, is to be considered one of the variants of this place-name or not, is irrelevant in this connexion; however, see below.

² Similar metatheses are quite frequent: *simlā—salmā*; *keves—kesev*; and several others.

³ Cf. B(enjamin) M(azar), *EB* 1, s.v. 'Aḥlāb; III, s.v. Ḥelbāh.

⁴ Even disregarding the *hapax legomenon* *ḥibbēl* (Prov. 23: 34), which is probably to be interpreted after Tur-Sinai (*EB* III, s.v. *ḥibbēl*) as 'injured', place-names derived from this root (*ḥbl*) may be connected with anchorages (a certain distance upstream from estuaries of rivers), where vessels could be moored by means of ropes (*hebel*) attached to bollards on the banks.

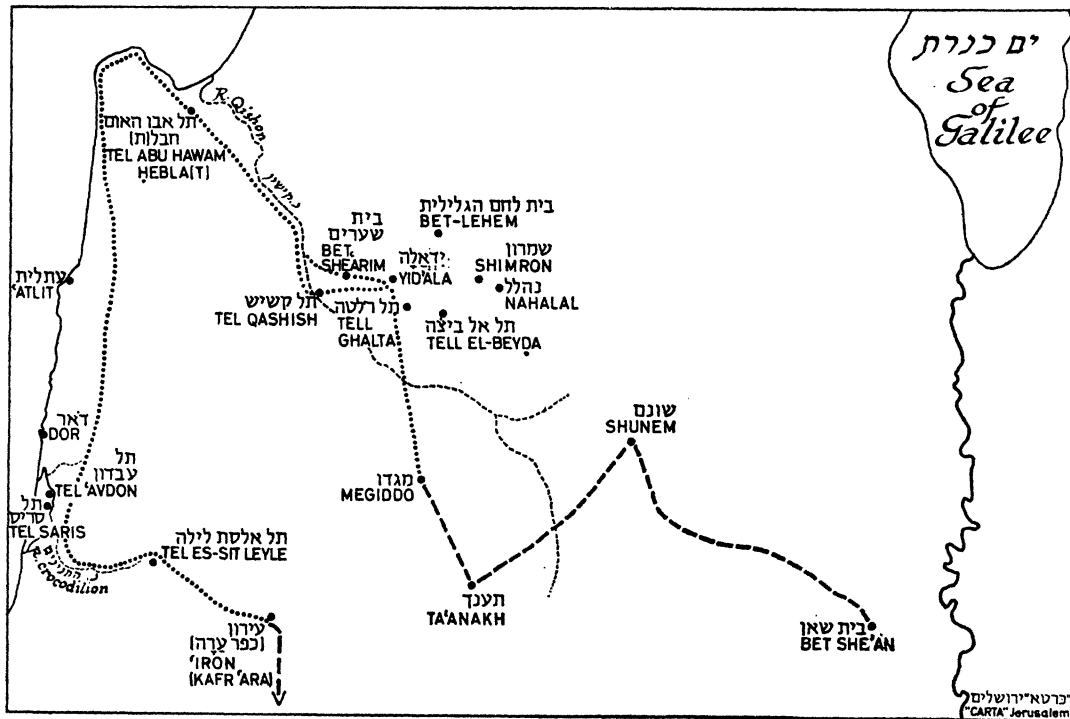
⁵ Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 239 (p. 119).

⁶ R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), 12, quoting the original identifier.

⁷ Josh. 29: 26–29; cf. above, p. 77 and n. 7.


⁸ B. Mazar (cf. *EB* 1, s.v. *Asher*; Hebrew), as against the opinion of, among others, Alt, who proposes to identify Shihor-Libnath with the Crocodilion River (Nahr ez-Zerqa) or Naḥal 'Ada (Nahr ed-Dife) cf. *ZAW* 45 (1927), 51 ff.

period stratum II).¹ Later, Mazar has re-examined the evidence, and suggested a different dating for most of the strata, according to which the settlement of stratum III lasted approximately² from 980 till 815³ B.C. Mazar's suggestion seems reasonable, especially in view of the comparative archaeological evidence from other contemporary sites.⁴ However, Hamilton has already pointed out in his final report that stratum III shows signs of a disturbance caused by partial destruction and reconstruction both



----- The route proposed by Mazar and accepted by the author
 The new deviation proposed by the author

inside the settlement⁵ and in its fortifications.⁶ It is, therefore, quite probable that in the course of the occupation represented by stratum III (on this site), the settlement had been captured and burned by Shoshenq I, and then reoccupied and resettled soon afterwards, either under Rehoboam or one of his immediate successors.

Next under no. 31 comes a place-name written  H₃-i-n-m, which baffles

¹ R. W. Hamilton, *QDAP* 4 (1934), 2. 5; cf. above, p. 75.

² B. Maisler (Mazar), *BASOR* 124 (Dec. 1951), 24.

³ This being, according to Mazar, the date of the Aramean invasion of Israel by King Hazael. In the present author's opinion this invasion took place in 814 B.C.

⁴ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; cf. also idem, *BIES* 16/3-4 (1952), 14 ff. (Hebrew).

⁵ Hamilton, *QDAP* 4 (1934), 6: 'In the central area comprising squares D, E, 3, 4, it (viz. the main stratum III) was divided from the remains of an earlier occupation (this cannot refer to stratum IV which shows throughout most of the area concerned an empty blank devoid of any structural remains; cf. *ibid.*, pl. iv) by a continuous layer of consolidated ashes. In E, F, 5, 6, by ashes and tumbled stones.'

⁶ *Ibid.* 6, he discusses the well-built strong tower in the north-western corner of the fortifications in contrast to the poor and slipshod wall encompassing the remains of this stratum. This massive tower should be compared with the strong tower in the eastern line of fortifications at the Ophel (Jerusalem), attributed to King Solomon, R. A. S. Macalister and J. Garrow-Duncan, *APEF* IV, the plan opp. p. 40 and fig. 47 (p. 53).

identification with any name known in ancient Israelite toponymy. The most one can say is that it apparently follows a pattern found in names known in adjacent areas (the territory of Issachar; the Valley of Jezreel), e.g., 'Anem¹ and Shunem.² The name may possibly be transcribed as Ḥūnēm (?).³

Where could this city be located? Perhaps one might assume that Shoshenḳ did not return from Tell Abu Hawam to Megiddo at all, but continued on his way southwards along the sea-shore, rounding the Carmel promontory, and proceeding by the Plain of Sharon as far as the south-western point of the Carmel range (Khishm ed-Dīb), and only there turned eastwards again towards the emergence of *Via maris* from the 'Iron pass, because south of this point there were no more anchorages along the coast at the time. Indeed, on such an assumption one misses the mention of Dor in the list.⁴ If so this Ḥūnēm should be sought somewhere along the sea-shore parallel to the Carmel range,⁵ or perhaps it should be identified with a mound in the southern foothills of the Carmel range known as Tell Sitt Leyle.⁶ Hence, Shoshenḳ would have proceeded farther eastwards to the fortress of 'Iron (no. 32), whence he turned southwards along the foothills of Mount Ephraim, going by the ancient forerunner of the *Via maris*.

If the proffered hypothesis be correct, it further strengthens the suggestion already mentioned at the beginning of this note, namely, that one of Shoshenḳ's main intentions in undertaking his Asiatic campaign was to destroy the Israelite coastal settlements and thus undermine the Judaite (Israelite)–Tyrian transit trade flowing through the Red Sea roadstead Elath from southern countries to Phoenician ports.⁷

¹ 1 Chron. 6: 73; it is true, indeed, that in this case most scholars consider 'NM ('Anēm) to be a distorted shortened form of 'YN GN YM ('Eyn Gannīm; cf. Josh. 21: 29), just like 'Anēr (1 Chron. 6: 70), which seems almost certainly to be such a distorted abbreviation of 'YN RMWN (cf. Gath Rimmōn in Josh. 21: 25).

² Josh. 19: 18.

³ The combination of hieroglyphic signs *i-s*, which follows (in this name) the first sign *h-s* comes in Shoshenḳ's list mostly at the end of place-names (cf. nos. 14–18, 52, 58, and many others), and no special significance should probably be attached to this; it may be no more than an indication of a final vowel, like *ū*. In the middle of a name this combination occurs only once (in the surviving names), in no. 66: *ḥ-i-s-d-i-m-s* (+ the foreign-country determ.), which should most probably be transcribed 'ešem (Azem; Josh. 15: 29; 19: 3), which transcription fits also its position within the list. If an analogy can be drawn, we might transcribe no. 31 as *henem* (or *hānēm*?).

⁴ It is true that the *tell* at Dor has not been excavated down to the appropriate layers; and it is possible that the site was not occupied at this period.

⁵ E.g., Shiqmōnā (though the name is different, and the archaeological evidence—surface pottery—has not been thoroughly examined); or the *tell* of Athlith, though it is rather doubtful whether the site was already occupied at such an early date; other *tells* are not known along this route, for both Tell 'Abdūn and Tell Sāris are very late (Islamic).

⁶ Y. Aharoni, *BIES* 22 (1958), 134 ff.

⁷ Cf. S. Yeivin, *YQR* 50 (1960), 193 ff.

THE PRIMEVAL DJEBA

By E. A. E. REYMOND

AMONG the main sources contributing to present knowledge of the ancient Egyptian religion are the inscriptions preserved in the late Graeco-Roman temples. In this connexion, the Ptolemaic Temple at Edfu is of particular importance, as its inscriptions yield information which can hardly be gathered elsewhere. An overall study of the wealth of inscriptions in this temple shows that in particular the texts engraved on the prominent architectural parts of the temple, such as the exterior face of the Naos or of the Pronaos, and also some of the texts engraved on the outer and inner faces of the Enclosure Wall, are of vital interest for the study of Egyptian cosmology. It can rightly be said that these inscriptions open a new way of approach to the study of Egyptian mythology. Many of the ritual scenes engraved on these walls, in addition to pictorial representations, contain fairly long texts which describe mythological events about which we know very little or which are entirely unknown to us. These texts seem to explain various mythological circumstances which the Egyptians appear to have connected with the origin of the sacred places and temples. The richness of material included in these inscriptions makes it possible to reconstruct a coherent picture of a mythical world relatively unfamiliar to the Egyptologist.

In this respect special reference should be made to scenes contained in the 4th register of the outer face of the Pronaos. Most of the new ideas and views on Egyptian cosmology can there be investigated. In this register, we find, among others, a scene of the worship of Rē^c the Beḥdetite, the importance of which is particularly worth emphasizing.¹

The scene is entitled *ꜥ dw ntr, *Adoring the God*. It shows, in the right-hand corner, the king bearing the title of *priest-musician* (wꜥb iḥy) *within the Great Seat* (st-wrt) *who is accurate of utterance and sweetly singing*.² He stands before a spear and seems to worship it as a deity. The spear is described: *Powerful-of-face* (šm-ḥr) *of Horus, the segemeḥ (spear) of the Beḥdetite, the Protector of Rē^c within the Great Seat*.³

Beyond the spear, there is a thicket of reeds upon which rests a falcon. The Falcon is described: *Horus the Beḥdetite, great god, lord of the sky, He-with-dappled-plumage, who came forth from the horizon, pre-eminent in Wetjeset-Hor*.⁴ A group of eight deities is represented sitting behind this thicket of reeds.

The text of the offering formula of this scene reads:⁵ *For recitation. Hail to thee, O Rē^c the Beḥdetite, He-with-dappled-plumage, and to thy Spear (ḥd-wr), the Powerful-of-face. Hail to the august Shebtiw who are in thy train and who brought into existence the pōy-land for thy Great Place* (bw-wr). The subsequent spell was supposed to have been

¹ Chassinat, *Edfou* (quoted hereafter as *E.*) IV, 357, 15-359, 8 = *E.* x, pl. 105.

² *E.* IV, 358, 1; *nfr snsw*, lit. 'beautiful of hymns'.

⁴ *E.* IV, 358, 6-7.

³ *E.* IV, 358, 4-5.

⁵ *E.* IV, 357, 15-357, 17.

recited by the officiant-king:¹ *For recitation. Accept for thyself adoration in joy, and my hymns in gladness.*² *Praise to thee, O Spear (ḥd-wr), the Powerful-of-face, the august segemeḥ-spear that issued from the Nun. Adoration to you, O Shebtiw at the Beginning³ who firmly established the Djeba at the First Occasion.*

This scene seems to allude to an episode of adoration which was believed to have taken place in an open field before the resting-place of a god. The deity worshipped is apparently the Beḥdetite, interpreted, however, as a solar deity. He is worshipped in association with a spear, described as his protector, and which also seems to have been endowed with divine nature,⁴ and with a group of divine beings, whose name was, on the evidence of the offering formula, *šbtyw*.⁵

The form of the resting-place of the god is unusual, and it is of interest to attempt to investigate its significance. There is no accompanying title to define the nature of this resting-place of the god, nor is this scene like any other engraved on the outer face or in the interior of the Pronaos. However, this form of the god's seat has made it possible to identify another scene on the inner face of the Enclosure Wall.⁶ The resemblance between the essential features of these two scenes is striking.

The second scene again shows a thicket of reeds within which dwells the Falcon. He is described: *Horus the Beḥdetite, great god, lord of the sky, Lord of Djeba.*⁷ Above the reed thicket is depicted another falcon whose name is: *The Flying Ba.*⁸ The thicket of reeds in this instance bears the name: *Djeba in Wetjeset-Hor.*⁹ To right and left of the god's seat stands a deity in an attitude of worship; one is called Wa, the other 'Aā.¹⁰ Two other deities are represented on the right of this group: the first one is described as *the God-of-the-Temple, pre-eminent in Wetjeset-Hor,*¹¹ the second personifies the Nile of the South.¹² On the left of this resting-place, there is a spear described as *Powerful-of-face of the Falcon, the august segemeḥ (spear) that issued from the Nun;*¹³ then beside it is represented an assembly of twenty-four gods seated in three rows. These are: the Ogdoad, Thoth with the Seven Sages, and Seshat with the Seven Builder Gods.¹⁴ Above this scene there is yet another Falcon with outspread wings, bearing two names: *the Ruler of the Wing and the Lord of the Wing.*¹⁵ Beyond this assembly of gods stands the king who bears the title of the *divine* 'ḏ-mr of *Him-with-dappled-plumage, who enters freely in Wetjeset-Hor*.¹⁶

¹ E. IV, 358, 1-3.

² We suspect that *iw* and *dwiri* are used as nouns which are both direct objects of *hrp n-k*, *m sp-n-si* and *m mtr-r-imy* being here an adverbial expression, meaning 'in joy' and 'in gladness'. For similar instances see examples quoted by Junker from Dendera Texts, cf. *ZÄS* 43, 123-4, to which should be added: Mariette, *Dend.* IV, 5; E. IV, 57, 6; V, 278, 3-4; VII, 187, 3-4; Chassinat, *D.* II, 3, 2; 126, 7; III, 56, 6-7; 169, 7.

³ The text in E. IV, 358, 3, *šbtyw m šrc sddy db; m sp tpy*, envisages two interpretations which depend on the meaning given to the expression *m šrc*. It can have an adverbial meaning 'at the Beginning'; however *m* can also be used as *m* of equivalence, *šrc* being a verb used as participle. Thus the second interpretation could be: *the Shebtiw, even the ones who were first to cause the Djeba to endure at the First Occasion.*

⁴ More decisive evidence of the divine nature ascribed to the spear can be found in a scene of the worship of the spear in the Pronaos, E. III, 122, 2.

⁵ E. IV, 357, 17. The name *šbtyw* is known to us from the Edfu Texts only; see below (p. 86, n. 7) for the quotations.

⁶ E. VI, 185, 3-186, 8 = E. XIV, pl. dlx-dlxi.

⁷ E. VI, 185, 18.

⁸ E. VI, 185, 17.

⁹ E. VI, 186, 1-2.

¹⁰ E. VI, 186, 1-2.

¹¹ E. VI, 186, 3-5.

¹² E. VI, 186, 6-8.

¹³ E. VI, 185, 15-16.

¹⁴ E. VI, 185, 3-10.

¹⁵ E. VI, 185, 14: *hk; ndb; ndm ndb.*

¹⁶ E. VI, 181, 6-7.

This ritual scene has no title, but it is associated with a long record in which various mythological events seem to have been described and interpreted.¹ The text of the offering formula of this scene, however, helps to make it clear that the scene of worship represented as taking place in very primitive surroundings, and which we have attempted to outline in this paper, was regarded as the worship of the *Sanctified God who came into being at the First Occasion* with whom Horus the Beḥdetite was apparently equated in the Edfu tradition. The text of this offering formula reads: *I came unto thee, O [Great] God, He-with-dappled-plumage, Horus the Beḥdetite, great god, lord of the sky. I bring thee the heart put in its (proper) place. I praise the Living One in thy Pronaos. Thou art the Sanctified God who came into being at the First Occasion. The gods kiss the earth because of the might of His Majesty.*²

Judging from the essential features of these two scenes of worship, such as the type of the seat of the god, obviously protected by the spear, in front of which the worship was performed and was believed to be attended by an assembly of the gods themselves, the close connexion between these two scenes described cannot be denied. It is evident that both scenes present the same kind of worship which in the second instance is pictured in greater detail. The aspect of the surroundings in which such worship was believed to have been conducted seems to provide solid ground for supposing that these two instances of scenes of worship illustrate the Egyptian idea of a primitive place of worship. In view of the nature of the god who was worshipped, it seems reasonably certain that what is depicted is the early place of worship of the Falcon, who was believed to have embodied the 'Sanctified God who came into being at the First Occasion'. According to the Edfu tradition this place was believed to have been the Djeba in Wetjeset-Hor.

The Edfu inscriptions permit us to reconstruct the outline history of this presumed mythical dwelling-place of the Falcon which was given the name *Djeba in Wetjeset-Hor*. In the Edfu inscriptions there are several texts, either short extracts or real narratives, which explain how a primitive resting-place of a god had been created, and how his first place of worship was founded in the primeval ages when great primeval waters surrounded the island of creation, and when there was no other land, no god having his domain or his permanent seat. These records supplement and develop the evidence of the inscriptions that accompany the two scenes of worship. They enable us to say that there seems to have been a myth about the origin of a sacred place of the Falcon for the illustration of which the Edfu documentary sources provide pictorial as well as textual evidence. It is certain from the sentence in the offering formula already quoted above³ that there was a belief that a 'Djeba had been caused to endure at the First Occasion'. We suspect that there is a close link between this sentence and a part of a record which accompanies this scene of worship, and which seems to open the way of approach to the original significance of this 'Djeba of the First Occasion'. This part of our record reads:⁴ *When the reed came floating by, a half of it was separated so that they (the two Shebtiw) approached their lord. They planted the \underline{db}_3 in the primeval water.*

¹ E. VI, 181, 10-185, 2.

² E. VI, 181, 9-10.

³ Cf. above, p. 82.

⁴ E. IV, 358, 14-15.

*When the Falcon came, the reed lifted him up. Thus the Djeba and Wetjeset-Ḥor came into existence.*¹

The planting of the *db* in the primeval water is described several times in the Edfu inscriptions.² Among them three instances occurring in the record which accompanies the second scene of worship performed in the Djeba³ are the most important. They show that the descriptions of the event of planting the *db* in the primeval water, which we find incorporated in the 'Building Texts' of the temple of Edfu and in the scene of worship already quoted, are extracts from an ancient record which was contained in a sacred book, and which originally had no bearing on the history of the temple at Edfu, but was a sacred book of general significance and application.⁴ As far as can be judged from this document, the creation of the primeval Djeba, and the interpretation of its meaning, seem to have formed only a part of a sacred book in which myths about the origin of various sacred places were codified, and of which a large section in abbreviated form seems to have been preserved in the Edfu inscriptions. In the Edfu version the planting of the *db* is recorded at the beginning of the book, and it is said that two deities whose names were Wa and 'Aā,⁵ landed at the marginal land of a primeval island called 'Island of Trampling'. Then they planted the *db* on the marginal land of that island, near to a place in which dwelt another deity, named Ḥeter-Ḥer.⁶ It is explained in this text that the *db* is the name of the reed which stood in the primeval water.⁷ This *db* is said to have special significance. It is said to have the power of uplifting the god and to have been the relic of *This One, the Overlord of the dd-pillar*.⁸ The incidents recorded appear to have led to the creation of a sacred place called *Djeba in Wetjeset-Ḥor* which was imagined as standing on the marginal land of the Island of Trampling when *great was the water that lies close to the reed*.⁹

The same cosmological record preserves two other descriptions of the planting of the *db* in the same mythical domain. It contains a picture of an event which is described as *Arriving in the place (bw) of the primeval water (ḥbbt)*.¹⁰ It is said that the Shebtiw passed to the landing-stage of that place, the Ḥeter-Ḥer arrived at the place of the *dd-pillar, even the db of reed*. Then the Falcon came and was uplifted by the reed. As

¹ The translation given in this paper is a first attempt to render this passage, for which a somewhat modified alternative version may be suggested: *When the reed came floating by, (and) when a half of it was separated, they approached their god (or: lord). Then they planted the djeba (perch) in the primeval water. When the Falcon came, the reed lifted him up. Thus the Djeba and Wetjeset-Ḥor came into existence.* However, detailed philological discussions of the texts translated are not included in this paper.

² E. IV, 328, 5; 358, 14-15; VI, 14, 15-15, 1; 17, 11; 177, 8; 181, 16-182, 3; 184, 13-14; 224, 11; VII, 22, 8-9.

³ E. VI, 177, 8; 181, 16-182, 3; 184, 13-14.

⁴ E. VI, 181, 11, which gives the title of this sacred book: *Specification of the Mounds (i3wt) of the Early Primeval Age, as it is called.*

⁵ E. VI, 181, 12-16.

⁶ E. VI, 181, 14. We give in this paper a brief summary of the record.

⁷ E. VI, 182, 1: the text reads: *k3 nbi imyty nwyw db3*—'The name of the reed which is in the primeval water is djeba'.

⁸ The text reads in E. VI, 182, 2: *ih3 Pn hry dd nbi w3s ntr db3 nbi k3 Db3 m W3st-Ḥr (Ntr?) hpr Db3 hpr W3st-Ḥr (Ntr) m k3 niwt tn*—'The relic of This One, the Overlord of the *dd*-pillar is the reed that uplifted the god. The djeba of the reed is the name of Djeba in Wetjeset-Ḥor. Thus Djeba came into existence and Wetjeset-Ḥor became the name of this domain.'

⁹ E. IV, 358, 16 = E. VI, 182, 3.

¹⁰ E. VI, 184, 12-13.

a result of these actions it is said that this domain was given the name *Wetjeset-Hor*. Undoubtedly, this is a description of the origin of a primeval domain of the Falcon. This description shows striking affinity with the first picture of planting the *db*. We imagine that here also the *db* represented the essential in the creation of this primeval domain which might come into existence by virtue of the act of planting this *db* in the place described as *bw-hbbt*, which seems again to be the marginal land of the primeval region.

The third instance describes also a field of reeds which was believed to contain the place of the *dd*-pillar.¹ Allusion is made to *Arriving at the <field of> reeds, (even) the shelter of the wstst-throne(?)*.² Then the two Shebtiw were instructed to cut off the top of the reed. Afterwards, when the water-flood was calm and certain rites had been performed, these two deities approached the marginal land when the reed was floating by. Then they divided the reed and the *db* was planted. It is said in the narrative that '*db is the name of that which is in the water flood. The Falcon was uplifted as the Lord of the Djeba and thus the Wetjeset-Hor came into existence after the db had been created*'.³

These quotations permit us to say that this *db* might have been regarded as the essential, vital element in the creation of the primeval domain of the Falcon. It seems to have been the initial stage in its existence, since in all known instances the planting of the *db* is described as the first action to be performed in the primeval region before the god himself settled down in his domain. The identity between the names occurring in these records and those known from the scenes of worship offers an argument for assuming that the two scenes of the relief in the temple at Edfu illustrate the final phase, the completion of what is described in the records as being in progress and in action. Both, the reliefs and the records, seem to hint at a genuine myth about the creation of a *db* which the tradition regarded as the first dwelling-place of the Falcon. This view can be confirmed by three other passages in the Edfu inscriptions. Undoubtedly they reveal the interpretation of this event as seen in the tradition of a later date. This event is interpreted in the following terms: *When the reed came, the gods of db planted it as the seat of His Majesty in Wetjeset-Hor*,⁴ or *We planted thy djeba so that it may uplift Thy Majesty in Wetjeset-Hor*.⁵

The descriptions of the planting the *db*,⁶ are explicit enough to illustrate the Egyptian views on the origin of the resting-place of a sacred bird and to define its elementary nature. In summarizing these facts it can be said that there was a belief that in the primeval mythical ages there was created a resting-place for the Falcon. It is explained that when the reed emerged near the marginal land of the primeval island, a part of it was separated and planted in the marginal land of the island. Then the Falcon came

¹ E. VI, 177, 3.

² E. VI, 177, 4-5.

³ E. VI, 177, 8-9.

⁴ E. VI, 177, 10-11.

⁵ E. VI, 323, 4. Cf. also E. VI, 224, 10-11 which shows a somewhat different interpretation: *He (the King) brings to thee the field of the divine wstst-throne (?) of reed which the gods of db planted as djeba (perch). Mayest thou settle down upon it in the capacity of the Sanctified God.*

⁶ *sddi* (or: *ddi*) *db* occurring regularly in the descriptions of this event quoted on p. 84, n. 2 above. We suspect that the verb *sddi*, lit. 'to make, or to cause to endure' might have been used with a derivative meaning which was modified by the significance of the object which was to be fixed or planted. Therefore we suggested the interpretation 'to plant' for the verb *sddi*.

and settled upon it. The reed lifted him up. This, we may suggest, was the way in which the Egyptians imagined that the first resting-place of the Falcon came into existence.

The part of the reed used for the resting-place of the Falcon is described by the word *ḏbꜣ*. It can tentatively be concluded that the word *ḏbꜣ*, which in several instances is given the determinative *ꜣ*,¹ might have been originally a common name applying to a part of a reed, probably the top part.² We imagine thus under this term *ḏbꜣ* a cutting or slip of reed. On such a slip of reed birds that lived in swamps might well have rested. Therefore it does not seem to be unreasonable to suggest that the word *ḏbꜣ* means 'perch'.³

From this point of view it seems likely that the myth about the origin of the first sacred place of the Falcon had a factual background. This myth seems to reflect an ordinary, natural fact, the making of a perch for the bird, which seems to have been the inspiration of a doctrinal view on how a mythical dwelling-place of the Falcon had been created. Thus, according to this evidence, the mythical dwelling-place of the Falcon was imagined to be in origin and conception a perch which was given the same name as that of the material from which it had been fashioned, *ḏbꜣ*. If this interpretation be correct, it would mean that the sacred name Djeba had its origin in a technical word used for describing a primitive perch.⁴

This primitive perch (*ḏbꜣ*) seems to have been connected with other beliefs and mythological events. It is said that when the Falcon settled down on his perch, he was uplifted.⁵ We suspect that this alludes to a symbolic act such as the sanctifying of the surroundings of the perch. It might have given the sacred nature to the perch itself as well as to its surroundings. It was also interpreted so as to give the name of 'Wetjeset-Ḥor'. In this respect it can be suggested that the first sacred place of the Falcon was imagined as a small domain on the marginal land of the primeval island, and which may eventually have been surrounded by a wooden or reed fence, which was called Wetjeset-Ḥor, and which enshrined the perch called djeba.⁶ This perch (*ḏbꜣ*) is not imagined as having been created by a nameless primeval power. The myth indicates the names of the divine beings who were supposed to create it. These are the two Shebtiw, Wa and ʿAā,⁷

¹ *E.* IV, 328, 5; 358, 14-15; VI, 177, 8; 181, 16; 182, 1; 182, 3; 184, 14; 224, 11; the writing of these texts is sufficiently accurate to justify the assumption that the determinative *ꜣ* occurs only when Djeba, the sacred place itself, was meant.

² *E.* VI, 177, 6. 7 where allusion is made to the *wpt* of the reed which should be cut off.

³ *Wb.* v, 555 does not quote the meaning suggested; a possible derivative might be the meaning under 555 (4).



⁴ The Edfu cosmogonical texts seem to show an earlier explanation of the meaning of Djeba than the generally accepted 'Town of Retribution', cf. Brugsch, *ZÄS* 13, 5-6; Sethe, *Urgesch.* § 148; Blackman-Fairman, *Misc. Greg.* 413, n. 32.

⁵ In all the passage quoted on p. 82, n. 2, the action *wꜣs Ḥr* (or *wꜣs ntr*) follows the planting of the *ḏbꜣ*-perch.

⁶ According to *E.* VI, 182, 3, it is certain that the *djeba* was included within the Wetjeset-Ḥor; the text reads: *The perch (ḏbꜣ) of reed is the name of Djeba in Wetjeset-Ḥor*; cf. also *E.* IV, 358, 15; Wetjeset-Ḥor shows the determinative of nome.

⁷ The names of these deities occur frequently in the Edfu cosmogonical texts: *E.* III, 7, 3; 7, 6; IV, 358, 9; 390, 5; VI, 170, 2; 173, 6; 175, 8; 177, 1; 177, 5; 177, 7; 177, 11; 177, 12; 177, 13; 177, 14; 181, 12-13; 181, 15; 182, 5-6; 182, 10; 182, 12-13; 182, 16; 183, 3; 183, 10; 183, 11-12; 184, 2; 184, 11; 184, 13; 184, 15; 184, 17; 320, 11.

who seem to have acted on the command of another deity called Ka.¹ Moreover, the perch is said to have been created in a place of special significance. It is explained that it had been planted in a place in which formerly the *dd*-pillar was believed to have been. Thus the first sacred seat of the Falcon seems to have been the substitute for another and earlier resting-place of a god who is not named, but who is described as *This One, the Overlord of the dd-pillar*.²

It is explained also that the Falcon, while resting on the perch, was presented with some special sort of offering described only as *ih*t,³ and which was given to him by the Ka who arrived on the perch in the form of the 'Flying Ba'.⁴ This offering enabled the Falcon to unite with the sky of Him-whose-command-is-unknown. We conjecture that the description of this event alludes to the Egyptian idea about the sanctifying, or divinizing, of the Falcon. If this be so, it would mean that when the Falcon first arrived on the perch, he was not yet the divine, sacred Falcon, but became sacred after alighting on it. In this tradition the seat of the First Occasion, here the perch, seems not to have been merely the place in which the god first settled down; it was also the place in which the god, in his elementary form, was believed to have attained the final divine form. In this connexion it should also be pointed out that in the sources bearing on the origin of the perch (*db*), the original Lord of the Djeba is described only as . This may mean 'Horus', but possible alternative interpretations are *bik* 'falcon', or *ntr* 'god'. If we agree with the interpretation 'Horus', it can hardly be Horus, son of Osiris. This idea seems to be foreign to the original version of this myth. The idea that  was originally not Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, can be confirmed by referring to the interpretations of the meanings of the name Djeba, which can be found in the 'Building Texts' of the Pronaos and in that of the Outer Face of the Enclosure Wall of the Temple.⁵ These two texts associate three different mythological events with the name Djeba, of which the first one is precisely the planting of the slip of reed by the Shebtiw, an event which according to this tradition was believed to have led to the origin of the sacred domain Djeba. Therefore we think that these interpretations can be taken as a hint of the Egyptian point of view. For them planting the perch (*db*) seems to have been the earliest and most important event to explain the origin of the sacred place Djeba and to interpret the significance of its name. We suppose therefore that it might have been a tradition of a later date which connected Horus, son of Osiris, with the primeval perch (*db*). It is reasonable to suggest on the ground of this evidence that there might have been a tradition that the primeval perch was believed to have been originally connected with the Falcon or with an unspecified god. It should therefore be recalled that in the scene of worship in the primeval mythical Djeba represented on the Inner Face of the Enclosure Wall⁶ Horus the Behdetite is equated with the 'Sanctified God who came into being at the First Occasion'. If we assume that this interpretation

¹ *E.* VI, 177, 5-6.

² See above, p. 84.

³ *E.* VI, 15, 2 and 182, 8; the rendering *ih*t 'relic' is tentative, for more explicit instances are lacking.

⁴ *E.* VI, 15, 1-2 = VI, 182, 8 where the same deity bears the name 'the Lord of the Wing' (*ndm ndb*); cf. also the relief quoted above, p. 82 and *E.* VI, 185, 17. We suspect that the relief pictures the mystic act of the consorting of the Flying Ba with the Falcon.

⁵ *E.* IV, 328, 4-8; VII, 22, 8-10.

⁶ See above, pp. 82 f.

hints at the original view about the god who was believed to have been worshipped first in this mythical Djeba, it seems to indicate that primarily the perch (*dbꜣ*) might have been the seat of a god (*ntr*).

From all these hints we should be inclined to conjecture that there might have been a myth about the creation of a primeval and mythical seat of an unspecified god, who later was equated with the Falcon and finally became Horus, son of Osiris. The mythical circumstances described in the Edfu texts suggest, perhaps, that the perch (*dbꜣ*) may have originally been the seat of a deity who was believed to act as substitute for the 'This One', the nameless deity.¹ The nature of this perch reminds us of the significance attributed to the reed. The reed (*nbi*) is described in the Edfu texts as: *the reed of the Soul that uplifted His Majesty in the capacity of the Falcon.*² It may be suggested, tentatively, that reference is intended here to the 'Flying Ba' who was believed to consort with the Falcon dwelling in the reed by virtue of the *ihꜣt*-substances, which were believed to alter the elementary nature of the Falcon, the Lord of the Djeba.³ This Flying Ba may perhaps have been believed to be the soul of *Pn* 'This One' who embodied himself in the Falcon. Thus it can be imagined that the falcon-like bird may have been originally regarded as the tangible form of the *Pn*-god. It can be supposed in this respect that the perch of reed, originally the resting-place of the material form of the *Pn*-god, assumed the form of the 'Seat of the First Occasion' of the Falcon-Horus.

The views on the primeval perch (*dbꜣ*) that can be studied in the Edfu inscriptions seem to be an interesting contribution to the theory about the 'Seat of the First Occasion' in general. According to the generally agreed theory, the 'mound' was regarded as the 'Seat of the First Occasion' of the god.⁴ The Edfu evidence seems to suggest a somewhat modified view of the mythical seat of the god. The tradition enshrined in the Edfu inscriptions indicates that this 'Seat of the First Occasion' was not a mound. It was natural in essence, an organic product of the mythical creative powers, and was shaped by the hand of other creative deities to obtain the final form to house the god. It was believed to have been a natural seat in which a mystic act was performed, by virtue of which the primeval god reached his final, divine form so that he could unite with the sky. This seems to have been the essential point of the theory about the 'Seat of the First Occasion'. It is likely that the theory about the primeval djeba-perch, which at present is known from the Edfu sources only, hints at another, probably even earlier religious background than that about the mound. It is stated in the Edfu records that this primeval perch was already in existence when the primeval mound was created.⁵

¹ See above, p. 87.

² *E.* VI, 11, 7-8.

³ See above, p. 87.

⁴ Cf. de Buck, *Oerheuvcl*, 10 ff.; 72 and 76; Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* 44, 112-13.

⁵ *E.* IV, 358, 16-17; VI, 182, 14. A fuller study of these cosmogonical records will be found in my book *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple* (to be published shortly).

THE MESHWESH

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

THE Meshwesh are an interesting tribe who deserve more individual attention than they have so far received. In the ordinary way they and the Libu are just grouped together as Libyans, and Sethos' wars with them are called his Libyan war just as the war of Ramesses III's eleventh year is called his second Libyan war. Yet, in each case these wars were against the Meshwesh not against the Libu, and actually in Sethos' reign the Libu had not appeared *en masse*.¹ Much study and discussion has been devoted to the subject of the Tjeḥnu and the Tjemḥu, the Libyans, and their subdivisions, the differences between their colourings, etc., and now here there are added some fresh considerations about the Meshwesh. One point that does not seem to have been made before, but which emerges here, is that the Meshwesh are a composite tribe consisting of men of the same physical type as the Libu with their own chiefs led by great chiefs of quite a different type—that of the Tjeḥnu of the Fifth Dynasty.

Sethos had to repel an enemy whom he calls by the ancient name Tjeḥnu, though those shown in the battle-scenes in no way resemble the Tjeḥnu of the Fifth Dynasty, except that they wear the phallus-sheath and that their chief on one occasion wears the crossbands.² Though called Tjeḥnu these people are in fact Meshwesh, though the name was not to become known till the next reign, that of Ramesses II.³ Moreover, in Sethos' time they were not armed with the long swords which were to become characteristic of them in Menepthah's and Ramesses III's times. A comparison of the two peoples makes it clear that those of Sethos are the same as those whom Ramesses III shows as the main body of the Meshwesh and their native chiefs as subordinate to the great chiefs, Keper, Meshesher, and his son.⁴ Besides having their own native chiefs whom Sethos conquers in the battle, these people also had a great chief, and he was very like

¹ Rather vague Libyans had first appeared in Akhenaten's time. They were evidently Libu, for the phallus-sheath is nowhere shown but the kilt is generally indicated. They wear the open cloak, short hair, and side lock. Sometimes they wear a feather and are tattooed, Davies, *The Tomb of Ramose*, pl. xxxvii and p. 34 (this is the picture that is so famous for the beauty of the drawing); idem, *Tell el Amarna*, I, pls. xv top register, xxvi top register; II, pls. xxxv second row top, xl left bottom register but one; III, pl. xxxi top last man but one; v, frontispiece, a vague Libyan tattooed but no kilt or phallus-sheath.

² Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pls. 50-52. For the crossbands see pl. 50 a.

³ Ramesses II had some Meshwesh in his army, Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 120*.

⁴ Our fig. 1 is taken from *Med. Habu*, pl. 75. The two types of Meshwesh are bound and then slaughtered by Ramesses III (*Med. Habu*, pls. 68, 85). Meshesher takes precedence of the other type of chief in pls. 74, 75, 77 bottom row, 78 lower row, as does his father Keper, pl. 75 lower register. Meshesher again takes precedence (Nelson and others, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, pl. 118 = Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 62 b right end). The two chiefs being bound are not Meshwesh and Libu as Hölscher supposes (*Ägypter und Libyer*, 43) but the two types of Meshwesh. Here the Libu are not mentioned but only the Meshwesh. The scene also belongs to Ramesses' Meshwesh war of his eleventh year, not to the Libu war of his fifth year, and the scene on pl. 85 comes from the top of the poem on the Meshwesh war, once more of his eleventh year.

The son is distinguishable among the dead on pl. 70 by the manner of his hairdressing, and we are told that

Meshesher. For, though Sethos does not show him in the battle-scenes, he does show among the bunch of prisoners whom he slaughters a man of the same type as Meshesher

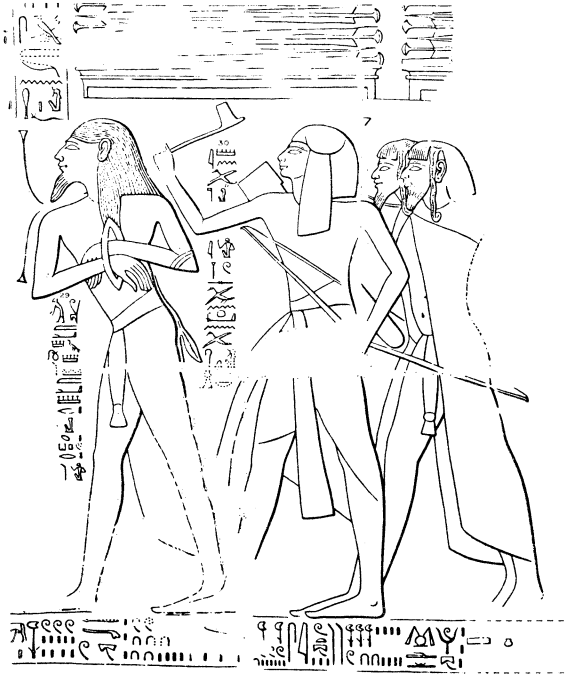


FIG. 1. Meshesher and two native chiefs.

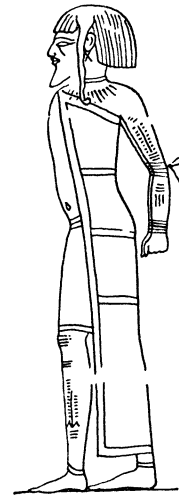


FIG. 2. Libu.

and of the Tjehnu of the Old Kingdom.¹ Moreover, he further resembles Meshesher (see p. 97 *infra*) and proves himself to be a Meshwesh by making the *mano cornuta* gesture as a magical protection against Sethos. This is peculiarly the custom of those Meshwesh in Ramesses III's reign who are dressed like him.² So here we get the two types as in Ramesses III's reign, the great chief and the tribesmen with their native chiefs.

Actually the men in the battle and their native chief are, except for the phallus-sheath and absence of tattooing, of the same type as the Libu³ in that they wear the hair short to the nape of the neck, a fringe on the forehead, and the sidelock.⁴ This hair is very crisp and frizzly, as is shown by the painting in Sethos' tomb.⁵

he was killed in the battle (Edgerton and Wilson, *The Historical Records of Ramses III*, pl. 79, l. 12). He lies below the horses' forelegs, while his father, Meshesher, stands in his chariot.

¹ Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, pl. 53 *a*. However, he does not wear the tail.

² Strangely enough, though Hölscher notices this resemblance (p. 43, n. 9) he does not draw the obvious conclusion that these people were Meshwesh. But on pp. 60, 70 he does go so far as to think that they might be.

³ Ramesses shows the kilt-wearing Libu in the scenes of his war of the fifth year, *Med. Habu*, pls. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26. Our fig. 2 is taken from pl. 26, front man top row, and shows some tattoo-marks. For other instances of tattooed kilt-wearers, see p. 92, n. 6.

⁴ It is customary to divide the Libyans into dark-skinned Tjehnu and fair-skinned Tjemhu (Möller in *ZDMG* 78 (1924), 41. 46. 48; Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, pl. 50 *a*), but Hölscher, *op. cit.*, 28 ff., points out difficulties in this view. Wilson, in *AJSLL* 51 (1934/5), 74, carries the original idea farther and would divide the people into dark Meshwesh and blond Libu.

⁵ *L.D.* III, pl. 136 *a* = Meyer, *Darstellungen der Fremdvölker*, no. 806 showing the only head that now

As has just been said, the great chief and his family are of quite a different type. In fact theirs is that of the original Tjehnu of the Fifth Dynasty, which hardly seems to have appeared in the sculptures of Egypt in the interval of more than a thousand years after they first figured in the Old Kingdom.¹ They are a fine-featured race, differing in this from the Libu, and hence from the Meshwesh tribesmen and their native chiefs, as Ramesses III shows very clearly in his row of captured chiefs. There the Libu is a coarse-featured man.² Essentially³ Meshesher's dress is that of the ancient Tjehnu, for in the first place both wear their hair long, falling down the back and on to the chest in front.⁴ Neuserre's picture of the Tjehnu shows his hair to be soft, fine, and wavy, features which apart from the waviness are suggested by the picture of Meshesher, our fig. 1.⁵ Both also wear the phallus-sheath and the long tail hanging down from the belt.⁶ The early Tjehnu commonly wear crossbands, a thing which Meshesher only does once,⁷ as does one of Sethos' Meshesher-like chiefs, though the other one only wears a single band.⁸ One of Sethos' native chiefs also wears them.⁹ Otherwise they are never worn by the native part of the tribe. However, during the centuries certain details of costume had come to be discarded. Thus Meshesher and his father never wear the pendant found on the chest of the old Tjehnu nor the little lock of hair on the forehead, nor does Meshesher thread the large bead, or whatever it is, on to the tail. On the other hand, he and his father have adopted the long open cloak of their tribesmen and the Libu.¹⁰

remains (Lepsius's plate is conveniently reproduced in Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pl. iii, facing p. 120). Sethos here calls them Tjemhu and shows them as tattooed which was the custom of the kilt-wearing Libu not of the phallus-sheath-wearing Tjehnu and Meshwesh. Yet he also shows them wearing the phallus-sheath of the people whom in his sculptures of his battles he calls Tjehnu. Thus, the Tjemhu figures in Sethos' paintings are composite, being a conflation of the two types of Libyans. Similarly, in *Med. Habu*, pl. 118 A a figure is shown like that of Meshesher with the phallus-sheath but the damaged name seems to read Tjemhu. All of this goes to show that by that time the Egyptians themselves were using the two names, Tjehnu and Tjemhu, in a very loose manner (cf. Hölscher, *op. cit.*, 22). On the other hand, in Sethos II's tomb the man wearing the kilt is labelled Tjemhu (*L.D.* III, pl. 204 b).

¹ Naville and Hall, *The Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. xiii, figs. 2, 3, are two fragments showing the crossbands and pendant of the Fifth-Dynasty Tjehnu, and where the head is preserved the hair-dressing is that of those people also. Fig. 2 would no doubt be of Eleventh-Dynasty date, but fig. 3 is of very different workmanship and might perhaps have come from Hatshepsut's temple. Bates, *op. cit.*, fig. 31, p. 127, shows a curious bearded figure wearing the phallus-sheath and crossbands but no pendant. His hair is tied up with a turban and is unlike that of any Meshwesh or Libu. The picture dates to Tuthmosis IV.

² Meyer, *op. cit.*, nos. 502, 503 = Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, pls. 160 a, b. On pl. 50 a Wreszinski had already remarked on this difference of type.

³ As Wilson has already said, *op. cit.*, 74. Hölscher (*op. cit.* 43) questions this and notes the differences, but has to admit that perhaps one must accept a connexion. As is pointed out here it is the same in essentials, though some details have been discarded while others have been added.

⁴ Borchartd, *Ne-user-re*, fig. 31, p. 48; *idem*, *Sahu-re*, pls. 1, 6, 7.

⁵ Our fig. 1 is taken from *Med. Habu*, pl. 75 centre.

⁶ Borchartd, *loc. cit.*, and *Sahu-re*, pl. 3 bottom; Meshesher, *Med. Habu*, pls. 77, 78, etc. It seems remarkable that Sahurē should show the Libyan women as wearing the phallus-sheath, but this is confirmed by Pepi II's sculpture (Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, pl. 9 = pl. 11). But that custom still exists among a tribe or tribes of what was the French Sudan. Some years ago I saw a number of photographs showing the women with such appendages, some of them immensely long and noticeable.

⁷ *Med. Habu*, pl. 70 left centre. But as the representative of the conquered tribe he is given them, Meyer, *op. cit.*, no. 503 = *L.D.* III, 209 a 6th man.

⁸ Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, pl. 53 a.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 50 a.

¹⁰ This is scarcely indicated in our fig. 1 (*Med. Habu*, pl. 75), but is quite clear on pl. 72 right centre in the

He has also adopted a very short tail which he wears along with the long one,¹ of which former the ancient Tjehnu show no sign. Another novelty which Meshesher sometimes adopts is the wearing of the feather,² though this properly belongs to the tribesmen and their native chiefs,³ from whom no doubt the habit was acquired. This is very noticeable on one occasion where just the two types of chiefs are brought before the Pharaoh; Meshesher as usual taking precedence but without the feather, whereas the native chief following him has it.⁴ Here again Meshesher resembles the Tjehnu of the Fifth Dynasty, for neither do they wear the feather.

A point has thus become evident which does not seem to have been made before. It is that the Meshesh was a mixed tribe of Libu-like tribesmen with their native chiefs who evidently by the time of Sethos and certainly by the time of Ramesses III had become subject to a family of Tjehnu origin. The main body of the tribe only differed from the Libu in not being tattooed,⁵ whereas the Libu are often so adorned,⁶ and in their fashion of wearing the phallus-sheath instead of the kilt which is the dress of the Libu.

This wearing of the phallus-sheath has given rise to much discussion as to whether the Meshesh were circumcised.⁷ However, they evidently were not, for Ramesses III cut off their phalli as well as their hands,⁸ just as he did from the Libu⁹ and just as

chariot, and as worn by his father Keper (pl. 75). Meshesher also wears it again, Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 62 *b*. The son's dress is not visible in the confusion but his hair is distinctive, *Med. Habu*, pl. 70. A similar cloak, open in front and fastened on one shoulder but very tight, is worn by Meres'ankh III in the Fourth Dynasty, Reisner in *Bull. BMFA* 25 (1927), 67 ff., figs. 5, 6, 7. See also Hölscher, op. cit., 28, fig. 2.

¹ *Med. Habu*, SHORT TAIL, pls. 72 right in the chariot, 75 = our fig. 1, 77 front man bottom register, 114 right, 118 A (?). LONG TAIL, pls. 77 front man bottom row, 78 front man bottom row, 118 A; Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 62 *b*. Signs of it, *Med. Habu*, pls. 72 right-hand centre in the chariot, 73, 75.

² WITHOUT THE FEATHER, *Med. Habu*, pls. 72, 75. WITH THE FEATHER, pls. 70 left centre, 73, 74, 78 front man bottom row in each case; Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 160 *b* bottom row last man but one.

³ For instance, *Med. Habu*, pls. 72 top, 74 two men in the top row, 78 many. Nelson and others, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, pl. 118 = Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 62 *b*. In *Med. Habu*, pls. 68, 75 neither wear it. The feather-wearing Meryey was chief of Libu, *B.A.R.* III, § 610.

⁴ Nelson and others, op. cit., pl. 118 = Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 62 *b*.

⁵ There are, however, two curious exceptions, but a certain amount of confusion is observable in each case. In Sethos' tomb the Tjemhu are tattooed like the Libu, but they wear the phallus-sheath of Tjehnu-Meshesh (*L.D.* III, pl. 136 *a* = Meyer, op. cit., no. 806), and Wilkinson shows a made-up group of phallus-sheath- and kilt-wearers which he labels Libu (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (edn. Birch), I, 246, fig. 76). Here one of the phallus-sheath-wearers is shown as tattooed. But his cloak is incorrectly drawn, and there are a number of inaccuracies among the people in the figure. Bates reproduces the group, *The Eastern Libyans*, fig. 49, p. 138.

⁶ *Med. Habu*, pl. 26 top row; Daressy in *Ann. Serv.* 21 (1911), pl. iii, nos. 9, 11. No. 9 is reproduced by Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 50 *a*, fig. 18, and both by Bates in his frontispiece. To all this should be added the references in p. 89, n. 1. Bates, op. cit., 137 ff., publishes a large collection of the tattoo patterns, but does not realize that they belong only to the Libu and not to the Meshesh. He simply refers to the people as Libyans in the usual way. On p. 250 and fig. 98 he also shows that some of these tattoo patterns are very similar to others used by the C-Group people of Twelfth-Dynasty Nubia. In fig. 97 he shows the remains of a figurine with tattoo marks and also wearing the crossbands and apparently the pendant on the chest.

⁷ Hölscher, op. cit. 43-47, goes into the question in full detail and comes to the conclusion (p. 46) that they would have been circumcised. To reach this conclusion he has to deny (p. 46, n. 1) the value of the evidence of the pile of 2,175 Meshesh phalli on pl. 75 of *Med. Habu*, l. 32.

⁸ *Med. Habu*, pl. 75 bottom register where there is a pile of them, actually 2,175 as the inscription states.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. 22, 23.

Meneptah had also treated the Libu. Meneptah definitely states on several occasions that these Libu phalli were 'with *krnt*',¹ i.e. with foreskins, and therefore were uncircumcised. We must take it, therefore, that the Meshwesh also were uncircumcised. Hence, the difference in dress between them and the Libu was merely a matter of fashion and had no connexion with their physical condition.²

The Meshwesh, but curiously enough scarcely the Libu, so far as our evidence goes, came under considerable influence from the Sea Peoples. This is to be seen in their use of long swords in the first place and secondly in their use of the apotropaic sign, the *mano cornuta*. But even here there are strange differences, for the swords are used by the tribesmen and not by Mesheshes who is armed with a bow, whereas the magical *mano cornuta* protection was chiefly used by Mesheshes, and only rarely by the tribesmen and by their relatives the Libu.³

We know that in their attack on Meneptah the Meshwesh and Libu were joined by the Ekwesh, Teresh, Shekelesh, Luka, and Sherden.⁴ But they seem likely to have made the acquaintance of at least the Sherden some seventy years before then, for a pitifully damaged text of Ramesses II says that he 'captured the countries of the west' and in the next lines mentions the Sherden and then a sea battle.⁵ Again, he says that 'he plunders the warriors of the sea, the great lake of the north', and this was in his second year.⁶ The result was that in his fifth year he had a bodyguard of Sherden with their great swords at the battle of Kadesh.⁷ Certainly Ramesses II had to build a line of six fortresses for 213 miles along the coast out to the west of Rhakotis-Alexandria.⁸ These meetings with the northerners must have a bearing on the peculiarities that differentiate the Meshwesh from other Libyans; in the first place in their use of long swords.

Somehow the Meshwesh had acquired these long swords in very great numbers, and they are the particular characteristic of these people which impressed the Egyptians. Meneptah picks them out as specially noteworthy, putting them first in his list of booty.⁹ Ramesses also picks them out and puts them first in his list of weapons which he

¹ Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, pls. 26, 27, ll. 46, 50, 51, 55. In this case *krnt* cannot mean phallus-sheath, as has been sometimes supposed, for the Libu did not wear it but the kilt.

² The wearing of the phallus-sheath in no way implies circumcision, as has sometimes been supposed. Thus, for instance, one of the proto-dynastic palettes shows several circumcised men who felt no need of any covering (Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, pl. E = Legge in *PSBA* 31 (1909), pl. xlii facing p. 297; idem in *ibid.* 33 (1911), pl. xviii, 3 following p. 146). Yet at this same time there were others who did wear the phallus-sheath, see, for instance, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pls. vii, viii, x, xi bottom, xxix the men holding the leopards = Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. K.

³ See p. 97 *infra*.

⁴ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pls. 17, 19, ll. 1, 14.

⁵ Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. ii, no. 78 left, ll. 12, 14, 15 = Griffith, *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶ *L.D.* III, 175, g, l. 8 = *B.A.R.* III, § 479.

⁷ Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, pl. 176 bottom register; Breasted in *AJSLL* 23 (1906), 2, fig. 1.

⁸ A. Rowe, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 36 (1953-4), 485. His name has been found at at least four of them: el-Gharbaniyat south of Lake Mareotis, p. 139; el-Bordan at the western end of the lake, p. 139; el-Alamein itself, so well known in the last war, p. 140 and fig. 1, p. 139. These are all comparatively near Egypt. Finally, far on beyond again there was Apis, pp. 139, 498. See also the map, p. 488 and the list, p. 498. At Mersa Matruh six stelae of Ramesses II have been found, and they and the temple show victories over Libyans (Leclant in *Orientalia*, 23 (1954), 75 and pl. xviii). The Libu, but not the Meshwesh, are named by Ramesses II on a stela at el-Alamein, and this is the earliest mention of them (Rowe, *New Light on Aegypto-Cyrenaean Relations*, etc. 5 (Cahier, no. 12, Supplement to *Ann. Serv.* (1948))). However, Ramesses did know the name of the Meshwesh, for elsewhere he says that he had a number of them in his army along with some Sherden, Kehek, and Nhsyu (Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 120*).

⁹ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pl. 28, l. 58.

captured from the Meshwesh¹ and shows piles of them laid out on tables at his triumph, as may be seen at the top of our fig. 1. Also in the battle-scenes he shows numbers of them in the hands of the enemy,² and practically no other weapons. Besides this, it is very noticeable that in the bunch of enemies being slaughtered the Meshwesh in front carries a long sword.³ This he holds as his identification mark, just as others at times carry a feather, a small bow, an axe, and so on.

The long swords of the Sherden⁴ have always attracted attention from the archaeologists, but others of the Sea Peoples, notably the Philistines, carried them also.⁵ On one occasion a Shekelesh uses one.⁶ It must surely be through this connexion that the Meshwesh got their long swords, which so impressed the Egyptians and are so immediately noticeable in Ramesses III's pictures of his battle against them. He does not show the Libu so armed.⁷ In the same way Meneptah specially states in his record of booty from the combined forces of Libu and Meshwesh that the swords were those of the Meshwesh.

As a matter of fact the Meshwesh would have been obliged to get their possessions of any value from more civilized peoples,⁸ for they themselves were only a pastoral, and therefore nomadic, tribe.⁹ Thus, their chariots, of which they had 92, came from Egypt.¹⁰ It is, thus, inherently probable that the Meshwesh got their long swords from the Sea Raiders, as indeed Bates (p. 121) and Hölscher (p. 40) have supposed.¹¹ But

¹ *Med. Habu*, pl. 75 = Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit. 66.

² *Med. Habu*, pls. 68 left three lying about, 70 left bottom corner two, 72 top right many, bottom right centre, and two below the horses' front hooves.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 102.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. 34 top left and again below the blank space, 39 top right ship two swords. The famous case is, of course, that of the Sherden bodyguard at Abu Simbel, Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 176 bottom row = Breasted in *AJSLL* 23 (1906), 2, fig. 1.

⁵ *Med. Habu*, pls. 34 top corner right and again top centre, 39 right below the inscription, and again in the top central ship and one fallen out of it. Actually such a sword has been found in Philistine territory, at Beit Dagin very near Gaza. It is 3 ft. 3½ in. (1.05 m.) long including the hilt-tang (Hall in *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 27 (1914-15), 127 ff. and fig.

⁶ *Med. Habu*, pl. 18 left bottom.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 18-26.

⁸ It must have been in that way that they obtained their silver *tb*-vessels, which Meneptah took from them (Max Müller, op. cit., pl. 29, l. 61). However, these would have been simple cups not the splendid *objets d'art* that Sethos shows with his Tjehnu prisoners (Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 52). They are just what is shown elsewhere as booty from Syria, and victory in Retjnu is mentioned in the inscription over the prisoners, though they themselves are called Tjehnu (loc. cit.).

⁹ This is shown by the large numbers of cattle, goats, sheep, etc., taken from them by Ramesses III (Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit., pl. 75 over the lower register of the scene). Like modern nomads they would scarcely have possessed anything. For a list of such possessions see Bates, op. cit. 152.

¹⁰ Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit., pl. 75, l. 27. Except for one detail they were of the same build as those of the Egyptians, as may be seen in *Med. Habu*, pl. 72 right centre Meshesher's own chariot, right bottom three more, and on pl. 75 two more on the extreme right. They differ from the Egyptian chariots in having only four spokes to their wheels against the six of the Egyptian ones—something cheap, presumably, and good enough for barbarians. Meshesher's, however, has the usual six spokes. It has apparently been altered from four to six.

¹¹ What they got from Egypt was probably given them from time to time in the way of bribes to keep them quiet. But these large numbers of swords are another matter, having been obtained from migrants who visited their shores. The number makes it look as if the Sherden had had a regular and long-continued trade in such things, and it has just been seen that almost certainly they had been in contact with the Meshwesh for some seventy years or so before their onslaught on Meneptah. However, it is difficult to see what they could have got in exchange from a wandering pastoral tribe such as the Meshwesh. Apparently the Meshwesh had not obtained any of the swords in Sethos' reign for he shows none in his battle-scenes with them, nor indeed any other weapons except an occasional bow, Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 50 a.

beyond that Bates has made the valuable point that they could only have obtained them from outside, as they could not have made them themselves owing to the scarcity of metal deposits in their country.¹ He also shows that right down to classical times the Libyans' armament in general was of the most primitive—stones, clubs, and so on. In the same way Ramesses III shows no weapons but these swords, except for some bows and quivers,² and not even any shields. Though Ramesses neither mentions such a thing nor shows it in his pictures, it is to be remarked that Menephtah records armour (*tryn*), for that is very definitely a protection worn by the Sherden and Philistine Sea Raiders.³ This seems to suggest that what Menephtah had left to them had got broken or lost in the sixty years between his time and that of Ramesses III, and that the Meshwesh were not capable of making new suits or even of mending the old ones. This is comparable to the small number of swords that Ramesses III was able to get from them as opposed to the vast numbers that Menephtah had carried off. Evidently, here again, he only got what Menephtah had left, the Meshwesh having been unable to make any more. Nor had they been in contact with the northerners as in Menephtah's time, so they were not able to obtain any from them. The northerners had this time attacked independently three years earlier, in Ramesses' eighth year, when, moreover, they had come from the east, not from the west, and had been heavily defeated.

Menephtah says that he captured 'swords of *hmt* of the Meshwesh, 9,111',⁴ and he differentiates them from others which he equally calls *sf·t* and lumps together with *kt* (helmets ?) and with armour, razors, and various vessels at the end of his record of booty.⁵ This was a huge number of these swords, in fact about as many as the slain and captives that he made from the Libu (?) which amounted to 9,376.⁶ Unfortunately, we have no record of the Meshwesh killed and captured. Ramesses III did not get anything like that number of swords, for from 3,386 Meshwesh he only got 239 swords,⁷ or about one from every fifteen warriors. These figures suggest that while the invasion

¹ O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, 143. On p. 148 he quotes two passages which may be of interest here, for the Libyans in the Carthaginian army are said to have been armed with the bipennis-labrys. This definitely originated in Asia Minor, whence it passed to Etruria where it was also used as a weapon (Wainwright in *Anatolian Studies*, 9 (1959), 211 f.). It may have travelled farther west still, for Asiatic influences are no doubt implied by the story of Aeneas' arrival at Carthage after his escape from Troy, and the Maxyes had a tradition that they were descended from men from Troy, Herodotus, IV, 191.

² BOWS, *Med. Habu*, pls. 68 upper part, lower part four, 70, 72 Meshesher himself twice in the chariot and several tribesmen. QUIVERS, pl. 68 several in the lower part. Ramesses enumerates 603 bows which he took from them but strangely enough 2,310 quivers, nearly four times as many (*Med. Habu*, pl. 75, ll. 27, 28). Menephtah claims 1,000+x, or possibly 2,000+x, bows taken from the confederacy (Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv.* 27 (1927), p. 23, l. 18 and p. 30, n. q). As the northerners did not use bows these would have belonged to the Libu and Meshwesh. The chief of the Libu had a bow and quiver (Max Müller, op. cit., pl. 23, l. 35).

³ They wore laminated armour (*Med. Habu*, pl. 39 and Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, fig. 105, p. 212). *Tryn*, the word Menephtah uses, is new and is the Semitic *siryon* (Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, 97; Burchardt, *Die althanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, II, 58, no. 1162). The Syrians wore a shirt of scale armour (Wolf, op. cit., fig. 67), as did the Egyptians, who also at times wore quilted armour, Bonnet, op. cit., figs., 104, 106. ⁴ Max Müller, op. cit., pl. 28, l. 58.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 29, l. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 28, l. 58. For a useful study of these figures see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, 250, n. a.

⁷ Edgerton and Wilson, op. cit., 65 f. He captured 1,200 Meshwesh and 11 of their important men to which must be added the 2,175 Meshwesh whom he slew, total 3,386. The figure of 2175 slain is repeated on p. 60.

of his time was a much smaller affair than that of Meneptah's, the number of the swords available to the Meshwesh in their later attack was very much less than it had been sixty years earlier.

Meneptah gives no particulars of these swords, except that they were *hmt*, by which he must mean 'bronze' rather than 'copper'.¹ But Ramesses gives a good deal, though



FIG. 3. Meshwesh with swords.

some of it is demonstrably inaccurate. His pictures of the Meshwesh with their swords in their hands² regularly show the blades, if the proportions may be trusted, to be more than half as long as their bearers, that is to say something about three feet or more (fig. 3). This would be somewhat longer than the modern infantry officer's sword, of which the blade measures 2 ft. 8 in. and the hilt 4 in. making 3 ft. overall. Such a length made them noticeable enough, for the ordinary sword of the Levant was only a long dagger, and certainly the pictures of such long swords in such numbers immediately strike the modern student as being unprecedented in the sculptures. As was recorded in n. 5 on p. 94, a sword 3 ft. 3½ in. long, including the hilt-tang, has been found in Sea Raiders' territory in Philistia. But unfortunately

Ramesses' scribe who drew up the texts describing the booty had heard so much about these remarkable weapons that he got his lengths impossibly exaggerated, though no doubt we can trust his numbers. He says that 116 of these astonishing swords were of 4 cubits in length and that 123 were of 3 cubits.³ He would thus make them to have been 6 ft. 10 in. and 5 ft. 2 in. long respectively.

All of this has been on the assumption that the normal cubit was used. But there

was a short one of something over 17 in., or six-sevenths of the standard one.⁴ If it were this short cubit that Meneptah's scribe used, that would reduce the lengths of the swords to 5 ft. 8 in. and 4 ft. 4 in. respectively. This would bring the 3-cubit swords within reasonable, but still unlikely, limits, but would nevertheless leave the 4-cubit swords of an impossible length.

In considering these lengths it is important to note that care was exercised in drawing

up the report. As the inscription was originally cut, the length of the longer weapons was entered as 5 cubits, which is the figure that is always quoted. But as a matter of fact this was corrected by plastering out one of the strokes reducing the length to 4 cubits. The interest, and perhaps even excitement, caused by these long swords of the Meshwesh, is indicated by this mistake exaggerating their length. The correction, on the other

¹ It seems strange that he should mention it, for bronze was the standard metal at that time, his own and everyone else's weapons being made of it. Perhaps it was due to his surprise at finding such efficient weapons in the hands of so primitive a people.

² Our fig. 3 is taken from *Med. Habu*, pl. 70 left-hand bottom corner.

³ *Med. Habu*, pl. 75 the line above the upper horses and chariot.

⁴ Petrie in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh edn.), s.v. 'Weights and Measures', 483; or six palms, i.e. six-sevenths of the normal cubit. Idem, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, 39 (6).

⁵ Edgerton and Wilson, *op. cit.*, 66, n. 27 d.

hand, bears witness to care on the part of the scribe, so that we can trust his numbers.

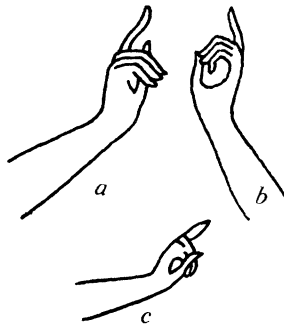


FIG. 4. *Mano cornuta*.
(a) Meshwesh (b) Meshwesh
(c) Philistine

The other way in which the Meshwesh resemble a tribe of the Sea Raiders is in the use of the *mano cornuta* (fig. 4). It is primarily employed by those Meshwesh who resemble the ancient Tjehnu of the Old Kingdom, and the first man to use it is called a Tjehnu. But we have no evidence that the Tjehnu of the Old Kingdom used it,¹ and a study of its appearance is rewarding.

Thus, in the scene of Tuthmosis III slaughtering his captives, the man who is evidently of the Meshwesh type does not make it.² Similarly, no one makes the *mano cornuta* in the bunch of captives slaughtered by Amenophis II, but then there is also no definite figure of a Tjehnu, though the front man and several others carry a feather.³ It is not until we come to Sethos' reign that we first meet this gesture, and it is made by a man who is called a Tjehnu, and he is dressed both like the Tjehnu of the Old Kingdom and like Meshwesh, chief of the Meshwesh in Ramesses III's reign.⁴ A similar man does the same twice against Ramesses II,⁵ as do certain other but unidentifiable captives.⁶ The sign is, thus, first made by men of the type whom we later know to have become the great chiefs of the Meshwesh, and at the time that the Meshwesh first appear in history, under Ramesses II,⁷ and immediately before then.

In Ramesses III's reign Meshwesh himself makes the gesture on several occasions,⁸ and it seems primarily to have been his custom and not that of the native portion of the tribe, who, however, do it, but not so commonly.⁹ The difference is very clearly marked where the two types are being slaughtered together, when Meshwesh makes the gesture but the native chief only holds up his hand in the usual way.¹⁰ The difference is to be observed at the very beginning, back in Sethos' sculptures. There again the native chief who is being slaughtered only holds up his hand, whereas, as has just been mentioned, the Meshwesh-like chief makes the sign, extending the thumb and forefinger. The gesture is made indifferently either with the thumb and forefinger¹¹, or with the thumb and little finger.¹²

¹ Borchardt, *Ne-user-rer*, figs. 29, 31; idem, *Sashu-rer* pl. 8. Unfortunately they have lost their hands, so we cannot tell whether they used it or not. The drawings in fig. 4 are taken (a) from pl. 114, (b) from pl. 113, (c) from pl. 34 of *Med. Habu*.

² Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 184 a, fig. 7. The upper part of his body and raised hand are very clearly shown in the excellent photograph in Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte*, II, pl. 48 upper part. The man wears the crossbands of the Old Kingdom Tjehnu and apparently also their pendant on the chest, but that is mostly hidden.

³ Mariette, op. cit., pl. 48 lower part = L.D. III, 61.

⁴ Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 53 a, Abb. 1. He wears a single broad band whereas the similar man in Abb. 2 wears the usual crossbands, but neither wears the pendant on the chest.

⁵ Ibid., pl. 184. On one occasion the man wears the crossbands, but neither wears the pendant on the chest.

⁶ L.D. III, pls. 183 b, 184 a = Blackman, *The Temple of Derr*, pls. vii (1), ix, x, and xxi (1) for an enlargement of the heads.

⁷ Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 120*.

⁸ *Med. Habu*, pls. 70 left in the chariot, 72 right in the chariot, 85, 113, 114 right, 121 A left. Nelson and others, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, pl. 5.

⁹ *Med. Habu*, pls. 72 right top row twice, 111 right, 120 B. 111 left, where it is probably made by a similar man. ¹⁰ Ibid., pl. 85. ¹¹ Wreszinski, op. cit., pl. 53 a; *Med. Habu*, pls. 72, 85, 111, 114, 121 A left.

¹² *Med. Habu*, pls. 70, 113, 120 B.

It may be that this pointing of the thumb and a finger is a development of a hunting custom known in the Fifth Dynasty, when a huntsman points with a single finger at a lion who is catching a bull.¹ There are two cases of unidentifiable captives holding up presumably a thumb and forefinger, or possibly two fingers, against Ramesses II². In this they are not separated into a pair of horns, as in the *mano cornuta*, but are next to each other, so that they, as it were, double the single finger pointed in early times.

As the sign is used at times by the tribesmen of the Meshwesh, it is not surprising that the Libu, whom they so much resemble, occasionally make the same gesture.³ What is remarkable is that the Philistines do the same, and they are the only ones of the Sea Raiders who do. Of course we do not know whether it was made by the Ekwesh, Teresh, Luka, and Shekelesh, who attacked Meneptah along with the Meshwesh, for they are not represented. Evidently the Sherden, who also came with that horde, did not make it, seeing that in Ramesses III's time they did not.⁴ Yet the Philistines had nothing to do with the Meshwesh. They did not come with them or the Libu either against Meneptah or against Ramesses III in his fifth and eleventh years. Theirs was quite a different invasion, that of Ramesses' eighth year, when they and other new peoples appeared, and, moreover, they did not attack from the west, but came through Syria. They also came from a different part of Asia Minor.⁵ Yet, in spite of all this, the Philistines make use of the *mano cornuta* quite commonly.⁶ More remarkable still, one of them points with the single forefinger,⁷ unlike the Meshwesh and Libu, but like the huntsman of the Fifth Dynasty who has just been mentioned.

However, there is contributory evidence that the Philistines really did make use of the gesture. Scarcely any other people do so, but those who do seem significant. Thus, there is a chief of a 'town of Amor',⁸ also certain Hittites,⁹ and a Negro who is probably intended for a Hittite, for the text only speaks of smiting the Asiatics.¹⁰ These Hittites would have been those of Syria¹¹ and Amor was where the Sea Peoples had set up a 'camp in one place'.¹² Hence, the chief of the 'town of Amor' and those Hittites must have learned the habit from the Philistines, for they did not make use of the gesture in earlier days.

¹ Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, I, pl. xviii in colour. For the whole scene see pl. xxv upper and p. 10. He wears no feather but a costume that is somewhat Libyanesque, being tied on the left shoulder and leaving the right shoulder bare. It is particoloured of blue, red, and yellow strips. However, the huntsman in much the same attitude at Meydum does not point with his finger but holds a throwing stick in each hand. He wears a kilt like any Egyptian, Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xvii left bottom.

² *L.D.* III, pls. 183 *b*, 184 *a* twice = Blackman, *op. cit.*, pls. vii (1), ix = xxi (1), x.

³ *Med. Habu*, pl. 18 left top once, two more below the inscription.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 39.

⁵ From western Cilicia, whereas the Northerners who attacked Meneptah came from Lydia and Caria in western Asia Minor (Wainwright in *JEA* 47, 84). However, some Shekelesh clearly did come with the Philistines for they are twice mentioned in that company, Edgerton and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pls. 44, l. 15, 46, l. 18.

⁶ *Med. Habu*, pl. 34 right top corner three partly restored, level with the base of the inscription twice, above the blank space once, bottom three men, left centre once.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 39 right, the man holding on to the falling mast in the ship below the inscription.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. 120 *c* left, 121 *c* left.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 121 *a* right. However, Ramesses II had shown a Negro doing it, and the inscription only speaks of conquering miserable Kush, Roeder, *Bet el-Wali*, pl. 45 = fig. 56, p. 62.

¹¹ Ramesses attacked the Sea Peoples in Zahi, Edgerton and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pl. 31, l. 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 46, l. 17.

After having noticed these similarities between the Meshwesh and various tribes of the Sea Peoples one naturally turns to the form of the name. It ends in *-š* just like those of so many of the northerners, the Ekwesh, Teresh, and Shekelesh. There were also the Weshesh whom Ramesses picks out as having with the Shekelesh formed the confederation with the Philistines, Tjekker, and Denyen.¹ Nothing whatever is known of the Weshesh, except that they are said to have been 'of the sea', and in that way resemble so many of the Sea Raiders.

Superficially, therefore, it would appear that the name Meshwesh belonged to the same group,² but the resemblance proves to be mere chance. In the first place the dress, both of the tribesmen and also that of the great chiefs, is entirely native. Again, Bates states that the name Meshwesh or rather *Mšw* is but a form of the widespread Berber root *mzġ* meaning 'noble, free', of which such names as Maxyes, Mazices are forms.³ On one occasion Ramesses III does actually use this shortened form *Mšw*.⁴ This brings us back to the *-š* of the full name, which would in such case be not an integral part of the name but only a termination, as indeed it was in the names of those Sea Peoples.⁵ On the other hand, Dr. Werner Vycichl has been good enough to inform me that Berber has no suffix *-sh* indicating a tribe. There, this suffix is only a diminutive. This is curious, for the *-š* must be a native termination. It cannot have been derived from the Asiatic tribes, for it was in use some hundred and fifty years before the Sea Peoples first appeared in Africa in Meneptah's time. Amenophis III uses the name in his thirty-fourth year, 1374 B.C.⁶

¹ Ibid., pl. 46, l. 18, and cf. Breasted, *op. cit.* iv, § 403.

² Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (1928), II, 557, n. 1, asks whether the *-š* might be a Libyan suffix attached to the names of the Shekelesh and Ekwesh, but allows that of the Teresh to be part of the stem.

³ Bates, *op. cit.*, 42. 47.

⁴ Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pl. iv, l. 2 and p. 35 = L.D. III, 218 c. It follows the Libu and further on the Philistines and Teresh are mentioned.

⁵ Hölscher, *op. cit.* 60, calls attention to a name *Mšw* which occurs as no. 282 in Tuthmosis III's list of northern peoples. He thinks this is very likely the original and more correct form of the name, but it seems difficult to believe that it is more than a coincidence, and a remarkable one, in view of the time and place. Both Gardiner and Hayes reject the identification (Hayes in *JNES* 10 (1951), p. 91, n. 119).

⁶ Hayes, *loc. cit.*

Postscript

On pp. 89, 97 it is stated that we first meet the name Meshwesh under Ramesses II. This proves not to be correct, for, as noted just above, it is under Amenophis III that we first hear of these people, and his statement amplifies that remark in n. 9 on p. 94 about the tribe being a pastoral one. Fifteen jars have been found which are labelled as being of his year 34, i.e. 1374 B.C., and as containing fat of 'Meshwesh bulls' (Hayes, *loc. cit.*). Libya has always been a great cattle-breeding country from protodynastic days and, in the Eighteenth Dynasty at any rate, evidently produced a specially fine breed, for the Egyptians imported them. Thus, these bulls are stated to have belonged to the stock-yard of one of Amenophis' officials. Under these conditions it is not unnatural that Meshwesh were employed as cattle-men in Egypt, for, as Hayes points out, 971 of them are listed in this capacity in the time of the High Priests.

NOTES ON PTOLEMAIC CHRONOLOGY

By T. C. SKEAT

III. 'THE FIRST YEAR WHICH IS ALSO THE THIRD'
A DATE IN THE REIGN OF CLEOPATRA VII

THE last half-century of Ptolemaic rule resembles a blacked-out landscape illuminated by occasional flashes of lightning when Egypt impinges upon world events, the brilliance of these interludes only emphasizing the darkness of our ignorance concerning the internal history of the country.

Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (Auletes) had five children (or six, if the shadowy Cleopatra Tryphaena, who reigned for a brief period during Auletes' exile from Egypt in 58–55 B.C., was one of his daughters). Despite their degenerate father, all five displayed the extraordinary precocity, the personal courage, the energy, the pertinacity, the insatiable lust for power, and utter ruthlessness, which exemplify the best and worst characteristics of the Dynasty; and all five met violent ends. The eldest, Berenice IV, ruled Egypt during her father's exile, and was executed by him on his return. When at last, in February 51, Auletes himself died in his bed, his four surviving children, and their approximate ages,¹ were: Cleopatra VII, aged 18; Arsinoe IV, aged between 14 and 17; Ptolemy XIII, aged 10; and Ptolemy XIV, aged 8.

Auletes left a testament by which he bequeathed his kingdom jointly to his elder surviving daughter, Cleopatra, and his elder son, Ptolemy XIII; and he solemnly called upon the Roman people, as his friends and allies, to ensure their succession. At this juncture, to be sure, the Roman people had other preoccupations, and it is not recorded that Rome played anything but a passive role in permitting the transfer of power to take place. Auletes' motives in thus dividing the sovereignty are not known. Possibly he felt that Cleopatra, as the eldest, could not safely be excluded anyway, while at the same time the Alexandrines, as had been demonstrated under Berenice III and Berenice IV, were not prepared to accept a woman as sole ruler. Possibly, also, he may have hoped that each sovereign would act as a check upon the other, thus ensuring a moderate policy which would preserve his country's precarious independence; though if this was his calculation, it was signally falsified by events.

Our historical authorities, such as they are, give no hint of any disturbances in the country prior to the outbreak of civil war in the summer of 48. But the monuments give a different impression. In the Bucheum inscription² recording the installation of a new Buchis bull on Phamenoth 19 = March 22, 51, Sir William Tarn has shown³

¹ For the ages of the children see, e.g. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, I, 179, n. 1.

² Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum*, II, 12.

³ *JRS* 26 (1936), 187–9.

that whereas the phrase 'he was installed by the King himself' is a stereotyped formula, not to be interpreted literally, the immediately following sentence, 'The Queen, the Lady of the Two Lands, the goddess Philopator, rowed him in the barque of Amūn' is unparalleled, and, Tarn believed, proves that Cleopatra attended the ceremony in person—a conclusion on which I have myself cast doubt¹ because the time available seemed barely sufficient for the settling of the succession and the royal progress up river. Be that as it may, the inscription undoubtedly suggests that Cleopatra was not merely the dominant partner, but, initially at any rate, succeeded in excluding her brother from his share in the kingship; and this inference is confirmed by *PSI* 1098, a contract dated 29 Mesore = August 29, 51, in the prescript of which Cleopatra similarly appears as sole ruler. This latter document was written six months after the death of Auletes, and the total omission of Ptolemy XIII cannot be explained away as due to either carelessness or ignorance.

Such dynastic disputes were nothing new in Ptolemaic history, and it is possible that this one was temporarily patched up, only to break out again later with renewed fury. The fairly numerous papyri of year 1 and year 2 from the cartonnage of Abûsîr el-Malaq published in *BGU* VIII throw no light on the development of this struggle for power, and it is not until we reach year 3 that we meet with fresh evidence. The document which forms the main subject of this note is another Berlin papyrus from Abûsîr el-Malaq (P.Berol. inv. 16277), first published by Miss E. Visser in *Symbolae van Oven* (1946), 116–21, and shortly afterwards re-edited by Miss E. P. Wegener in *Mnemosyne*, ser. 3, XIII (1947), 302–16. Each publication includes an excellent facsimile of the papyrus, the first three lines of which, as given by Miss Wegener, run as follows:

Βασιλίσση Κλεοπάτραι καὶ [.....]

Ἡράκλεια Ἀπολλωνίου. ἐν τῶι α προσαγορευθέντι δὲ γ Λ ὁ γενόμενός μου ἀνὴρ

Ἡλιόδωρος Σωτηρίχου κατὰ συγγραφὴν Αἰγυπτίαν τροφίτιν ἀργυρίου † ΒΣ μεταλλάσσω
τὸν βίον κτλ.

The remarkable date in l. 2, ἐν τῶι α προσαγορευθέντι δε γ Λ, claims our attention. One simple explanation may be mentioned first, if only to be decisively dismissed: the numeral α is capable of representing not only the cardinal, εἰς, but also the ordinal, πρῶτος, and its comparative, πρότερος; and it would be grammatically possible to read the words in l. 2 as ἐν τῶι προτέρωι, προσαγορευθέντι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει. Not only, however, is this use of πρότερος unexampled in such a context (διελθόντι or διεληλυθότι would be the word normally employed), but both προσαγορευθέντι and the adversative δὲ are rendered otiose.

We are therefore obliged to conclude that the words mean what they say: 'in the first, but which is also denominated the third year'. This is clearly not a date of the type dealt with in the first of these *Notes*,² and classified under the general description 'the last year which is also the first', since in such datings it is invariably the *second* date which is year 1. The present double date must therefore reflect two different and concurrent eras.

¹ In *Mizraim*, VI (1937), 39, and again in *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (1954), 40–41.

² *JEA* 46 (1960), 91–94.

The 'first year' cannot be Cleopatra's normal first year, which ran from February 51 to September 4, 51, since there do not appear to be any possible circumstances in which this could also have been called 'year 3'. It would seem, therefore, that 'year 3' must be Cleopatra's normal year 3 (5 Sept. 50–3 Sept. 49), which for some reason was re-numbered year 1. But since Cleopatra's name stands first in l. 1, and since in any combination she is likely to have been the dominant partner, the first year quoted, 'year 1' must relate to some alternative reckoning of her own regnal years.

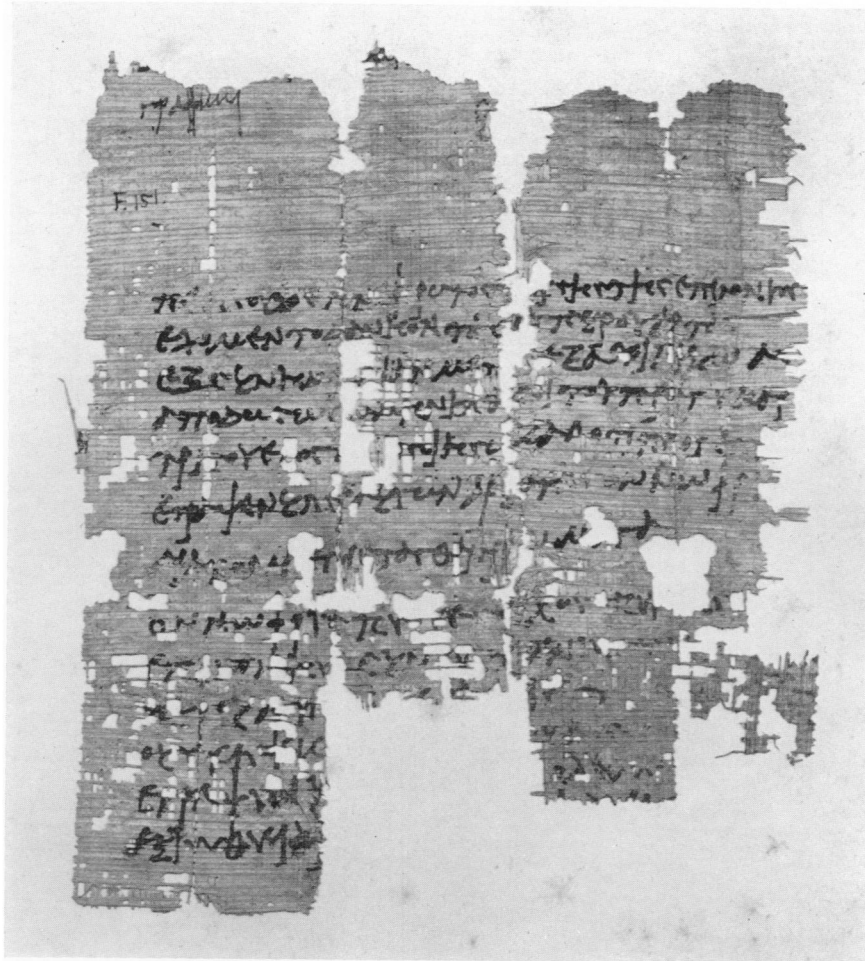
The double date, then, must reflect some revolutionary change which had taken place since Cleopatra and Ptolemy XIII (nominally at any rate) jointly succeeded to the throne; and I would suggest that this revolution consisted in the final expulsion of Ptolemy XIII from the kingship, and his replacement by another partner, the change being signalized by a new enumeration of regnal years, reckoned from the date of the change.

It now remains to identify Cleopatra's new partner on the throne, whose name must have been given in the lacuna in l. 1. Miss Wegener, it is true, doubtfully suggested referring the papyrus to the joint reign of Cleopatra Tryphaena and Berenice IV, but since these women began their reign simultaneously, the double date in l. 2 is irreconcilable with such an hypothesis. If the Cleopatra in l. 1 is, as we have assumed, Cleopatra VII, and if, as suggested above, she had now disembarassed herself of Ptolemy XIII, her new partner must be either Arsinoe IV or Ptolemy XIV. The mortal hatred existing between Cleopatra and Arsinoe leaves us with little choice but to conclude that it was Ptolemy XIV; and we can now more easily understand why Ptolemy XIV became co-sovereign with Cleopatra under the dynastic solution dictated by Julius Caesar.

If the foregoing conjectures are correct, l. 1 of the Berlin papyrus should be restored *βασιλίσση Κλεοπάτραι καὶ [βασιλεὶ Πτολεμαίῳ*, perhaps followed by, for example, *θεοῖς Φιλοπάτορσιν χαίρειν*. It is true that Miss Wegener records only eight letters as missing, and asserts positively that there is no sign of writing beyond the lacuna. But in the case of cartonnage especially, writing often disappears completely from the papyrus, leaving no detectable trace; and in the present instance there is ample room, not merely for this, but for an even longer supplement.

All this may seem a weighty superstructure to erect upon the basis of a single document. But the Berlin papyrus does not in fact stand alone: on the contrary, another example of precisely the same form of dating was quoted in print as far back as 1897. In their introduction to P.Grenf. II. 38, a papyrus dated year 2 = year 1, Grenfell and Hunt declined to ascribe it to the joint reign of Berenice IV and Archelaus (to which, as we now know, it really belongs) on the specific ground that one of the papyri they had excavated at Bacchias in the winter of 1895–6 had contained the date 'the first which is also the third year', which, the editors continue, 'apparently refers to the joint reign of Archelaus and Berenice; this, however, will be discussed when we publish these papyri'. The promised discussion, however, never materialized; for by the time the papyrus in question was eventually published (in description only) as P.Fay. 151, the editors merely observed that, in the remarkable date, *πρώτου καὶ τρίτου ἔτους*, 'probably *τρίτου* is an error for *τρι(ακοσ)τοῦ*', and on this supposition they referred the papyrus to the reign of Augustus.

PLATE IV



P.FAY. 151 = P.LOND. 827

P.Fay. 151 is now in the British Museum, numbered P.Lond. 827, and since the text has never been published in full, it may be of interest to print it here (see pl. IV). I have to admit, with regret, that certain portions of ll. 11-15 are so damaged and so cursively written that I have failed to decipher them, but fortunately these passages are of no importance for our present purpose.

P.Lond. 827

13 cm. × 11 cm.

Provenance: Bacchias

 (1st hand) .[]..[]
 γραφίωι.
 (space of 2.5 cm.)
 (2nd hand) Πετρεσοῦχος Πν[ε]φ[ε]ρωτός [Π]έρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
 ἔχομεν τὸ δανῆον τὰς [το]ῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας
 5 ἕξ σὺν ἡμ[ιολ]ίαν μέτ[ρω] ἕξαχονδρίκω, ἀς
 ἀποδώσω ἐμ μηνὶ Πα[ῦ]νι τοῦ πρώτ[ο]υ καὶ
 τρίτου ἔτο[υ]ς κ[αὶ] ποιήσω καθότι προγέγρα(πται).
 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀρυάτης Ὀνωφρι[ος]
 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα.
 (3rd hand) 10 Ὀνωφρις Πετρεσοῦχου Πέρ[σ]ης [τῆς]
 ἐπιγονῆς συν. . . . νι. . . [
 πυροῦ ἀρτ(άβας) [.]. . . . [.]ιξ. . . [
 οὐθὲν ἐ[γ]κ[αλῶ] [
 ἔγραψεν ὑ[πὲρ] αὐτοῦ . . οδ. μο[
 15 ἀξιωθεῖ[ς] δι[ὰ] τὸ [
 (foot of papyrus)

4. 1. δανείον. 5. 1. ἡμιολίας 11. Not συνευδοκῶ. At end of line presumably τὰς τοῦ]. 12. After πυροῦ ἀρτ(άβας) it does not seem possible to read σὺν ἡμιολίας (cf. l. 5). 13. ἐ[γ]κ[αλῶ] very uncertain. 14.]οδημο[cannot be read.

With the Berlin papyrus before us, we can now see that Grenfell and Hunt's emendation, brilliant though it no doubt seemed at the time, is almost certainly unjustified. It may indeed be objected that in P.Fay. 151 we have merely the laconic πρώτου καὶ τρίτου ἔτους, whereas in P.Berol. inv. 16277 we find a much more elaborate description. But such variation can be readily paralleled: the last year of Auletes and first year of Cleopatra, the full formula for which is ἔτος λ τὸ καὶ α, is occasionally designated by the more succinct form ἔτος λ καὶ α which is found in *BGU* 1829, 15; 1832, 20 (?); and *SB* 7610.

It is possible that yet another example of the date 'the first year which is also the third' may be identified in *BGU* 1839. In l. 5 of this document the editors print: Μ]εσορῆ τοῦ διεληλυθότος α το[ῦ καὶ λ], L which they take as an instance of the dating ἔτους λ τοῦ καὶ α, though they admit that the order of the years is inverted. In fact,

so far as our evidence goes, such inversion never occurs; and it is at least permissible, in the light of the information now available, to propose as an alternative τοῦ διεληλυθότος α το[ῦ και γ] L.

When did this revolution which we have postulated occur, and how long did it endure? From P.Fay. 151 we can infer that it began at least some months before Payni in year 3, and lasted at least into the beginning of year 4, since P.Berol. inv. 16277 speaks of year 1 = year 3 as if it were the preceding year, and this is certainly the case with *BGU* 1839 if the supplement suggested above be accepted. Year 4 ran from September 4, 49 to September 3, 48, but the novel régime had certainly collapsed, and Cleopatra herself been driven out of Egypt, well before the latter date. This expulsion of Cleopatra, we are told, had begun 'a few months' (*paucis ante mensibus*)¹ before Pompey's murder on September 28, 48 in the current (unrevised) Roman calendar = July 24 Julian; and indeed Cleopatra may even have been ousted (at any rate so far as the Heracleopolite nome was concerned) as early as 20 Tybi of year 4 = January 21, 48, since *SB* 8754 bears date 20 Tybi, almost certainly of year 4, as it refers to the γενήματα of year 3. Had the reckoning year 1 = year 3 still been recognized, year 3 would presumably have been so designated.

I have left to the end the difficult problem of *BGU* 1730, the well-known royal πρόσταγμα ordering all cargoes of wheat and pulse from Middle Egypt to be diverted to Alexandria. This document bears the heading Βασιλέως και βασιλίσσης προσταξάντων, the king and queen in question being assumed by the editors to be Ptolemy XIII and Cleopatra VII, and the date, 23 Phaophi, year 3, therefore October 27, 50. W. Kunkel, who first edited the document in *Archiv*, VIII (1927), 212-15, ascribed it to the reign of Auletes and Cleopatra Tryphaena, in which case the date would be November 3, 79; but when it was being re-edited for *BGU* VIII it was discovered that the text was written on a re-used piece of papyrus which had earlier borne the name of the strategus Heliodorus, and the third year of Auletes is therefore excluded.

Nevertheless, the point originally made by Wilcken,² that during the reign of Cleopatra her name must precede that of her co-sovereign, remains valid, and the order in l. 1 of the πρόσταγμα must be regarded as significant. The βασιλεύς can only be Ptolemy XIII. If the βασιλίσα is, despite Wilcken's objection, to be identified with Cleopatra, we must conclude that she had been momentarily forced to admit her brother, not only to a share, but to a predominant share in the sovereignty. Alternatively, the queen might be identified as Arsinoe, if we could imagine her as temporarily united with her brother through their common hatred of Cleopatra.

Hitherto it has been accepted almost without question that the purpose of the πρόσταγμα was to relieve a famine in Alexandria, although the document itself makes no mention of any shortage, either in Alexandria or elsewhere. It appears to me to be almost equally possible, if hostilities were in progress in the country, that its intention was something quite different, viz. to secure the provisioning of Alexandria against a possible siege, and at the same time to deny supplies to the enemy. On this interpretation, if the king and queen in Alexandria are the opponents of Cleopatra, the areas to which

¹ Caesar, *Bellum civile* III, 103.

² *Archiv*, VIII (1927), 213, n. 1.

shipments are prohibited, the Delta and the Thebaid,¹ would be those either controlled by Cleopatra or threatened with possible occupation by her forces.

If any overall picture of the first four years of Cleopatra's reign emerges from these random speculations, it is one of continuous internecine strife, open or concealed, with the balance of power constantly shifting in a series of kaleidoscopic changes. There also emerges, to an even greater degree than hitherto, the personality of Ptolemy XIII. Despite his youth, he was a worthy opponent of his formidable elder sister, and in the end, as we know, was prepared to offer battle, not only to Cleopatra, but to Caesar as well, and went down fighting. Often, indeed, considering what resourcefulness the Ptolemies displayed in warring against each other, one is tempted to wonder what they might not have achieved had they united their resources; but then they would not have been Ptolemies.

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that according to Malalas, Cleopatra, when expelled from Alexandria by her brother, at first took refuge in the Thebaid (cf. von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (1931), 119–20). The Bucheum inscription suggests that Cleopatra, like her father, may have enjoyed some popularity in the Thebaid.

THE ALEXANDRIAN CITIZENSHIP

By M. A. H. EL-ABBADI

THE great discoveries of papyri which began in the nineteenth century caused considerable embarrassment to ancient historians, not only by the abundance of the finds but also by the numerous problems which they created. One of these problems is the citizenship of the Alexandrians which has remained so far an annoying question in the history of the Greek city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A solution was indeed thought to have been found by Schubart in 1911, when he maintained that the citizens of Alexandria were of two grades: one superior and one inferior;¹ and although new papyri have been steadily creating more and more difficulties for his theory, no one has seriously challenged him. With every new difficulty a modification in detail was suggested, while Schubart's theory in its basic structure was carefully preserved and has gained in support ever since.

It may appear rather rash to attempt afresh to dig into a site already so well examined by Schubart, Jouguet, Wilcken, Rostovtzeff, Bickermann, and Jones, to mention only a few. But since an independent reading of the sources has led me to a conclusion different from the universally accepted view, I shall present in what follows a brief account of the chief arguments advanced in favour of the graded citizenship of the Alexandrians, and then follow it by a discussion of the sources and the deductions I have been able to make.

To begin with it must be stated that the difficulty about the citizenship is one of terms, since we find in the papyri that Alexandrians designate themselves in five different ways: by deme-names (only men-citizens), *πολίτης*, *Ἀλεξανδρεύς* or *Ἀλεξανδρίς*, *Ἀλεξανδρεύς* (*τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*) *τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγγμένων εἰς δῆμον τὸν δεῖνα*, and *ἀστός* or *ἀστή*. It is on the definition and interpretation of these terms that the whole discussion turns.

¹ W. Schubart, 'Alexandrinische Urkunden aus der Zeit des Augustus', *Archiv Pap.* 5 (1909-13), 35-131, esp. 104 ff. The list of those who followed him or modified his theory is very long; important among them are: P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1911), 4-25 for the Ptolemaic period and 121 ff. for the Roman period; U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* (1912), 15 f.; E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1922), 32; J. Carcopino, 'Le Gnomon de l'Idiologue', *Rev. des ét. anc.* 24 (1922), 105 ff.; E. J. Bickermann, 'A propos des *astoi* dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', *Rev. de Philol.*, n.s. 1 (1927), 362-8; v. W. Graf Uxkull-Gyllenband, 'Der Gnomon des *Idios Logos*', in *BGU* v, 14-28; G. Glotz, 'Un Code fiscal de l'Égypte romaine', *J. des Sav.* (1922), 220; A. Segré, 'Note sullo Status Civitatis degli Ebrei nell'Egitto Tolemaico e imperiale', *BSAA* 23 (1933), 149 ff.; A. Segré, 'Note sull'Editto di Caracalla', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archaeologia*, Rendiconti, 16 (1940), esp. pp. 183-4; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* II, 1064; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), 311; 'The Election of the Metropolitan Magistrates in Egypt', *JEA* 24 (1938), 65-72; R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (1955), 12 and 582 ff.; S. Riccobono, *Il Gnomon dell'Idios Logos* (1950), 122-3 and 129, n. 5; A. A. Schiller, *Apokrimata* (1954), 50 ff.; V. A. Tcherikover, *CPJ* I, Proleg. (1957), 41, n. 102; A. Piganiol, 'Le Status Augustéen de l'Égypte et sa destruction', *Museum Helveticum*, 10 (1953), 198; E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 98; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 247; S. Davis, *Race Relations in Ancient Egypt* (1951), 94-97; V. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Intorno agli *astoi* dell'Egitto greco-romano', *Rev. Internat. des droits de l'antiquité*, 4 (1950), 7-20.

Schubart was the first to suggest a distinction in the meaning of each of the terms when he noticed that citizens designated themselves differently in the same class of documents and sometimes even in the same document; one used the deme designation, e.g. *Χαριστήριος* and the other *Ἀλεξανδρεύς*.¹ Since a citizen with a deme could only be a full citizen, he deduced that *Alexandreus* must denote a status inferior to that of a citizen with a deme. In support of this hypothesis he adduced the term *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγγέμενων εἰς δῆμον τὸν δεῖνα*, which is found frequently in documents of the second half of the third and first half of the second century B.C., which he claimed represented an intermediary status of an *Alexandreus* who wanted to become a full citizen registered in a deme, but was still on the waiting list.²

Several points of criticism can be raised against this theory. First, it fails to explain the difference implied by the two terms of 'deme-designation' and *Alexandreus*, since other sources discussed below show that there was no difference, and that the two designations denote the same thing. Second, if *Alexandreus* denotes the inferior and more numerous class, it is surprising that it is seldom used in Ptolemaic documents; to my knowledge it is found only twice.³ Third, if *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγγέμενων κ.τ.λ.* was an intermediary stage 'on the waiting list' in the process of promotion from mere *Alexandreus* to deme-citizen, it is curious that this intermediary stage is only found between the middle of the third and the middle of the second century B.C. Finally, Schubart suggested that the daughter of a 'deme-citizen' was called *asté*, and that of an *Alexandreus* was called *Alexandris*. The meaning of *asté* and *astos* will be explained later on; it suffices here to say that *Alexandris* is not found used of individual persons in official documents, only *asté* has so far been attested.

Once Schubart's theory was found satisfactory, interpretations and justifications were forthcoming. Jouguet, who may in fact have simultaneously reached similar conclusions, was the first to adopt and expound the new theory with such vigour and knowledge that he can be considered equally responsible for its establishment. Trained in the nineteenth-century French tradition of exact legal terminology, and applying the strict criterion of precision, usually connected with codified law, to the documents of Greek and Roman Egypt, he provided the graded-citizenship theory with the legal justification it needed.

He argued that the registration in a deme took place at the same time as the completion of the *ephebeia*, which coincided in the Greek world generally with the assumption of political rights. Very probably such was the system at Alexandria in the Ptolemaic as in the Roman period. He accordingly concludes that those inscribed in demes were citizens with full rights who alone enjoyed the political right of holding civic offices; whereas the *Alexandreis* without demes were half-citizens who had no political rights and enjoyed only civil rights inherent in the *politeia* (i.e. marriage, inheritance, etc.). Thus the *Alexandreis* were at the same level as the women (-citizens) in all Greek

¹ Schubart, *op. cit.*, 105, n. 1; the example is P.Reinach 9 (112 B.C.) from Acoris in the Hermopolite nome.

² *Ibid.* 106-8.

³ P.Reinach 9; P.Eleph, no. 3 (285/284 B.C.). All other citations in Ptolemaic times are found in dedicatory and similar inscriptions which have not the authority of official documents. In Roman times the use of *Alexandreus* was comparatively rare as will be shown later in the text.

cities. As to those who were not yet admitted into a deme, they were full citizens who were not yet, for one reason or another, part of a deme.¹

Apart from the points which he has in common with Schubart, the only new argument which Jouguet here advances is that of political rights. Although this assumption was later on adopted in principle by Jones, who applied it to the system of holding offices in the metropoleis,² it still remains an unsupported hypothesis. There is no indication whatever that an *Alexandreu*s was barred from the *ephebeia*; and nowhere is it stated that holding of the city offices was allowed only to deme-citizens. Normally, in fact, the name of a magistrate is recorded simply together with the title of his office, without any further designation, whether by deme or as *Alexandreu*s.

Jouguet's arguments found, however, much support, and after him the graded-citizenship theory became a kind of *idée fixe* adopted by most writers. Jones lent it further support by finding an analogy between the assumed gradation in privilege at Alexandria and the timocratic constitution of Ptolemaic Cyrene. Yet he added a note of caution that the distinction at Alexandria was not primitive; since a law of the third century B.C. assumes that every citizen has a deme. He finally concluded that 'the constitution must, in the course of the Ptolemaic period, have undergone modifications of an oligarchic tendency'.³

That the gradation was not primitive, I accept; but that the constitution underwent oligarchic or timocratic modification has no support in the available evidence. Roman tax-lists range Alexandrian land-owners under the general heading *Alexandreu*s without implying that they were of the élite citizens with demes or of those second-rate citizens without demes.⁴

Other writers such as Rostovtzeff⁵ and Taubenschlag⁶ went so far as to assume that the *Alexandreis* were not part of the citizen body at all, and that they merely had their *origo* in Alexandria. Rostovtzeff compares them in fact with metics in other Greek cities. Others, in view of the evidence to the contrary, especially that of the 'Gnomon of the Idios Logos', contended that the *Alexandreis* were evidently the superior class in contrast to that of the so-called *astoi*.⁷ Because of the confusion which arose over the definition of the *astoi*, I shall reserve my commentary on these views until a later stage, when the evidence of the 'Gnomon of the Idios Logos' will be fully discussed.

So much for the accepted theory of two grades or classes for the citizens of Alexandria; we may now turn to a discussion of the sources and see what character of citizenship they indicate. As may have appeared from the above discussion the sources do not

¹ P. Jouguet, *Vie mun.* 11 ff., 17, and 121 ff.

² A. H. M. Jones, 'The Election of the Metropolitan Magistrates in Egypt', *JEA* 24 (1938), 65 ff.

³ A. H. M. Jones, *Cities*, 304; followed by Taubenschlag, *Law*, 582, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. P.Lond. II, 192, p. 222, ll. 82 ff. (early 1st cent. A.D.); P.Merton, II, 63, ll. 7 ff. (A.D. 58); *Stud. Pal.* IV, 62 ff., ll. 331 ff. (A.D. 72/73); *BGU* IX (1894) (A.D. 157); P.Ryl. II, 216 (2nd-3rd cents. A.D.).

⁵ *SEHHW* II, 1064.

⁶ Taubenschlag, *Law*, 585; followed by Schiller, *Apokrimata*, 51.

⁷ Uxkull-Gyllenband, *BGU* V, ii, 23-26; Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 247; and Arangio-Ruiz, 'Intorno agli astoi dell'Egitto greco-romano', *Rev. internat. des droits de l'antiquité*, 4 (1950), 7. For a different view, however, see Bickermann, 'A propos des astoi', *Rev. de Philol.*, N.S. I (1927), 362 ff.; Segré, 'Note sullo Status Civitatis', *BSAA*, 23 (1933), 149 ff.; and Piganiol, 'Le Status Augustéen de l'Égypte', *Museum Helveticum*, 10 (1953), 198.

preserve a continuous description of the Alexandrian citizenship; indeed, the evidence is often fragmentary and more than once it lends itself to conflicting interpretations. Our method in the following discussion will be to trace the available evidence from one period to another and note if any development or change took place in the character of the citizenship.

I. Ptolemaic period

The earliest surviving documents about Alexandria show that it had the organization of a Greek city in the proper sense, however much its powers were in fact curtailed by the presence of the kings. It had its own citizenship, and citizen body, its magistrates, and very probably a *boulé*; it had its laws and law-courts. Our interest at present is confined to the question of citizenship and the status of its citizen body.

Third-century documents show the citizen body as being organized, on the Athenian pattern, into tribes and demes. These were not topographical districts, but administrative divisions or political units in which citizens (*πολιται*) alone might be inscribed. A great number of the city inhabitants were not citizens, and were therefore outside the tribe and deme organization. We have two legal papyri which illustrate this system under the early Ptolemies. One is the recently published P.Hamburg 168 which is dated not later than the middle of the third century B.C. It is a *prostagma* about some court-procedure; but its chief interest for us is the light it throws on the different classes of inhabitants in the city, for it states what information each individual of each class should record in petitions and claims presented to Alexandrian courts (ll. 5-10):

5 [οἱ μὲ]ν στρατιῶται ἀπογραφέσθωσαν τὰ τε ὀνόματα
 [αὐτῶ]ν καὶ τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ταγμάτων ὦσιν
 [καὶ ἄ]ς ἂν ἔχωσιν ἐπιφοράς· οἱ δὲ πολῖται τοὺς τε πατέρας[s]
 [καὶ το]ὺς δήμους, ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ ὦσιν
 [καὶ τὰ τ]άγματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιφοράς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοὺς
 10 [πατέρας] καὶ τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἂν γένει ὦσιν.

The other document is the well-known Alexandrian code contained in P.Halensis 1, which dates from the second half of the third century B.C., under Ptolemy III Euergetes. In a clause regulating the transfer of property, the registration of citizens in demes is also implied (ll. 245-8): [οἱ δὲ ταμίαι ἀναγρα-]/φόντωσαν τὰς ὠνάς κατὰ δήμους καὶ κατὰ [. τῷ τοῦ] / ἀποδομένου δήμῳ, ἐγγράφοντες πρῶτομ μ[ὲν τοῦ ἀποδομέ-]/νου τὸ ὄνομα πατριαστὶ καὶ δήμου, κ.τ.λ.

The first document informs us that the inhabitants of Alexandria fell into three main groups: soldiers, citizens, and others (i.e. non-citizen inhabitants). Soldiers were required to inscribe, in addition to their names, their home-country (*πατρίς*), regiment, and rank. The non-citizens (*οἱ ἄλλοι*) had to record their (paternal) names, home-country (*πατρίς*), and professional class (*γένος*). In application of this rule we often meet in the papyri and inscriptions non-citizen soldiers and civilians (Greeks and non-Greeks) designating themselves by their *πατρίς*.¹ But the statement of this fact in an early

¹ See Fr. Heichelheim, 'Auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich', *Klio*, Beiheft xvii (1925), 83 ff., where he gives lists of foreigners in Ptolemaic Egypt; he continued the lists in *Archiv Pap.* 9 (1930), 47 ff.; and 12

official *prostagma* is a welcome addition to our knowledge as it puts an end to the assumption that the citizen body in Alexandria comprised all its Greek population.¹

The remaining group is that of citizens. The term used is the usual Greek one, *πολίται*. We are also told that they fell into two subdivisions: civilian citizens and military ones (*ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ*); but it is clearly stated that *all* *πολίται* of both groups were inscribed in demes, the names of which had to be entered in addition to paternal names. In this our document is confirmed by the evidence derived from P.Hal. 1. Those on active military service were required to add their regiment and rank (*τάγμα* and *ἐπιφορά*—the latter literally means ‘pay’). The application of this rule is attested by numerous examples in papyri and in inscriptions,² which show that this custom continued throughout the Ptolemaic rule.

But the situation is complicated by the occurrence in documentary sources of persons who style themselves *Alexandreus* without mention of a deme. Examples in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period are very rare; two cases only are known to me: P.Eleph., no. 3 (285/284 B.C.) from Elephantine, *Ἀθηναγόρας Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*; and P.Reinach, no. 9 (112 B.C.) from Acoris in the Hermopolite nome: *Ἡρώιδης Ἡρακλείδου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*, who acts as witness to a loan-contract together with five others of whom one is a citizen designated by his deme: *Ἀρίμματος Διονυσίου Χαριστήριος*. In the inscriptions, on the other hand, the use of *Alexandreus* is far more frequent,³ but since they are often votive or dedicatory inscriptions their evidence does not usually carry the same weight as that of official documents. Nevertheless, one case may be worthy of mention; *SB* 6252–3 (137 B.C.): *Ἀγαθόδωρος Ἀγαθοδώρου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς β̄ ἱπ(πα)ρχ(ίας)*; and in no. 6253 he is designated *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἱππάρχης ἐπ’ ἀνδρῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων, κ.τ.λ.*

Are we to conclude from these cases that the *Alexandreus* represents a lower grade of Alexandrian citizens, as Schubart, Jouguet, and others want us to believe; or that at least the creation of this lower grade was a later development after the age of Ptolemy III Euergetes, as Jones, followed by Taubenschlag, once suggested? The existence of an *Alexandreus* in an official document as early as the reign of Ptolemy I Soter seems to exclude the latter suggestion (P.Eleph. 3 of 285/284 B.C.).

As to the Schubart–Jouguet theory, we may examine the usage of *Alexandreus* in other documents of the same period. A good example is provided by an important (1937), 54 ff. From these lists we notice that at Alexandria at least fifty-eight different nationalities were found among the inhabitants; some forty of these represented Greek cities.

¹ This assumption has recently been mentioned by Schiller, *Apokrimata*, 51.

² The earliest recorded use of the deme designation is found in an inscription of the age of Ptolemy I Soter, *OGIS* 21, which was set up by two brothers: Nikandros, son of Nikon *Πολυδεύκειος* and Nikanor son of Nikon *Πολυδεύκειος*, too. Other cases abound in the papyri from the middle of the third century B.C. onwards: e.g. Euphronius son of Apollonides *Ἀμμωνιεύς* (*SB* 6762; 245 B.C.); Eudemos son of Euthygenes *Νειλεύς* (*SB* 6763; 245 B.C.); Timocles son of Ariston *Ἀργεάδης* (P.Mich. Zen. 66; 245/244 B.C.). Citizen-soldiers are also found, e.g. Pythocles son of Jason *Ἀρσινοεὺς ὁ τῶν Μενελάου ἑκατοντάρουρος*; and his brother Polycleitos, too (P.Mich. Zen. 66, 245/244 B.C.); *ἱπ(πεύς)* Komanos son of Nikon *Ζήνειος*, of 500 arourae (P.Tebt. 1, 99, l. 55; c. 148 B.C.). This custom continued until the end of the Ptolemaic rule, e.g. Castor son of Apollonios *Ἀμμωνιεύς, ἱππάρχης ἐπ’ ἀνδρῶν τῆς ᾱ ἱππαρχίας* of 80 arourae (P.Tebt. 11, 382; 31/30 B.C. or after).

³ We exclude the inscriptions found outside Egypt, since it was the custom to use the designation *Alexandreus* abroad. For examples in Egyptian inscriptions from the Ptolemaic period cf. *OGIS* 31–32; *Archiv Pap.* 5, 159, no. 3; *SB*, nos. 17, 38, 593, 3479, 3733, 3772, 4261, 5861, 5863, 6252–3.

document of the third century, P.Hal. 1. In this law the legislator of Alexandria ordains that the citizens were not liable to become slaves to one another in the following terms (ll. 219-21):

Περὶ τ[ῶν] πολιτῶν ὅπως μὴ δ[ο]υλεύωσιν. ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῶι
 Ἀλεξά[ν]δρῳ μὴ δουλεύετω μηδὲ ἡ Ἀλεξανδρίς τῶι
 Ἀλεξά[ν]δρῳ μὴδὲ τῆι Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρίδι.

It is clear from the heading that the law is dealing with all citizens (περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν). In the clause itself, which naturally enough is more detailed, the legislator wished to explain that both men and women were included in the plural πολῖται. He therefore expressed himself by using *Alexandreus* and *Alexandris*, since πολίτης has no feminine in Greek. In other words the law uses the two terms *Alexandreus* and *polites* synonymously; and since according to P.Hamb. 168 every *polites* had a deme, it follows that every *Alexandreus* was equally a full citizen inscribed in a deme.

A word of explanation remains to be said about the use of *Alexandreus* in official documents. It follows from the above discussion that every Alexandrian male citizen could designate himself equally correctly in three different ways; *polites*, or by using his deme name, or *Alexandreus*. *Polites* (πολίτης) was the abstract term suited more to the language of the law, though it was not altogether unknown in private documents.¹ The deme-designation was the official usage required by the laws to be employed in official documents (as shown by P.Hamb. 168 and P.Hal. 1, 245 ff.). *Alexandreus* was the style used more commonly for unofficial purposes, as on honorary occasions abroad and in dedicatory and votive inscriptions in Egypt. Its use in official documents, we may add, was rather irregular. This assumption appears justified in view of the rarity of *Alexandreus* in Ptolemaic documents when compared with the number of cases in which deme-names are used. Nor can the individual citizen be blamed for employing a common usage when the law-maker himself felt entitled to use it when it suited his purpose. After all, irregularities were not entirely unknown among the ancients. Moreover, of the two examples mentioned above, in P.Eleph. 3, Athenagoras, in fact, may be excused for styling himself *Alexandreus* when we notice that he is one of six witnesses to a will, all of whom are Greek citizens: Ἀρκάς, Φωκεύς, Φωκεύς, Χαλκιδεύς, Ῥόδιος, and himself. The second case, P.Reinach 9, was simply a matter of personal preference, slack though it may be. The third case of the military *Alexandreus* is an inscription, and is in accord with epigraphic usage. There is no justification therefore for assuming that these men had no demes simply because they did not mention them.²

The women-citizens of Alexandria as in other Greek cities had no political rights and were not inscribed into tribes and demes. They enjoyed civil rights only. As we have seen in the clause about enslavement in P.Hal. 1, 220, the law designated the Alexandrian woman *Alexandris*. But this style has not been found in private documents;

¹ It is used twice in Zenon papyri, cf. P.Cairo Zen., no. 59019 (cf. 59004; and PSI 444, 9); and P.Mich. Zen., no. 23 (?).

² As was suggested by Segré, *BSAA* 28 (1933), 150.

in Roman times it occurs in inscriptions only.¹ The usual style used by Alexandrian women was *asté*, as is attested by a few examples: Ammonia daughter of Dorion, *asté* (*SB* 2097; early Ptolemaic); Ammonarion daughter of Herodes, *asté* (*SB* 4528; third century B.C.); Sarapias daughter of Esthladas, *asté* (P.Grenf. I, no. 21, 4; 126 B.C.). It should be noticed here that *asté* was the style used by women citizens of other Greek cities in Egypt, too; it is found in the case of Naucratis, ἀστὴ Ναυκράτεως and of Ptolemais ἀστὴ ἀπὸ Πτολεμαΐδος,² yet it may be safe to assume that *asté* without mention of any specific city after it denotes usually a woman-citizen of Alexandria. This assumption is sufficiently justified by Roman documents. The masculine form *astos* is not found in Ptolemaic documents and will be discussed later on for the Roman period.

From the middle of the third to the middle of the second century B.C., however, a new group of Alexandrians emerges in our documents, styling themselves Ἀλεξανδρεύς (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγμένων εἰς δῆμον τὸν δεῖνα,³ or some abbreviated form of this designation (i.e. Alexandrians—of the descent—not yet introduced into such and such a deme). The definition of this group has puzzled modern scholars, and several suggestions have been made for its solution. It has, for example, been suggested that the Alexandrian demes had a fixed number of places (i.e. *numerus clausus*) and that this group represents a number of the second-grade *Alexandreis* who wished to enter into the higher grade of citizens with demes, and were simply waiting for vacancies to occur.⁴ It has also been suggested that these persons were sons of full citizens and were either waiting for vacancies or else simply resident in the *chora* and had not completed the necessary formalities for their inscription into a deme.⁵

The theory of a *numerus clausus*⁶ for the citizen body fails to explain why those on the waiting list appear in this period alone. And the same objection can be raised against the second suggestion too, since we know that at all times there were Alexandrian land-owners resident in the *chora*, and it would be difficult to explain why sons of citizens should be more slack about their inscription into demes between 250 and 150 B.C. than at any other time.

We know very little about the method of acquiring Alexandrian citizenship in the Ptolemaic period; but from what we know from Roman times it seems that then, as

¹ Cf. *IG* III², 2243. 2245. 2247. 2249; XII¹, 392. 393. 1029 (the three last are not dated and might be Ptolemaic?).

² Cf. F. Zucker, *JEA* 40 (1954), 118–23; P.Merton 5 (149–135 B.C.), also cf. the list of *astoi* in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, 372.

³ E.g. P.Mich. Zen. 66, 16, (245/244 B.C.); P.Petr. III, 132, 19 (243–241 B.C.); P.Petr. III, 6 a, 43 (237 B.C.); P.Petr. III, 11, 6 (234 B.C.); III, 1, 815. 355, et saep. (228–221 B.C.); P.Tebt. III, 822, 9 (179 B.C.); P.Princ. II, 16, 2 (158 B.C.?).

⁴ Schubart, *Archiv Pap.* 5, 106–8.

⁵ Lesquier, *Instit. Milit.* 157–8, who connects them also with the military chlerouchic class; he is followed by Jouguet, *Vie mun.* 12–17.

⁶ On the theory of *numerus clausus*, cf. also P. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Ägypten* (1900), 230, where he applies it to Ptolemais too; C. Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* IV (1905), 61. It was revived afterwards by A. von Premerstein on the occasion of his publication of P. bibl. univ. Giss. 46, in *Mittel. aus d. Papyrus-sammlung der Giess. Universitätsbibliothek*, V (1939), 43 ff. and 57 ff., but his theory has more than once been criticized, most recently by Musurillo, *Acta*, 105 ff., n. 1, where he gives a full bibliography. The view is still maintained by Taubenschlag, *Law*, 583 and 585.

probably in the Ptolemaic period too, it followed the pattern of the Athenian constitution. That is, it was hereditary and could be obtained in two ways. In the usual way the citizenship (*πολιτεία*) was acquired at the moment of completing the training of the *ephebeia*, which coincided with the young citizen's assumption of his political rights. The few known documents about the *ephebeia* at Alexandria show that only sons of citizens on both sides (all fathers with demes) could qualify as young *epheboi* at the age of 13–14.¹ That the *ephebeia* coincided with the acquisition of citizenship is shown by the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians in which he confirms the *politeia* and its privileges on all those who had completed their ephebic training unless they were of servile origin (ἀπασι τοῖς ἐφηβευκώσσει ἄχρει τῆς / ἐμῆς ἡγεμονείας βαίβαιον διαφυλάσσω τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων / πολειτείαν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως τειμείοις καὶ φιλανθρώποις / πᾶσει πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινες ὑπήλθον ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐγ δούλων / γ[ε]γονότες ἐφηβεῦσαι).² In this way the young *ephebos* becomes a full citizen, and according to the city laws (P.Hal. I, 245 and P.Hamb. 168) he must be inscribed in a deme. On the example of Athens,³ the entry into a deme (of his father) should coincide, too, with the *ephebeia* and acquisition of citizenship.

The other way of acquiring Alexandrian citizenship was through a grant of it to an adult. In Roman times, this seems to have been the prerogative of the emperor;⁴ and it is very probable that the emperors carried on this right from the Ptolemaic kings. The earlier Ptolemies sought to favour their mercenaries by granting them, in addition to other material encouragements, the Alexandrian citizenship. P.Hamb. 168, as we have seen above, speaks of citizens in military service (ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ ὄσιν, I, 8); and P.Hal. I, 155, mentions more specifically 'persons assigned to active military service who have been enrolled on the citizen register at Alexandria' (τῶν δὲ ἐν τ[ῷ] στρατ[ι]-ωτικῷ[ι] τεταγμένων ὅσο[ι] ἂν / ἐν [Ἀλ]εξ[α]νδ[ρ]εία[ι] πεπο[λ]ιτογραφημένοι); and again in lines 161 ff.: ἐὰν καὶ ἀντ[ί]δικοι ἐν τῷ [στ]ρατιω/τικῷ ὄντ[ε]ς π[ε]πολιτογ[ρ]αφημένοι ὦ[σ]ιν, λα[μ]/βαν[έ]τ[ω]σαν τὸ δ[ί]καιο[ν] [κ]αὶ ὑπεχέτω[σ]αν ἐν [τοῖς] / ξεν[ι]κοῖς δικαστη[ρ]ί-οις καὶ αἰπ[ρ]άξει[ς] ἔστω/σαν κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα. This latter statement was once interpreted by Segré⁵ to imply that those military Alexandrians were not full citizens and had no demes; and that they did not come under the jurisdiction of the city courts but had to take their cases to the ξενικὰ δικαστήρια (foreign courts). Surely this is an unwarranted interpretation; and P.Hamb. 168 has now shown that all citizens (*πολίται*) serving in the army had demes; and furthermore that the city courts exercised jurisdiction over all inhabitants of the city, citizens and non-citizens. What is meant by this clause seems to be that when citizen-soldiers serving in the army (outside the city is to be understood) happen to be parties to a law suit (*ἀντίδικοι*) they are to take their cases to 'foreign courts' (i.e. at their place of service) where a royal *διάγραμμα* is applied.

¹ P.Tebt. II, 316 (A.D. 99); *PSI* XII, nos. 1223–6 (A.D. 131); P.Flor. III, 382 (A.D. 222/3, but refers to ephebic documents of c. A.D. 187).

² P.Lond. Bell, no. 1912, ll. 52–57. The connexion of training at the gymnasium (for the *ephebeia*) and enrolment of young citizens is established by an inscription of an unidentified city, presumed to be Ptolemais, *SB* 8031 (104 B.C.), ll. 6–7, εἰσαγαγέσθαι δ' εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πολιτογραφῆσαι ἄνδρας δεκαπέντε ὄντ[α]ς ἀξίους τοῦ τόπου, cf. *Archiv. Pap.* 12 (1937), 44 ff.

³ Cf. O. W. Reinmuth, 'The Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica', *TAPA*, 79 (1948), 211–31.

⁴ As shown by the case of Harpocras, in Pliny, *Ep.* x, nos. 6–7.

⁵ Segré, *BSAA* 28 (1933), 150–3.

To come back to our group of *Alexandreis* who were not yet admitted into such and such a deme, they appear to have been adult persons,¹ especially military colonists, who had recently been granted the citizenship, and who were awaiting the completion of the necessary formalities.² But once the formalities, which perhaps included a special ceremony when the commemorative stone was set up,³ were completed, those persons became at once full Alexandrian citizens inscribed into demes. That they were not originally Alexandrians or sons of Alexandrians can be proved by an interesting document in which the petitioner at first styled himself *Μακεδών*, but the style was later corrected, perhaps by the court secretary, in the following way (P.Ent. 1; 221/210 B.C.)

Ἀλεξαν[δρεὺς] τ[ῶν] ο[ὔ]πω ἐπηγγέμενων
 1 —] πιε. . Διο[ν]υσ[τ]ίου, Μακε[δ]ών, τῶν [κ]ατοικούντων ἐμ[—].

This shows clearly that the son of Dionysios was originally a Macedonian of the *katoikoi*, and was later granted Alexandrian citizenship.

The reason why this group of citizens appears between the middle of the third and the middle of the second century B.C. only, is probably this. Such citizens could have existed earlier, but documents before the middle of the third century are extremely rare. However, before the middle of the second century B.C. those of Greek descent were still identifiable, and the Ptolemies sought to preserve them as pure as possible since they were still the mainstay of their army. An effective way would be by drafting them into the citizen body of Alexandria, the laws of which, we know from Roman times, prohibited inter-marriage with Egyptians.⁴ After the middle of the second century B.C. the ordinary Greek settlers in the *chora* were no longer of pure Greek blood, as many non-Greeks had been hellenized and entered their ranks. At the same time no fresh immigrants were coming any more, and the Ptolemies were increasingly relying on Egyptian recruits for their army.

The formula which these persons use and its abbreviated forms are of some interest. In its longest form, *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) τῶν οὔπω ἐπηγγέμενων εἰς δῆμον τὸν δεῖνα*, shows first that at least in some cases these persons were sons of the military clerouchic class (*τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*).⁵ Second, and more important, it provides a further proof of what has been argued earlier, that an *Alexandrius* must have a deme. These new citizens were not without a deme (*ἄνευ δήμου*), but were already with the grant of citizenship itself assigned to a certain deme, and were only waiting for formalities to be completed. This assumption is confirmed by two abbreviated forms in which the terms of *Alexandrius* and deme are interchangeable, and the one can stand without the other:

P.Hibeh. 32, 2-4 (246 B.C.): *Ἡράκλειτος Ἡρ[ακλείτου] Καστόρειος τῶν οὔπω [ἐ]πηγγέμενων* and P.Tebt. III, 815, fr. 1, col. ii, l. 2 (228-221 B.C.): *Νουμήγιος Διονυσίου*

¹ They often appear as witnesses to wills, and in P.Petr. III, 6 a, 1. 43-44, Satyrion was 50 years old.

² This is the view adopted by Jones, *Cities*, 303.

³ As at Athens, cf. Reinmuth, *TAPA* 79 (1948), 211; and cf. Lesquier, *Instit. Milit.* 157-8.

⁴ Cf. 'Gnomon of the Idios Logos', articles 45-49. The constitution of Naucratis, too, prohibited inter-marriage with Egyptians.

⁵ Add P.Tebt. III, 815, fr. 1, col. ii, 2 (228-221 B.C.) to the list of those *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* in Lesquier, *Instit. Milit.* 319-20. Our interpretation, however, disagrees with his in that they were not originally *Alexandreis*, as he assumes, pp. 157-8. He is followed in this by Jouguet, *Vie mun.* 12-17.

Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγγεμένων γῆν ἔρμον, κ.τ.λ. without mention of a deme which is to be understood.

Documents from the last century of Ptolemaic rule are comparatively few, and we have no further information about any change in the character of the Alexandrian citizenship.

It emerges, I hope, from this discussion that under the Ptolemies Alexandria had a single citizenship for all its citizens, and that there is no justification for assuming that there was a graded citizenship, either primitive or as a result of some later development.

II. Roman period

With regard to this period we find that the controversy about the citizenship of the Alexandrians developed along the same lines, as has been shown earlier, but other elements added to the complexity of the problem. In addition to the terms already in general use under the Ptolemies, *astoi* now came into sudden prominence, notably in the 'Gnomon of the Idios Logos'. The definition of these *astoi* and the relationship between them and the *Alexandreis* has divided modern scholars completely, and for a clear understanding of the present state of opinion it may be useful at this stage to give a summary of the important points of view.

Before the discovery of the 'Gnomon of the Idios Logos', Jouguet¹ ascribed the *astoi* to Alexandria but did not feel able to place them among the different classes of the city. Plaumann² and Schubart³ went farther and suggested that they were the superior deme-citizens in contrast to the inferior *Alexandreis* who had no demes. After the publication of the 'Gnomon' the question was investigated anew. Reinach,⁴ in his edition of this code, translated *astoi* by 'les bourgeois' and in his commentary he explained that he meant 'les Alexandrins'.⁵ Glotz⁶ rejected this identification and suggested that the *astoi* were the citizens of the free Greek cities in Egypt which possessed a *politeia*. Simultaneously, Carcopino,⁷ commenting on the same document, came to the totally different conclusion that the *astoi* were the Greeks of the *metropoleis* which did not possess a *politeia*. Afterwards Bickermann⁸ criticized Reinach, Glotz, and Carcopino and very convincingly proved that the *astoi* were Alexandrian citizens with demes; but relying very largely on the evidence of private documents he disregarded the evidence of the Gnomon. Thus, contrasting the *astoi* with the *Alexandreis*, he came to the conclusion that the former were the superior and the latter the inferior class.⁹

These arguments, however, did not end the controversy; and more recent writers have remained equally divided, each preferring one or another of those interpretations, sometimes with fresh arguments and sometimes with little modifications. For example

¹ Jouguet, *op. cit.*, 121 ff.

² G. Plaumann, *Ptolemis*, 20-21.

³ Schubart, *Archiv Pap.* 5, 104.

⁴ Th. Reinach, 'Un Code fiscal de l'Égypte romaine', *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 43 (1919), 583 ff., see translation of articles 13, 38, 39, 45, 47, 48, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, (1920), 27 ff.

⁶ G. Glotz, 'Un Code fiscal de l'Égypte romaine', *Journal des Savants*, (1922), 220.

⁷ J. Carcopino, 'Le Gnomon de l'Idiologue', *Rev. des ét. anc.*, 24 (1922), 106 and 115.

⁸ E. Bickermann, 'A propos des *astoi* dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', *Rev. de Philol.*, N.S. 1 (1927), 362-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 364.

Graf Uxkull-Gyllenband, though disregarding completely the evidence of private documents, criticized Bickermann and reverted to a position similar to that of Carcopino, but expanded the meaning of *astoi* further and suggested that they included all the 'true Hellenes' in Egypt whether Alexandrians or otherwise.¹ Segré, too, revived the meaning assumed by Reinach and correctly identified *astoi* with *Alexandreis*. But since he maintained that Alexandrians under the Ptolemies were divided into two classes, he postulated that the Roman administration expanded the citizen body by admitting all *Alexandreis* into it.² This suggestion was totally ignored by Taubenschlag³ and Schiller⁴ who maintained that the *Alexandreis* were not citizens in the proper sense, but simply had their *origo* in Alexandria, and were thus outside the citizen body. Arangio-Ruiz,⁵ on the other hand, has lately made a further suggestion that *astoi* without any further definition should be taken to refer to the Greeks of Alexandria. This is the state of opinion,⁶ confused as it is, among those who have attempted to solve the equally confusing problem of terminology in our sources.

It is my endeavour in what follows to establish that the situation which, I suggested above, obtained during the Ptolemaic period, i.e. a single citizenship with one and the same status for all citizens of Alexandria, continued unchanged under the Romans. It is also hoped that the following discussion of the sources will indicate the points established or missed by previous scholars.

From the standpoint of the Roman administration the free population of Egypt fell into three main groups: Romans, Alexandrians, and Egyptians.⁷ The latter group fell into further minor subdivisions which do not concern us here; we shall limit our discussion to the Alexandrians alone. We notice from the documents which refer to or imply this tripartite division, such as census-returns, tax-lists, or legal documents, that the term frequently used is *Alexandreis*, and that it stands for all citizens of Alexandria, in strict contrast to the rest of the country's population.⁸

¹ See his commentary on the Gnomon, *BGU* v, part ii, pp. 23-26.

² If I have understood him correctly he first assumed that, according to the 'Gnomon', *astoi* represented a restricted class of *Alexandreis* (the latter being the general term for all citizens of both classes), *BSAA* 28 (1933), 149 ff., 'Alexandreis di cui gli astoi sono una classe più ristretta'. But later he advanced the opinion that the two groups were identical, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti* 16 (1940), 183-4. He is followed by A. Piganiol, 'Le Statut Augustéen de l'Égypte et sa destruction', *Museum Helveticum*, 10 (1953), 198.

³ Taubenschlag, *Law*, 585; also cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* II, 1064.

⁴ Schiller, *Apokrimata*, 51.

⁵ V. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Intorno agli astoi dell'Egitto greco-romano', *Rev. internat. des droits de l'antiquité*, 4 (1950), 7-20. He notices that *astoi* could belong to other Greek cities in Egypt and even, in his view, to a *metropolis*, pp. 19-20.

⁶ For other writers who adhere to one or another of the different interpretations see p. 106, n. 1.

⁷ This was first noticed by Bickermann, *Archiv Pap.* 9 (1930), 24 ff., esp. 40 ff., cf. Bell, *CAH* x, 298; and Segré, *BSAA* 28 (1933), 149 f.

⁸ In census-returns the person had to declare that in his house he did not have (apart from those mentioned in the return) *καὶ μήτε ἐπίκεινον μήτε Ῥωμαίων, μήτε Ἀλεξανδρέα μήτε Αἰγύπτιον μήτε ἀπελεύθερον μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα οἰκεῖν ἢ ἀπογράφεσθαι ἔξω τῶν προγεγραμμένων*, cf. P.Oxy. III, 480 (A.D. 132); P.Oxy. 255 (A.D. 48); P. Hamb. I, 31, a, 6 (A.D. 117-38). For tax-lists see p. 108, n. 4 above. Of interest is P.Oxy. III, 473 (A.D. 138-60) which contains a decision to honour a gymnasiarch by: *[ἔδοξε τοῖς τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν ἀρχουσι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ [καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσι]*. The distinction in this sense between Alexandrians and Egyptians in Roman eyes has recently received further emphasis by the publication of P.Columbia 123 (A.D. 200). The first response by Septimius Severus in this

The last statement may in fact need explanation since several other terms were still used in documents to denote a citizen of Alexandria, namely *polites*, deme-designation, *astos* or *aste*. We hasten to say that in Roman times the practice of using various terms underwent a slight change. First *polites* (or the plural *politai*), though still persisting as a designation of a citizen,¹ was avoided by the new Roman Laws in preference to *astoi* or more specifically *Alexandreis*;² it seems that Romans were now the '*politai*' *par excellence*.

Designation by deme continued to be the official and most common way in which Alexandrians styled themselves in official documents. But from the second century onwards it became the custom among Alexandrians to use the double title of both tribe and deme instead of the deme alone.³ The reason for this change is not known; perhaps because of the similarity in deme-names between Alexandria and other Greek cities in Egypt, especially the new Antinoë.⁴

It remains now to define the *Alexandreis* and *astoi* of the Roman period and establish that they were all full citizens inscribed in tribes and demes.

We meet with *Alexandreis* in Roman documents from the beginning of the Augustan age, both at Alexandria itself and in the *chora*;⁵ and sometimes two persons are found in one and the same document who style themselves differently, one with a deme-name, the other *Alexandreu*s.⁶ Who were these *Alexandreis*? Were they, like their Ptolemaic predecessors, full citizens? Among the latest writers on the question Taubenschlag and Schiller go as far as to assume that the *Alexandreis* of the Roman period were not citizens but had their *origo* only in Alexandria.

The context of the documents in which these *Alexandreis* are mentioned does not generally help us to recognize any difference in their status from other ordinary citizens. That they at any rate possessed the Alexandrian citizenship (ἡ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πολιτεία) is certain from more than one document. In a census-list of the first century we are told that the son of a father who possessed the Alexandrian citizenship was

document concerns the revocation of some penalty imposed upon Alexandrians and Egyptians, τὰς ἐπιβληθείσας Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις ζημίας, κ.τ.λ. The interpretation of Schiller, *Apokrimata*, 50-51, does not, however, accept this contrast as we understand it. He understands *Alexandreis* to be those who had their *origo* in Alexandria.

¹ P.Catt. IV = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 372, v, ll. 25-26: Ἀ[λε]ξανδρέων πολέται.

² As will be shown later in regard to the Gnomon.

³ See the list of citizens with tribes and demes by E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte*, 103-27. The old custom of using the deme alone still, however, persisted in a few cases, e.g. P.Oxy. VII, 1024, 2 (A.D. 129); P.Bas. 20 (2nd cent. A.D.).

⁴ E.g. The deme Θεσμοφόριος is found at Alexandria and Antinoë, and Σωσικόσμιος is a tribe name at Alexandria and a deme at Antinoë, cf. the tables II, VII, VIII by Jouguet, *Vie mun.* 123 ff.

⁵ *Alexandreis* at Alexandria are mentioned in *BGU* IV, nos. 1101. 1119. 1127. 1140. 1165; I; III, 1176, all from the Augustan period.

In the *chora* from the first two centuries we have P.Lond. II, no. 260, 60-61, p. 48 (A.D. 72-73); *BGU* I, 238, 7 (mid 2nd cent. A.D.); III, 887, 2. 12 (A.D. 151); P.Lond. II, 206, 6. 15, p. 248 (2nd cent. A.D.); III, 1178, pp. 214 ff., ll. 50. 55. 57 (A.D. 194); Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 272 (2nd cent. A.D.).

From the third century: *BGU* I, 356, 9 (A.D. 213); IV, 1074, 17 (A.D. 275); P.Oxy. XVII, 2120 (A.D. 221); P.Oslo III, 135, 3 (A.D. 286-93).

From the fourth century onwards: P.Oxy. XIV, 1722, 4 (3rd-4th cent. A.D.); *BGU* IV, 1024, sides 6-8 (4th-5th cent. A.D.).

⁶ As in *BGU* IV, nos. 1119. 1127. 1167; I; all from Alexandria in the Augustan period.

registered in the list of Romans and *Alexandreis*: καὶ τὸν διὰ γραφῆς 'Ρωμαίων μετὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδ(ρεῖς) τεταγμέ(νον) / υἱὸν τοῦ ἐσχηκότος Ἀλεξανδ(ρέων) πολ(ιτείαν) ἀποκεχω() εἰς τῆ(ν) ἰδίαν / 'Ηρακλείδης Νικανο() τοῦ κ(αὶ) Παπποῦ τοῦ 'Ηρακ(λείδου).¹

From the second century A.D. we have more explicit evidence in P.Cattoui, col. iv,² which contains an account of legal proceedings. From this document we learn that the son of an *Alexandreu*s, who is born while his father is on active service, is not legitimate and consequently has no right to the Alexandrian citizenship (ll. 4–11): ἐξερχομέ/νου εἴτε ἐν τάξει εἴτε ἐν σπείρα εἴτε [ἐ]ν εἴλη ὁ γεννη/θείς οὐ δύναται εἶναι νόμιμος υἱός. Μὴ ὦν δὲ νόμιμος υἱός, τοῦ πατρὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξανδρέως, Ἀλε/ξανδρεὺς οὐ δύναται εἶναι. ὁ παῖς [ο]ῦτος γεγέννηται τῷ Οὐάλεντι στρατευομένου ἐ[ν] σπείρα. ὀθνῖος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν· εἰσαχθῆναι ἰς τὴν πολειτείαν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων οὐ δύναται. Furthermore at the end of the trial, the verdict uses πολίτης τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας and Ἀλεξανδρεὺς synonymously (ll. 24–26): ἐπιδὴ τοίνυν ἐπιχειρεῖς τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις, / οὔτε οὗτος οὔτε οἱ ἄλλοι υἱοὶ σου Ἀ[λε]ξανδρέων / πολεῖται εἰ[σί]ν.

From these two examples it is clear that in Roman times an *Alexandreu*s had the Alexandrian citizenship; and we have no authority to suppose that it was in any sense different from or inferior to the *politeia* mentioned in the *boulé*-papyrus or in the 'Letter of Claudius' or in the 'Gnomon'. In these documents citizenship was conditioned by the *ephebeia*. In the *boulé*-papyrus³ the speaker of the Alexandrians argues that a *boulé* would see to it that none of those who pay the poll-tax be listed in the public records along with the *epheboi* of each year (τοῖς κατ' ἔτος ἐφήβοις συνεγγραφόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν γρα[φήν]). And in Claudius' letter, as has already been mentioned, the emperor confirms the Ἀλεξανδρέων πολιτείαν on all τοῖς ἐφηβευκόσι except those of servile origin.⁴ Thus the *Alexandreis* with the *politeia* must have been citizens in the same category as those who received the *politeia* through the *ephebeia*. Apart from a grant by the emperor, that was the only way of becoming a citizen.

That *Alexandreis* and deme-citizens were identical can also be proved by examples in which the same citizen styles himself at one time with a deme and at another *Alexandreu*s. We have an example from Alexandria itself: *BGU* IV, 1133–2 (16–14 B.C.). Ἀμμώνιος Διονυσίου Ζήνειος, who again in no. 1101 (13 B.C.) writes Ἀμμώνιος Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς. This can, of course, be a coincidence and we may have here two different persons with the same name. But knowing, as we do, that this group of papyri concerning Alexandria (in *BGU* IV) deals with limited circles, and that in many cases the same persons appear again and again, it is probable that Ammonios is one and the same person in the two documents.

More emphatic still is P.Flor. III, 382, which is a petition of an Alexandrian wishing to be released from his liturgical duties because of old age, since he is over 70 years of age. The petition is interesting as it refers to events in the career of the petitioner between A.D. 166 and 222/223. First, on July 7, A.D. 166, at the age of 14, he passed the

¹ P.Lond. II, 260, l. 120, p. 51 (A.D. 72–73).

² P.Catt. iv = Mitteis, *Chrest.* v.

³ *PSI* 1160 = Musurillo, *Acta*, I (age of Aug. or Tiberius or, more probably, Claudius).

⁴ P.Lond. Bell 1912, 53 ff. In the 'Gnomon', see articles 40. 44.

ephebic test, [εἰς] ἐφήβους εἰ[σκρινο]μένων (l. 73), and was registered in a deme as Ἡρων Ἀντωνᾶ[τος] τοῦ Πανίσκου Ἀλθ(αιεύς) (ἐτών) ἰδ̄ ἡμ(ερῶν) ἰζ̄ (l. 78). We are also told that his mother was an *asté* (l. 79), and that his father had been an *ephebos* before him, ἐφηβευκ[ότος] τ[ο]ῦ πατρός (l. 82). According to this information Heron was a full citizen with a deme who obtained his citizenship in the normal way through the *ephebeia*. Moreover, he was a wealthy man who owned much land in the Hermopolite nome. Yet in the course of his petition he describes himself indifferently, once with a tribe and deme and another time as *Alexandrus* as follows (l. 28): παρὰ [Αὔ]ρ· [Ἡρωνος Ἀντωνᾶτος τοῦ Πανίσκου Ἀρχιστρατίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαι[έ]ως γεουχοῦντος ἐπὶ Μοιρῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἐρ[μοπολ(ίτου)]. And in l. 35 he describes himself in these terms: Ἀλεξαν]δρεὺς γὰρ ὦν γῆν πολ[λ]ήν δὲ κεκτημένος ἐν τῷ νομῷ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἐρμοπολείτου. It becomes apparent from this document that a citizen of Alexandria, who also was a big landowner, felt no stigma in describing himself as *Alexandrus* in an official document, in which his status is expected to be accurate, and in the present case an accurate description might even be of some importance.

It emerges from this discussion that an *Alexandrus* possessed the Alexandrian *politeia* (P.Lond. II, 260, l. 120; P.Catt. iv), and that he was identical with *polites* (P.Catt. iv) and deme-citizens (*BGU* IV, 1101. 1133; P.Flor. 382) throughout the Roman period.¹ There is no justification for the assumption that he enjoyed only the civil rights of the *politeia*. This view is purely hypothetical and there is no evidence for it.

There remains one more question to be examined, that of the *astoi*. We may state first that an examination of the documents in which *astoi* or *astai* figure in Roman times points to the following facts:

1. They possess a *politeia*: this is established by article 47 of the 'Gnomon', concerning marriage between an *asté* and an Egyptian:

Ἀστὴ συνελθοῦσα Αἰ[γ]υ[πτίω] κατ' ἀγνοίαν ὡς ἀστῶ ἀνεύθυνός ἐστιν·
ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέ[ρων ἀπ]αρχῆ τέκνων τεθῆ, τηρεῖται τοῖς τέκνοις ἡ πολιτεία.

This *politeia* must consequently belong to one of the Greek cities in Egypt; and thus since the *metropoleis* did not have a *politeia* until after the municipalization in the third century,² and therefore fall outside the terminology of the 'Gnomon' which covers the first two centuries only. Theories involving 'all the true Hellenes' and the Greeks of the *metropoleis* must be rejected. All the citizens of the Greek cities, as a whole, will have to be excluded also; since they have different laws which in some cases conflict with the laws of the *astoi* of the 'Gnomon'. We may mention the well-known example of Antinoë whose law allowed inter-marriage with Egyptians,³ which our code does not allow.

2. Their connexion with Alexandria: this has already been proved by Bickermann

¹ The same situation prevailed at Antinoë, too, where a citizen could use his deme name and Ἀντινόεως at the same time, *PSI* XII, 1238 (A.D. 244): Αὔρ. Βερενικεύς ὁ καὶ Ὀρίων Νερούιάνειος ὁ καὶ προπατόρειος καὶ ὡς χρηματεῖζει Ἀντινοεύς; also cf. P.Flor. I, 97, 6 (c. A.D. 160); *SB* V, 7558, 3 (A.D. 172-3).

² For the *politeia* of the nomes see P.Oxy VIII, nos. 1104, 13 (A.D. 306); 1146, 17 (early 4th cent. A.D.); P.Flor. I, 95, 9 (4th cent. A.D.); P.Cairo Masp. I, 67020, 15 (6th cent. A.D.), III, 67321, 6 (A.D. 548-63).

³ Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 27. Also cf. S. de Ricci, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, (1905), 163; Taubenschlag, *Law*, 105, n. 11.

who remarked that whenever a first relative (i.e. father, brother, or son) of an *asté* is fully styled in the documents, he is always a citizen of Alexandria with a deme.¹ Yet we have seen earlier that women citizens of other Greek cities in Egypt in Ptolemaic times designated themselves *asté*. In the third century A.D. we find also that this term was used at Antinoë, where there was a special register of its citizens called *κα[τα]-λλ(ογείων) ἀστῶν* (P.Flor. III, 383, 62–63; A.D. 232). In view of the great number of Alexandrian *astai* in Roman documents it is perhaps safe to understand *astos* or *asté*, without any specific affiliation, to be citizens of Alexandria. I would be inclined to maintain that this was the case during the period covered by the ‘Gnomon’, i.e. first to second centuries A.D., when *astoi* and *astai* appear to have been exclusively used of Alexandrians. After the municipalization of the nomes, *astoi* and *astikos*, like *politeia* and *politikos* acquired local application. For example, the municipal games at Oxyrhynchus were called *ἀγῶνες ἀστικοί* (P.Oxy. xxii, 2338; late third century A.D.).

3. The *astoi* were registered in demes: this is proved by the Alexandrian document BGU IV, 1034, 4 (beginning 3rd cent. A.D.) in which a deme-citizen is described together with his sister as being *astoi* (ll. 4 ff.): *παρὰ Τυράννου τοῦ καὶ Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως καὶ τῆς τούτου ὁμοπατρίου καὶ ὁμομητρίου ἀδελφῆς Διδυμαρίου ἀστῶν ἀμφοτέρων Σώτου Τυράννου τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος*. Later in the document we learn that their mother was also an *asté* (l. 10). This document does not need any commentary as it clearly identifies *astos* with the deme-designation.

4. *Astikoi nomoi* refer to Alexandria: as has already been remarked above, Roman documents do not usually use *politai* in reference to citizens of Alexandria, but only *astoi*. This is a departure from Ptolemaic usage. It also seems that Alexandrian laws were called *astikoi nomoi*,² again at least in the first two centuries A.D. only, in place of the Ptolemaic usage *politikoi nomoi* (P.Hal. 1, 79).

5. No contradiction between *astoi* and *Alexandreis*: it would follow from the previous four points that the *astoi* were normal citizens of Alexandria who were registered in demes, or women-citizens who belonged to such families. According to our definition of *Alexandreis* above, these should be identified with *astoi*. It has indeed been argued that according to the ‘Gnomon of the Idios Logos’ the two terms cannot be identified. Graf Uxkull-Gyllenband has, for example, remarked that the ‘Gnomon’ is more liberal in the case of the *astoi* than with the *Alexandreis*. The example he gives is article 47 which allows children of an *asté* and an Egyptian whom she mistook for an *astos* to acquire her citizenship, and article 49, which forbade freedmen of *Alexandreis* to marry Egyptians. The discrepancy can perhaps be explained by the fact that article 49 concerns the intention of the freedmen, whereas no. 47 deals with a *fait accompli* which the law did not wish to annul. A similar discrepancy also appears in articles concerning Roman citizens. In article 52 ‘marriage between Romans and Alexandrians is (not?)

¹ E. Bickermann, *Rev. de Philol.*, N.S. I (1927), 362–8. Arangio-Ruiz, *Rev. intern. droits antiq.* 4 (1950), 18 ff., suggested in order to overcome the difficulty of *astoi* connected with local cities that when an *astos* or *asté* is mentioned without any further definition he or she should be ascribed to the Greek community of Alexandria. But all the cases he refers to in the *chora* belong to the third century. Before the third century the *astoi* could not be mere Greeks of Alexandria, since the *astoi* possessed a *politeia*.

² P.Oxy. IV, 706 (A.D. 115), cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* II, 1069; Taubenschlag, *Law*, 19, n. 5.

permitted'. Yet article 46 makes a similar allowance like that in no. 47 for the *astai*.

(No. 46: 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ ἀστοῖς κατ' ἀ[γνοί]αν Αἰγυπ[τί]αις συνελθοῦσι συνεχω/ρήθη μετὰ τοῦ ἀνευθύ[ους] εἶναι τ[ὰ] τέκνα τῶ πατρικῶ γένει ἀκολουθεῖ.) It should, however, be remembered, as Uxkull-Gyllenband himself has remarked, that the 'Gnomon' contains laws which were issued over about two centuries, and that some laws must have been modified; hence the varying tones of the different articles.

For the identification of *astos* with *Alexandrus* we may recall P.Flor. 382, discussed above. In this document and in P.Flor. 56 we find that Heron who describes himself with his tribe and deme and as *Alexandrus* in the same document, is also the son of an *asté* (no. 382, l. 82) and the father also of *Aretous Asté*. It follows from this example that they all had the same status (cf. also point 3 above).¹

A careful analysis of the 'Gnomon', on the other hand, proves that in no case are the laws concerning *Alexandreis* and *astoi* contradictory or overlapping; if, on the contrary, we distinguish between the two terms the code will appear full of unnecessary gaps. For example, we notice that the 'Gnomon' makes a clear distinction between the law for men and women. This distinction is found in the cases of the Romans, *astoi*, and even freedmen and freedwomen; whereas in the case of the *Alexandreis* there is no mention whatever of the feminine *Alexandrides*. This omission can be justified only if the feminine *astai* stood for *Alexandrides*. It has already been pointed out that *Alexandris* is not found in Roman documents at all, only in sepulchral inscriptions from outside Egypt.² Also no mention is made of marriage laws for the *Alexandreis*, but only *astoi*. Carcopino tried to overcome this difficulty by suggesting that it was natural since the Alexandrians had their own laws of marriage.³ This argument can in fact be directed against him, because the Romans also had their own laws; moreover *astoi* and *astai* have now been proved to be citizens of Alexandria.

It could be argued also that the 'Gnomon' is but a miscellany of articles, and that such gaps are to be expected. Against this supposition we reply that the gaps are only apparent, because if the identity of *astos* and *Alexandrus* is accepted all these gaps and deficiencies will disappear; and the 'Gnomon' will reveal itself as a well-balanced code, in an abridged form though it may be. Being primarily a financial code, it deals fully with the strongest economic classes in Egypt, the Romans and the Alexandrians, with regard to the same subjects: wills, inheritance, marriage, protection of citizenship, administrative regulations for the census, freedmen, and freedwomen. On the basis of this pattern the articles of the 'Gnomon' can be classified in the following manner:

<i>Romans</i>		<i>Alexandrians</i>
	I. WILLS	
General: 7; 8; 34		General: same articles

¹ Unfortunately P.Catt. III = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 372, IV, in which *asté* and *astos* are used, does not prove anything. Thus Segré, who took it as evidence, failed to establish the identity of *astoi* and *Alexandreis*, and was correctly criticized by Arangio-Ruiz, *op. cit.*, 8.

² See p. 112 and n. 1 there.

³ *Rev. des ét. anc.* 24 (1922), 114.

II. INHERITANCE

General: 18	General: same article
Ῥωμαῖος: 27; 32	Ἀλεξανδρεῖς: 5; 6
Ῥωμαία: 30; 31; 33; 54	ἄστος: 14; 45

III. MARRIAGE

General: 23; 39	
Ῥωμαῖος: 46; 52	ἄστος: 39; 45; 46; 48
Ῥωμαία: 24	ἄσπή: 13; 38; 47; 51

IV. PROTECTION OF CITIZENSHIP

Ῥωμαῖος: 43; 55; 56	Ἀλεξανδρεῖς: 40; 44 (<i>ephebeia</i>)
Ῥωμαία: 53	

V. ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

General: 59; 68	General: 59
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VI. FREEDMEN AND FREEDWOMEN

Ῥωμαία: 29 (property)	ἄστοι: 9 (property); 50 (marriage)
	Ἀλεξανδρεῖς: 49 (marriage)

From this classification of the 'Gnomon' the identification of *astoi* and *Alexandreis* seems to be inevitable. This in fact is the only way in which we can do justice to this important document, otherwise it will fall to pieces and remain half understood.

Conclusions

The above discussion has proved to my mind, beyond any reasonable doubt, that both under the Ptolemies and the Romans the citizenship of the Alexandrians was and remained throughout of one status which comprised the entire citizen body of the city. It has also shown, I hope, that all previous theories of a graded citizenship at all times, or at one time or another, cannot be reconciled with the various pieces of evidence examined in this paper.

It remains to say that the deme-designation was always the proper style for an Alexandrian to use; this is established by thousands of documents. The designation *Alexandrus* was the popular one; and in official documents, although strictly speaking it was not very correct, it was admissible. The number of such cases is however fairly small. In Roman times, the laws abandoned the use of *politai* and preferred the plural *Alexandreis* and *astos* or *asté*.

In Byzantine times the designation of tribe and deme in official documents was gradually discontinued, whereas *Alexandrus* and *astos* survived. Since in this period members of the local cities could equally call themselves citizens, Alexandrians mentioned Alexandria in their designation more often, as in *Klein. Form.* 10 (6th cent. A.D.).

The citizenship of the Alexandrians carried certain privileges especially as regards taxation. Citizens were exempt from paying the poll-tax;¹ and on occasions they received

¹ This is implied by *PSI* 1160 = Musurillo 1; and *Acta Isidori*, cf. Musurillo, no. IV, p. 23, col. ii, ll. 25-30. See Wallace, *Taxation*, 118 ff., where he discusses other tax-documents.

privileged treatment, as in the *emphyteusis*-land in the territory of the Alexandrians which was granted by Euergetes II for three years more at reduced taxes than in other parts of the country.¹ In Roman times the citizenship acquired special importance since it became a necessary step by which an Egyptian could become a Roman citizen.² Alexandrians may also have received privileged treatment as regards liturgies, but their exact position in this respect is not yet well defined. After the municipalization of Egypt, especially after the reforms of Diocletian, the Alexandrian citizenship suffered a degradation and the citizens no longer received any advantages; because when all the *metropoleis* had become cities and their inhabitants citizens, all were treated equally.³

Perhaps the greatest of all privileges was the great prestige which the citizen of Alexandria enjoyed throughout antiquity, thanks to the immense wealth and reputation of his city.⁴

¹ P.Tebt 1, 5, ll. 93-98.

² Pliny, *Ep.* x, 6-7.

³ On the new tax-system of Diocletian cf. *SB* v, 7622 (A.D. 297); originally published by Boak, *Ét. pap.* II, no. 1, pp. 7-9.

⁴ I wish to take this opportunity of thanking Professor A. H. M. Jones for encouraging me to pursue this point. My thanks are also due to Mr. Peter Fraser for having read this paper in typescript. The opinions and conclusions expressed in the paper are, however, entirely the author's responsibility.

THE DATE OF THE *CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA*

By FERGUS MILLAR

THE dating of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* to the year A.D. 212 rests on a passage in Cassius Dio and a papyrus, P.Giessen 40.¹ It is the purpose of this article to show that these two pieces of evidence do not, either separately or together, give a firm basis for the accepted dating and that, if any date is to be preferred, it is the second half of 214.

Dio's reference² must be considered first, for even before the publication of the Giessen papyrus it was assumed to give the date 212.³ This view depends on the assumption that the structure of Dio's books on the Empire is annalistic and that consequently information which he places early in his account of any given reign belongs to the beginning of that reign. It has recently been demonstrated that in his books on the early Empire this is not the case; he uses a combination of annalistic and biographical techniques, and collects at the beginning and end of each reign material, out of its chronological setting, designed to illustrate the character and method of government of the emperor concerned.⁴ As far as the fragmentary state of the text allows, the same technique can be discerned in the later reigns, up to and including those of Dio's own time.⁵ In so far as there is a standard pattern, it is that each reign opens with an account of the emperor's ascent to the throne and his initial measures, followed by a description of the man and his rule under a number of headings. When chronological sequence resumes, the break is often clearly marked.⁶

With Caracalla's reign, therefore, Dio records first his dispute with Geta and the latter's death and then his appearances before the Praetorian cohorts and the Senate.⁷ Then there follows a section on his executions of prominent men,⁸ a paragraph on various strains in the emperor's character,⁹ his love of gladiatorial shows,¹⁰ his imitation of Alexander,¹¹ and his methods of raising cash to expend on the troops and on beasts

¹ The literary references are collected by Chr. Sasse, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 9-11. Ulpian's reference, *Dig.* 1, 5, 17, comes from Book 22 of his *ad edictum*, which was completed in the reign of Caracalla. It does not serve to date the *constitutio* to any year within the reign.

² 77, 9, 5 (382).

³ For example by H. Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* 1 (Gotha, 1883), 750.

⁴ C. Questa, 'Tecnica biografica e tecnica annalistica nei libri LIII-LXIII di Cassio Dione', *Studi Urbinati*, 31, N.S., B 1-2 (1957), 37.

⁵ See 69, 3-7; 23 (Hadrian), 71, 34, 2-36, 4 (Marcus Aurelius, summing-up), 72, 4-7, 4 (Commodus, introduction?), 73, 3-4 (Pertinax, introduction), 76, 16-17 (Severus, summing-up), 78, 11, 1-4 (Macrinus, introduction on previous career), 78, 41, 2-4 (Macrinus, summing-up). The pattern is disturbed in the case of *coups d'état*, where the next emperor has to be introduced in the account of his predecessor, and further obscured by the state of the text.

⁶ For example, on Hadrian 69, 8, 1 (228) ταῦτα περί γε τοῦ τρόπου, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν, προείρηκα· λέξω δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, ὅσα ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μνημονεύεσθαι.

⁷ 77, 1-4, 1 (373-6).

⁸ 77, 4, 1-6, 1.

⁹ 77, 6, 1a.

¹⁰ 77, 6, 2.

¹¹ 77, 7-8.

for shows.¹ Then Dio reverts to more personal characteristics, his lack of education, obstinacy, rashness, and arrogance.² At this point he reveals explicitly how the text is constructed—τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τοιοῦτος ἦν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ὁποῖος, ἐροῦμεν. The section on his conduct in war begins with an account of his dealings with various eastern potentates³ and then continues with the campaign of 213 in Germany; from this point the material is arranged by and large in chronological sequence.

In the series of paragraphs on Caracalla's rule and character a proportion of the material, especially that on the executions, clearly relates to the year Caracalla spent in Rome after the murder of Geta (late February 212). Some of it, however, can be dated specifically to later years. This is first clear in the paragraph on Caracalla as 'Alexander', where the incidents recorded date to the years 214–16.⁴ It is in the following section, on Caracalla's extravagance and his methods of raising extra funds, that the reference to the *constitutio* occurs. Here again it is clear that the measures recounted relate to various stages of the reign.

The items in this section (77, 9, 2–7) can be tabulated as follows:

1. στέφανοι (*aurum coronarium*) which Caracalla often (πολλάκις) demanded from cities to celebrate his victories. *Victoriae* were recorded in 213, over the Germans, and in 216, over Parthia.⁵
2. τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἃ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν προῖκα τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαναλίσκοντες ἐσεπρασσόμεθα. This clearly refers to the supplies for the court and army during Caracalla's campaigns (see below).
3. Gifts exacted from cities and rich individuals.
4. New indirect taxes.
5. Doubling of *vicesimae libertatis* and *hereditarium*, accompanied by the exaction of the inheritance tax from close relatives and the gift of citizenship to all in the Empire, to render them liable to the tax.
6. καὶ οἰκίας αὐτῷ παντοδαπάς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξώρμησε, καὶ καταλύσεις πολυτελεῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ταῖς βραχυτάταις οἰκείοις δαπανήμασι κατασκευάζειν ἤναγκάζόμεθα . . . προσέτι καὶ θέατρα κυνηγετικά καὶ ἵπποδρόμους πανταχοῦ, ὅπου περ καὶ ἐχείμασεν ἢ καὶ χειμάσειν ἤλπισε, κατεσκευάσαμεν, μηδὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες.

Dio's use of the first person is probably to be accounted for by the fact that in the winter of 214 he was at Nicomedia with Caracalla and apparently bore his share of the provisioning of the court.⁶

The οἰκίαι and καταλύσεις are a reference to the Severan institution of *mansiones* along the main roads for the delivery of supplies to the court, and perhaps

¹ 77, 9–10.

² 77, 11.

³ 77, 12. 1a–13, 3 (386–8).

⁴ This is proved in detail by J. Guey, 'Les Éléphants de Caracalla (216 après J.C.)', *REA* 49 (1947), 248, on pp. 268–70.

⁵ On the German victory of 213 see *RE* 2, 2447 and H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, v (London, 1950), pp. cxciv, cci–ii. For *victoria Parthica* on coins see *ibid.*, p. ccviii. Caracalla did not take a fourth salutation.

⁶ 77, 18, 3.

to armies, *en marche*.¹ Caracalla spent the winter of 214/15 at Nicomedia, that of 215/16 at Antioch, and that of 216/17 at Edessa.²

Finally, the paragraph about his expenditure on games (and personal participation in them) is written largely in the imperfect tense, refers to undated incidents (*ποτέ*), and at one point describes a state of affairs 'throughout his whole reign'.³

It is therefore clear that this passage of Dio affords no basis for dating the *constitutio* to 212. Indeed, his reference to it provides a slight but definite basis for dating it later than 212, for it is given in the context of Caracalla's exactions to support himself and his armies during the wars and travels which took up every year of his reign from 213 onwards.

Given these conclusions from Dio's text it is necessary, in considering the Giessen papyrus, to start with no preconceptions as to the date but to examine it as it stands. For this purpose the contents of the papyrus must once again be summarized:

1. Column I, ll. 1–16, the *Constitutio Antoniniana* itself. This document has neither heading, date, nor full titulature but begins abruptly with the line [*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλι[ος Σεουήρος] Ἀντωνῖνο[ς] Σ[εβαστὸ]ς λέγει*]. The papyrus is torn at the left-hand edge⁴ and it is therefore possible that the heading of this edict began in a previous column, which is now missing. After line 13 only fragments of the text remain and it is impossible to say whether the dates of publication and exposition were given.
2. The second decree, column II, ll. 1–15, is a *novella* subsequent to the announcement of the restoration of exiles which Caracalla made in the Senate on the morning after the murder of Geta at the end of February 212.⁵ The beginning of it presumably came in the second, missing, half of column I and the text is only clear from column II, line 5, onwards. Column II, lines 12–15, contains detailed information on the stages of publication—*propositio* in Rome on July 11, 212, the making of an official copy by the *Praefectus Aegypti* in Alexandria on January 29, 213, and *propositio* in Alexandria on February 10, 213.
3. The third decree, column II, ll. 16–29, concerns the expulsion of *Ἀγύπτιοι* from Alexandria and must be dated to Caracalla's stay there late in 215, or to very soon after it.⁶ This decree has no indication of date or authorship and the text is introduced by a one-word heading (which cannot be clearly read)⁷ which is placed separately on l. 16. The text itself does not seem to be the full version of the original edict—see l. 26—*Μεθ' εἰ[τ]ερα*.

¹ See D. van Berchem, 'L'Année militaire dans l'Empire romain au troisième siècle', *Mem. soc. nat. ant. de France*, 8th ser. 10. (1937), 117 ff., esp. p. 173.

² See *RE* 2, 2448–50. Caracalla did not return to Antioch from Alexandria until mid-winter, January at the latest, in 215–16. See J. Schwartz, 'Note sur le séjour de Caracalla en Égypte', *Chron. d'Ég.* 34 (1959), 120.

³ 77, 10, 3, *παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον*.

⁴ See the photograph in the original publication by P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, 1, ed. E. Kornemann and Paul M. Meyer (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910–12), pl. VI.

⁵ Dio describes the scene in 77, 3, 3–4, 1.

⁶ Dio refers to the expulsion of strangers from Alexandria in 77, 23, 2. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 121–2 takes it that this edict was promulgated after Caracalla had left Alexandria.

⁷ Meyer read *Ἀλ[λ](ης)*.

It can thus be seen that the papyrus dates the *constitutio* to 212, between late February and July 11, only if the decrees are given in chronological order. The assumption of chronological order, it must be emphasized, is now the sole support for the date 212.

How reliable the assumption is depends on the character of the document itself. Meyer considered that it derived from the collection of imperial edicts kept at Alexandria.¹ The papyrus itself probably comes from the Heptakomia and does not seem, in view of the informal character of its text, to be an official document. Nor does it seem to be a *full* list of imperial edicts, for it is clear the third edict, from the winter of 215/16, follows directly on the second, which was published in Alexandria two and a half years earlier. No other edicts are attested which certainly fall within this interval, but P.Oxy. XII, 1406, laying down penalties for *bouleutai* who injure or insult their colleagues, or *prytaneis*, dates certainly from between October 213 and Caracalla's death and probably to his stay in Egypt late in 215.² P.Flor. 382, ll. 6–8, gives a constitution of Caracalla which dates to January 216. All that can be said of the Giessen papyrus is that it is a collection of some edicts by Caracalla made in the Egyptian *chora* for some purpose which is unknown to us. As such, it may be in chronological order but there is no overriding reason to think that it is. P.Flor. 382 itself is an example of a list of imperial constitutions, of Severus and Caracalla, made in Egypt for a particular purpose, which are *not* assembled in chronological order.

It is thus clear that the two standard items of evidence do not give any definite date for the *constitutio*. There is, however, other evidence which does indicate a date, namely the latter half of 214. It should be emphasized that the arguments for this date are by no means conclusive. The later date is no more than probable, at best, but none the less is better supported than the traditional one.

The first item is a Michigan papyrus, P.Mich.Inv. 5503c. In publishing it a decade ago, O. M. Pearl restored it so as to date to 212/13, the 21st year of Caracalla.³ The restoration was clearly incorrect, for in the papyrus Caracalla has the title 'Germanicus', which he received only after the German campaign of 213. In view of this contradiction I asked Professor H. C. Youtie of Michigan to look at the papyrus again, and all variations from the original publication in the text given below depend on his re-examination of the papyrus and communication of the results to me, for which I am very much in his debt.

P.Mich.Inv. 5503 c.

ἔτους κβ σθ κγ [Μάρκο]υ Αὐρηλίου Σεο[υ]ήρ[ο]υ Ἀντωνίνου
 Παρθι[κοῦ] μεγίστου Βρεντανικοῦ (*sic*) μεγίστου
 Γερμανικοῦ μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἄθῦρ ̅ διέ(γραψεν)
 Αἰλιανῶ καὶ [μ(ετόχοις)] πράκ(τορσιν) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) Λιβελᾶρις Πτολεμαίου
 5 τοῦ Ἀρπαγάθου συνταξ(ίμου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους (δραχμὰς) δεκαέξ,
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) ις. Hand 2. Φαρ(μοῦθι) [] ἄλλα[ς] δραχμ(ὰς) ὀκτώ,
 (γίν.) (δρ.) η. Hand 3. Παχῶ(ν) ̅

¹ Op. cit., 28.

² See P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin, 1920), no. 72 (pp. 248–9); Riccobono, *FIRA*² I, 89.

³ O. M. Pearl, 'A Late Receipt for *Syntaximon*' *TAPhA* 82 (1951), 193.

ὁ α(ὕτος) Αὐρ[ήλιος Λι]βελᾶρις δραχμ(ὰς) ὀκ[τ]ῶ (γιν.) (δρ.) η. κζ̄ ἄλλας
 δραχμ(ὰς) ὀκτ[ῶ, (γίν.)] (δρ.) η. Παῦνι κ ἄλλας δραχμ(ὰς) δεκαδύο,
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ. Ἐπειφ[. . .] ἄλλας δραχμ(ὰς) ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (δρ.) η.

Notes on the text

1. 'There was visible in close attachment to the end of κ a small vertical remnant of another numeral. The direction of the ink is characteristic enough to exclude α and δ and to make ε unlikely. The letter when complete was either β or γ, but not enough remains to support a choice between these.' H. C. Y.

3. November 2.

6. Pharmouthi is March 27 to April 26. H. C. Y. detects a third hand beginning at Παχών. The date is May 1.

It follows from the new reading of l. 1 that the papyrus dates to the years 213–14 or 214–15. Of these dates the later is by far the more probable. The name 'Germanicus' appears for the first time in the *acta fratrum Arvalium* of October 6, 213, their celebration of the German victory.¹ While it would not, of course, have been physically impossible for the news to reach Karanis by November 2, there is abundant evidence to show that there was normally a longer interval before changes of title, or of emperor, were reflected in documents in the Egyptian *chora*.² We can take it therefore that the Michigan papyrus dates to 214 and 215.

The significance of these dates arises from the absence in the first part of it (November 2, 214) and the second (March 27 to April 26, 215) and the presence in the third (May 1, 215) of the name 'Aurelius' for the 'Libelaris' whose payments of *syntaximon* are being recorded. It cannot be taken as certain that this represents the moment at which the *constitutio* came into force, for numerous papyri subsequent to it use or omit 'Aurelius' with indifference. The appearance of the name 'Aurelius' would only be significant if it could be shown from other evidence that this was the first year of operation of the *constitutio*.³

In seeking further evidence the most obvious course is clearly to examine the other papyri from the years 212–15 to see whether they offer a reliable basis for the date of the *constitutio*. The appearance of single individuals with the name 'Aurelius' cannot be taken as evidence, for the name appears in earlier papyri also; but where, as in the case discussed above, we seem to find a man acquiring the name 'Aurelius' or where a number of 'Aurelii' appear on a single papyrus we are on safer ground.

Firstly, it is clear both from returns in the census of 215/16⁴ and from other documents of 215⁵ that the *constitutio* was in force in that year. But documents from the

¹ *CIL* vi, 2086, last fragment, l. 22 f. (= *ILS* 451).

² See U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1899), I, 800 f.

³ For these points I am again indebted to Professor Youtie.

⁴ See for example P.Rein. 49; *Aegyptus* 32 (1952), 33, no. 22; P.Lond. CCCCLII; P.Lond. 935 (vol. III, p. 29).

⁵ P.Oxy. 2184; *BGU* 222; P.Strasb 219; *CPR* I, XLV.

21st year of Caracalla (212/13)¹ and the 22nd (213/14)² afford no firm evidence of the type required. For, although 'Aurelii' appear in some (not all) of the papyri, they are accompanied by other persons who have not yet acquired Roman citizenship. The first reliable evidence comes from early in the 23rd year (214/15), to be exact, from the last two months of 214. The first document which shows 'Aurelii' who clearly acquired the name as a result of Caracalla's edict is a series of receipts for a ward's alimony, from Tebtunis. Here we find some persons who in 208 or 209 did not have the name 'Aurelius' in possession of it on November 1, 214.³ Then again, in a document from Oxyrhynchus which was signed on December 7, 214, three 'Aurelii' appear.⁴

Thus it is certain that the *constitutio* was in effect in parts of Egypt by the last two months of 214, but not clear that it began any earlier than that. The news seems to have been slow in reaching Karanis, for a number of receipts for seed-grain from there, which date to December 214, show no trace of its effect.⁵

The evidence of the papyri is supported, though not very securely, by another passage of Dio, from the speech of Maecenas in Book 52. In the course of working on Dio I have been led to the conclusion, based on arguments concerning both the composition of the work and contemporary relevance of the Maecenas speech, that it was delivered to (or aimed at) not Severus Alexander, but Caracalla, and that it was composed specifically in the last part of 214, when Dio was at Nicomedia with the emperor.⁶ In the speech Dio makes a laudatory reference to the *constitutio*⁷ which contrasts sharply with his own attitude in the passage discussed above, which was written some five or more years later. If this dating and interpretation of the speech

¹ For example *PSI* XIII, 1329; P.Lond. CCXVII; P.Lond. 848 verso (III, 209); *BGU* 1091; P.Amherst II, xcvi; P.Tebt. 371. *BGU* 356 (Faiyûm, Dec. 27, 213) has an Aurelius Apion, nomarch, and also an Aurelius Didymus, who is, however, a citizen of Alexandria.

² For example *Ann. Serv.* 29 (1929), 51, no. 3, P.Strasb. 213, P.Ryl. II, 184, *BGU* 618. P.Merton 25 (Oxyrhynchus, Mar. 12, 214) is a letter from Pamounis son of Dios, mentioning his mother Thatres, to M. Aurelius Valentas son of Apollonius. It mentions the scribe, Aphunchis son of Horion. *BGU* 1656 (Faiyûm 213/14) is a letter from M. Aurelius Papirius, gymnasiarch of Arsinoe, to Valerius Longinus. Moreover, P.Oxy. 1432 which dates to about July 214 shows a strategos of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Anoubion, who in the previous year had been called simply Anoubion—see P. Mertens, 'Un demi-siècle de strategie Oxyrhynchite', in *Chron. d'Ég.* 31 (1956), 341 ff. on pp. 349–50. The papyrus also, however, mentions a tax collector, Heraclas-Anoubion may therefore have benefited from an individual grant of Roman citizenship. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. T. C. Skeat.

³ P.Fam.Tebt. 53—B. A. van Groningen, *A Family-Archive from Tebtunis* (Leiden, 1950), 167 f. A document from Philadelphia which dates to Oct. 9, 214—see M. Hässler, 'Eine Pachturkunde aus Philadelphia vom Jahre 214 n. Chr. (P.Freib.Inv. 79)', *Chron. d'Ég.* 35 (1960), 199—mentions an Aurelius Apion, former *exegetes* of Alexandria, along with two men called Amatios and Neophytos.

⁴ P.Oxy. 1278.

⁵ O. M. Pearl, 'Short Texts from Karanis', in *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), 3, no. 6–11.

⁶ This conclusion depends on arguments, which have not yet been published and which cannot be effectively resumed here. In brief, it is possible to conclude from the main passage in which Dio describes the writing of his *History*—72, 23 (304–5)—that Dio began in the summer of 197, took notes in the years 197–207, and wrote books 1–76 in order in the years 207–19. This would bring Book 52 to late 214. The character of the speech's relevance to the reigns of Severus and Caracalla is too complex to summarize, but one may note 52, 27, 5 (recruitment to prevent banditry—see 74, 2, 5–6), 23, 3 (a single *Praefectus Praetorio* is too dangerous), 22, 4 (not more than two legions in each province—a measure completed in 214).

⁷ 52, 19, 6. . . . καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσι σφισι μεταδοθῆναι φημι δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης ἰσομοιροῦντες πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν ᾦσιν, ὥσπερ τινα μίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὄντως πόλιν τὰ δὲ δὴ σφέτερα ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας νομίζοντες εἶναι.

can be accepted, pending publication of the full argument, it follows that in the last months of 214 the *constitutio* was already promulgated or at least that its impending promulgation was known to Caracalla's entourage.

All the evidence therefore tends to indicate that the latter part of 214 is the true date of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Furthermore, the events of 214 may provide a clue to the meaning and restoration of two lines of the Giessen papyrus itself. In the third and fourth lines of column I Caracalla gives thanks to the gods for some reason which is not clear from the fragmentary text.¹ The occasion might well have been the shipwreck which Caracalla suffered in crossing the Hellespont and from which he was only rescued by the efforts of his *Praefectus classis*. The accident is mentioned by the *Historia Augusta* and by Dio and was sufficiently serious to be recorded by the *fratres Arvales* in Rome, while an inscription from Pergamum gives a poem by Caracalla himself expressing his gratitude to Asclepius for his escape.² The two lines of the Giessen papyrus can be restored so as to refer to the preservation of the emperor in some accident.³ The only difficulty here is chronological—did Caracalla cross the Hellespont early enough in 214 for a *constitutio* promulgated after that to be in effect in at least one part of Egypt by the first of November? Caracalla reached his winter quarters at Nicomedia in time for the news of his safe arrival to be celebrated in Rome by the *fratres Arvales* before December 10.⁴ His arrival cannot therefore have been later than about mid-November and between his crossing of the Hellespont and that moment he had celebrated games and carried out sacrifices at Ilium⁵ and made a journey, apparently by land, to Pergamum, where he sought the aid of Asclepius, and had gone on to Philadelphia and perhaps beyond.⁶ This journey, with the return to Nicomedia, could not have taken less than some 40 days—and it would be surprising if the emperor had stayed only one night at each point. The crossing of the Hellespont could easily, therefore, have taken place in August or September.

Thus it can be suggested that the *Constitutio Antoniniana* was promulgated by Caracalla soon after his crossing of the Hellespont in the summer of 214. To have made the announcement from Ilium, where he was carrying out ceremonies in direct imitation of Alexander the Great, would have appealed to Caracalla's sense of his own position in history.⁷

¹ In the original publication Meyer read [... .. καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἀγ[ιωτ]άτοις εὐχαριστήσαιμι, ὅτι τι[s] ποιούτη[s]/[χάριτος ἀφορμὴ νῦν εἰς] ἐμὲ συν[εκύ]ρησεν. In his *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin 1920), No. 1 he read [... ὅπως ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἀθ[αν]άτοις εὐχαριστήσαιμι, ὅτι τῇ ποιούτη[νίκη] (?) σῶο]ν ἐμὲ συν[ετή]ρησαν.

² See SHA *vita Ant. Car.* 5, 8; Dio 77, 16, 7; *CIL* vi. 2103a (the *acta fratrum Arvalium*—[... ex naufragii periculo s]alvus servatus sit); A. Wilhelm, 'Zu neuen Inschriften aus Pergamon', *SB. Berl. Akad.* 1933, 836 f.; and, in general, D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950), ch. 28, n. 41.

³ So E. Bickermann, *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P.Giss.* 40 (Diss. Berlin 1926), 26—τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἀθ[αν]άτοις εὐχαριστήσαιμι, ὅτι τῇ[s] ποιούτη[s]/[συμφορᾶς γενομένης σῶο]ν ἐμὲ συν[ετή]ρησαν.

⁴ *CIL* vi. 2103b, giving Caracalla's *trib. pot.* xvii. His *trib. pot.* xviii began on Dec. 10, 214.

⁵ See Dio 77, 16, 7; Herodian iv, 8, 3–5; and Magie, loc. cit.

⁶ See Magie, loc. cit., and the *Itinerarium Antonini* 333, 9–337, 2, which shows a route beginning with *A Callipoli traiectum in Asia Lamsacum* (not a standard route, so it can be taken to refer to this journey by Caracalla) and going in fifteen stages through Pergamum, Thyateira, and Philadelphia to Laodicea.

⁷ It has been suggested as an objection to this that the *constitutio* could only have been promulgated from

It need not be claimed that the arguments for this date are decisive. The pattern which the papyri indicate suggests, but does not prove, the general acquisition of citizenship and the name 'Aurelius' late in 214 and in the first half of 215. Of the literary evidence, only Dio has any direct bearing on the date but, while neither of the relevant passages is conclusive, one indicates the period of Caracalla's wars and travels and the other points specifically to the latter part of 214.

The new date, if it can be accepted, means that we need no longer suppose, for lack of any more convincing context, that the *Constitutio Antoniniana* was a triumphant declaration made at the beginning of Caracalla's reign. It can now be seen in a specific historical context and interpreted, in accordance with Cassius Dio, as one of the measures by which Caracalla raised money to support his armies.¹

Rome. While political considerations *might* have dictated an announcement in Rome, it is clear that there was no law or custom requiring this. Imperial constitutions were issued from wherever the emperor happened to be. See for example *FIRA*² 1, 71 (Claudius' edict on the Anauni), para. 1. *Bais in pretorio, edictum . . . propositum fuit . . .* and in general F. von Schwind, *Zur Frage der Publikation im römischen Recht* (Munich, 1940), 160 f.

¹ I am much indebted to Mr. P. M. Fraser for his help in the preparation of this paper.

A CHRISTIAN LETTER OF COMMENDATION

By J. H. HARROP

THIS letter is one of the papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus by Grenfell and Hunt. It is lightish-brown in colour, and appears to have been folded three or four times, once horizontally between ll. 22–23, and twice or three times vertically. Apart from the bottom right-hand corner, which is missing, most of the damage appears to be at the folds, especially the horizontal one, where the papyrus is completely severed. The presence of traces of ink below l. 22, which fit with *πρός* in l. 23, together with the coincidence of some of the papyrus strands, make it likely that no line is lost. There are also several small holes. The main text of the letter is written in black carbon ink, in a medium-sized squarish upright bookhand. In the first two-thirds of the letter it is executed fairly carefully and evenly, in straight lines, and with an eye to pleasing appearance, though the characters vary considerably in size; but it slips into cursive at the ends of some lines and in the greetings of the last five lines. The attempt to please is emphasized by the presence of several marks of punctuation and one of quantity, and by the wide spacing of some letters and the lengthening of the final strokes of others, especially at the ends of lines. The writing is along the fibres. A postscript is added in a vertical direction from top to bottom down the left-hand margin, in an ink now brown, much faded, and in parts worn away, but which appeared slightly more legible under ultra-violet light. It is possibly in a different hand, since the characters are more separately and deliberately formed, and tend to be of a more squat appearance, which is not entirely accounted for by lack of space. The address along the fibres of the *verso* is in the same hand and ink as the postscript.

None of the persons in the letter has yet been definitely identified, and it does not seem possible to date the letter on internal evidence. On palaeographical evidence¹ it may be dated in the fourth century, probably in the earlier part.

The text is here reproduced as it stands, except for word-division and capital letters. Only the original marks of punctuation, &c., are included. The critical signs follow the same conventions as those used by the editors of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

¹ The main hand may be compared with that of Pap.Berol. P.10559 (illustrated in plate 43a of W. Schubart's *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*) which was assigned for palaeographical and internal reasons to the end of the fourth century A.D. by Wilamowitz, Berliner *Klaffikertexte*, v. i, 82 f.; while both the main hand, and especially the various punctuation marks and the attempt at decoration strongly recall P.Rylands IV, 624, dated 317–23 by the editor, C. H. Roberts, who observes that such phenomena are very rare in papyrus letters. The presence of possibly metallic brown ink may be an indication, but its value is doubtful until more work is done on the composition of inks used on papyri, cf. notes by Alkin Lewis in *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters*, by H. Torczyner and others (1938), pp. 188 ff. I am indebted to Mr. T. C. Skeat, Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, not only for this reference, but also for the use of an ultra-violet lamp in deciphering the postscript.

Oxyrhynchus

25 × 11.5 cm. Fourth century A.D.

Recto

Written along the fibres:

5 *Τωι κυριω μου [α]δελφωι Σ[.....]νι
 Παυλος ευ [πρατ]τειν
 τωι εσοπτρον κτησαμενω η αλλο τι τοιουτο εν
 χειρι εχοντι εν οισ τα προσωπα ενοπτριζεται
 ου χρεια εστιν του λεγοντος η μαρτυρουντος
 περι του αυτω επικειμενου χαρακτηρισ
 και της χροιας και του ειδους οπ[[οις]] 'ως' [[.πο]] υπαρχει·
 αυτος γαρ δι εαυτου μαρτυς γεγονεν και λε
 χειν δυναται περι της ιδια[s ο]μοιωσεως·
 10 και ουχ οτε τις αυτω λεγει η σαφηνιζει πε
 ρι του καλλους και της ευπρεπειας της πε
 ρι αυτον τοτε πιστευει· ου γαρ κατα τους αλ
 λους υπαρχει τους εν αγνοιαῖ οντας
 και του εσοπτρου πορρω καθεστω
 15 τας του τας παντων ομοιωσεις επιδει
 ξαντος· το αυτο δε εστιν και προς σε
 ω φιλτατε· και γαρ ως δι εσ[ο]πτρου κα
 τ(ε)ῖδες την προς σε μου ε[μ]φυτον
 στοργην και αγαπην την αι νεαν·
 20 περι δε των ημετερων γνωριμων
 των σοι τα γραμματα καταφεροντων
 αναγκαι]ον μοι εστιν γραφαι [[σοι]] '·.' επ[ιστα
 μ[ενω] την προς [πα]γτας σου φιλιαν
 κα[ι στο]ργην μαλιστα προς τους ημετερους
 25 αδελφους· προσδεξαι συν εν αγαπη
 ως φιλους ου γαρ κατηχουμενοι εισιν
 α[λ]λα των περι Ἰσιωνος και Νικολαου
 ιδ[ι]οι 'τυχανουσι' και ει τι αυτοις ποιεις εμο[ι] εποι
 ησας / παντες οι ενθαδε αδελφοι προσ
 30 αγορευουσιν υμας ασπασαι κα[ι] τους συν
 σοι παντας αδελφους εκλεκτου[s] τε και [κα
 τηχουμενους
 ερωσο υμας ευχομαι*

Down the left-hand margin, in brown ink, ? different hand:

34 και ει δυνατον σοι εστιν τοις αλλοις γραφαι περι [τουτων] μη οκνησις
 οπως προσδεξωνται

35

κατα τοπον

Verso

Address, along the fibres, same hand and ink as ll. 34–35:

Παυλος τω αδελφω []των[ι]

Notes on the text

1. There is a distinct tail of a letter below the line, 3 mm. to the right of Σ. The final letters νι are moderately large. 7. οισ and .πο struck out with one stroke. 12. τ in κατα is altered from σ. 22. σοι is crossed out, and there are undecipherable traces of ink above. 28. τ of τι altered from α.

Translation

To my lord brother S(erapio)n Paul (wishes) well-doing. A man who has acquired a mirror, or holds in his hand something else of that sort, in which faces are seen represented, has no need of one to tell him, or testify about the character that lies upon him, and his complexion, and his appearance, how it is. For he himself has become a witness by himself, and can speak about his own likeness. And when someone speaks to him, or explains about the beauty and comeliness about him, he does not then believe. For he is not like the rest who are in ignorance, and standing far from the mirror that displays the likenesses of all. And it is the same with you my good friend. For as through a mirror you have seen my implanted affection and love for you ever fresh. Now concerning the acquaintances of ours who are bringing down the letter to you, it is (necessary) that I write, (knowing as I do) your friendship and affection to all, especially towards our brethren. Receive them therefore in love, as friends, for they are not catechumens but belong to the company of Ision and Nikolaos, and ‘if you do anything for them, you have done it for me’. All the brethren here salute you. Greet also the brethren with you, both elect and catechumens. I pray you may be strong. And if you can write to the others about (them) don’t hesitate, that they may receive them in each place.

Notes

1. The gap of about 18 mm. seems too large for Συριωνι. Probably Σαραπιωνι should be restored, but there would be room for Συμμαχιωνι or even Σαραπαμμωνι. Note the absence of εν κω or εν θεω, and of any ecclesiastical title: contrast P.Grenf. II, 73; P.Oxy. 1162; P.Lond. 417, 981, 1914–18; P.Amh. II, 145.

2. εὐ πράττειν. Cf. P.Oxy. 822. 1770; PSI 207, 299, 833–4, 1445.

3. For the opening commonplace see General Considerations below.

6. ἐπικειμένου χαρακτήρος. For χ. in the sense of outward appearance cf. Hermas, *Shepherd* 9, 9, 5, besides other references and bibliography given by Liddell–Scott–Jones (LSJ) and Arndt–Gingrich (AG). For this expression with ἐπικείμεναι cf. Ignatius, *Ep. ad Magn.* v, 2, a–b ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐστὶν νομίσματα δύο, ὁ μὲν Θεοῦ ὁ δὲ κόσμου, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἴδιον χαρακτήρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει, οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτήρα Θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . Cf. also the wording of the longer recension of this passage.

8. δι’ ἑαυτοῦ. Cf. P.Oxy. 273, 21; P.Tebt. 72, 197; Rom. 14, 14.

9. ὁμοιώσεως. For the Christian development of this word see Moulton–Milligan (MM) and AG. 14–16. There seems to be a change in the writer’s idea of the mirror here—no longer held in the hand, but fixed perhaps to a wall, or held up by a servant.

16 ff. The connexion appears to be that the recipient has or has had some means of perceiving even from a distance and indirectly the reality of the writer’s affection for him.

17. δι' ἐσόπτρον. For the formula cf. J. Dupont, *Gnosis*, p. 134, n. 3.

18 f. ἔμφυτον στοργήν καὶ ἀγάπην. ἔμφυτον usually means inborn by nature (MM and AG). But in Jas. 1, 21 δέξασθε τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον, Barnabas 1, 2 οὕτως ἔμφυτον τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε, id. 9, 9 ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν, it refers to ingrafting or implantation after birth. Here it could mean either an innate characteristic or Christian love implanted at regeneration by divine grace. In either case the metaphor seems continued by the ἀεὶ νέαν, suggesting continual new growth. For a very similar expression cf. the fourth-century Meletian letter published as No. 2545 in H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, where a postscript written down the left margin reads Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν τὴν ἔμφυτον ὑμῶν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν καὶ τὴν στοργήν τῆς ὑμῶν πατριότητος.

20. περὶ δέ. For the form cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 2, 449 f. A more common form of transition is τὸν δεῖνα καλῶς ποιήσεις + aorist participle, as in several of Gregory Nazianzen's letters, or simply τὸν δεῖνα + imperative, as in *PSI* 208, 1041. For γνωρίμων used as a substantive, LSJ cite authority for the meanings 'acquaintance (less than φίλος), pupil (opposed to διδάσκαλος), kinsman, notables or wealthy persons (opposed to δῆμος)'. Here probably acquaintances, perhaps notables, possibly pupils.

21. καταφερόντων. This word seems to refer to transport down the Nile in a large proportion of its occurrences in the Oxyrhynchus papyri, cf. 923, 8; 1068, 6; 1260, 28; 1261, 9; (? 1292, 13) 1414, 20; 1415, 5. Cf. P.Amh. II, 137, 13. On the other hand, it is used in contexts where the direction cannot be determined, once in a context similar to this: P.Amh. II, 145 (provenance unknown), l. 20 Ἰέραξ οὖν τῷ καταφερόντι σοι ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα ἀξίωσον κ.τ.λ.

22–23. The supplements, suggested by Mr. M. Kokalakis, cannot be regarded as certain, as it is impossible to determine the number of lost letters, but they do give good sense.

23–25. These lines imply some sort of a relationship already existing between Paul and the recipient, and that there was some sort of a link between their communities.

25 ff. For the form of the request cf. *PSI* III, 208 τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Ἡρακλῆν παράδεξαι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος; IX, 1041 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν Ἡρώνα καὶ Ὠρίωνα καὶ Φιλάδελφον καὶ Πεκύσιν καὶ Νααρωοὺν καθηγουμένους τῶν συναγομένων καὶ Λέωνα καθηγούμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πρόσδεξαι ὡς καθήκει; P.Oxy. 1162 τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Ἀμμώνιον παραγινόμενον πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ἱρήνῃ.

26. οὐ γὰρ κατ. εἰσιν. Catechumens were not allowed to remain in the Mass of the Faithful—Athan., *Ap. c. Ar.* 28, cf. 11 and 46, and Brightman in *JTS* 1 (1899) 109, and Suicer s.v. κατηχέω. For two kinds of κατ. see Origen, *c. Cels.* III, 51 and Suicer, loc. cit., who also quotes *Can.* xiv Conc. Nic. pr. as using the word with reference to the more advanced group only. It is ambiguous whether l. 26 should be taken as a caution or a commendation, since ἐν ἀγάπῃ ὡς φίλους could imply less or more than a catechumen's reception, though the latter seems more likely.

27 f. This difficult expression, doubtless clear to Paul and the recipient, does not help to solve our difficulty. It is not clear whether ἴδιοι should be taken as 'my own' (cf. P.Goodsp. Cair. 4, 8 ἀπεστάλακαμεν πρὸς σε Γλαυκίαν ὄντα ἡμῶν ἴδιον, κοινολογησόμενόν σοι) or 'Ision and Nikolaos' own', in both cases bearing its ordinary family sense (cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, also AG and LSJ); or 'our own', in a partisan or sectarian sense, akin to the meaning given by AG of comrades in battle or compatriots; or whether some more religious sense (? 'God's or Christ's own') is required, as in John 13, 1 ἀγαπήσας τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ and *Corp. Herm.* 1 (Poimandres) 31, ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ὃς γνωσθῆναι βούλεται καὶ γινώσκειται τοῖς ἰδίοις. See Nock's note ad loc. The possibility of its bearing some special religious meaning (e.g. monks) must not be ruled out. The contrast between ἐκλεκτούς and κατ. in l. 31 makes one wonder if a similar contrast is in mind here, in which case ἴδιοι might = πιστοί, i.e. the faithful baptized. But perhaps the most natural sense is most likely. The expression τῶν περι κ.τ.λ. presents yet another problem. In the context one would expect the accusative, cf. Mayser, *Gramm.* II, 1, 18 f. and II, 2, 446 ff. It seems difficult not to regard this as

a slip. Nevertheless, if the bearers were in full communion, it remains strange that the guarantee of their acceptability should be their connexion with two persons rather than their place in the Catholic Church.

28 f. Cf. Matt. 25, 40. Such appeals in general terms applied to particular circumstances are frequent in fourth-century letters of commendation and request. For the notion that a favour to the bearer is a favour to the sender, cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Epp.* 38, 103, 126, 134, 168, 188, 189. For quotation of Scripture to back the request, cf. *id.*, *Ep.* 186. See also M. Guignet, *Les procédés épistolaires de S. Grégoire de Naz. comparés à ceux de ses contemporains.*

29–30. For the closing greetings cf. bibliography in MM and AG, s.v. ἀσπάζομαι and προσαγορεύω.

31. ἐκλεκτούς. A Christian sense seems required, cf. numerous references cited by AG. The contrast with κατ. is unusual, πιστοί being the normal epithet for baptized believers. In this connexion cf. Rev. 17, 14. Cf. also, however, the use of this and cognate words in the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis, in *JTS* 1 (1899–1900), prayers 6, 12, 14, 25, 27. For the application of the word to the more advanced catechumens cf. Leo I P.R. decret. cap. XI, f. apud Suicer, II, 73.

33. It does not seem possible to read ἐρρώσθαι or even --σθ'.

35. κατὰ τόπον distributive; cf. Athan., *Ep. ad Mon.* in *PG* xxv, 692A1; but cf. also P.Oxy. 1162 init. τόπον may simply be in its general sense, but possibly refers to a sub-division of a nome, cf. P.Mich.Zen. 43, 8, or even to a religious community, cf. P.Oxy. 1492 and Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 148.

General considerations

The letter is constructed as follows: an address (ll. 1–2); a long comparison (3–19) consisting of a developed commonplace (3–16) applied to the recipient in a transitional comparison (16–19); mention of the bearers (20–22); complimentary mention of the recipient's charity (22–25); request for the bearers (25–26) supported by explanation of their status (26–28) and loose quotation of Scripture (28–29); greetings and final salutation. The postscript adds to the request.

Clearly the letter is constructed with great care, and the writer's intention was to produce a pleasing and artistic effect. In pursuing this aim he followed a rhetorical pattern. The object of the first half of the letter is to gain the recipient's goodwill, which was one of the aims of the ancient rhetorical *proem*.¹ This is achieved both by the compliment and by the artful development of the opening commonplace and its application to the recipient. Generally those who wrote on the theory of letter-writing favoured brevity and recommended the style of everyday speech.² Contrast with this letter the model commendatory letters given by Demetrius and Ps.-Libanius.³ However, ancient letter-writers from Isocrates onwards seem to have disregarded this advice in practice, both in length and style.⁴ Perhaps the door was opened to this departure by the view, often expressed both in letters and in works about letters, and admirably put by Ps.-Libanius⁵ ἐρεῖ δέ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ὥσπερ παρών τις πρὸς παρόντα. Undoubtedly, those of

¹ Quintilian IV, i, 5.

² *Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί et Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες* (ed. V. Weichert, Teubner 1910); Demetrius, *On Style*, IV, 223–35; Gregory Nazianzen, *Ep.* 51, in Migne, *PG* xxxvii, 105 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 3, no. 2, and p. 22, no. 4.

⁴ Cf. Isocrates, *Ep.* II, 13: καὶ γὰρ νῦν κατὰ μικρὸν προϊὼν ἔλαθον ἑμαυτὸν οὐκ εἰς ἐπιστολῆς συμμετρίαν ἀλλ' εἰς λόγον μῆκος ἐξοκέϊλας. Note also the development of the 'epistle' as a medium of philosophical, artistic, and religious instruction, and the presence of rhetorical elements in such 'epistles'.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 14.

rhetorical disposition would be inclined to speak rhetorically on most occasions (certainly when commending someone to an important person), and did use rhetorical devices of one kind or another in their letters.¹ There is reason to believe that by the fourth century the letter had come to be regarded in some circles as a form of art,² and that the different sorts of letters began to follow certain set patterns for each type. The commendatory letters of Gregory Nazianzen, one of the most literary of the Greek Fathers, may generally be analysed into a preamble, consisting of a compliment of the person addressed, or some other attempt to gain his goodwill; the introduction of the person concerned, with praise of his qualities and virtues; and something to persuade the recipient to perform the request.³ This appears to be the common pattern for the type, but a great deal of variation was allowed in the nature and extent of the complimentary portion, which is most highly developed in letters to persons such as prefects and strategi, and sometimes almost absent in letters to persons of lower rank. Very few have a *proem* so fully developed as this one, and the only one among thirty commendatory letters of Gregory Nazianzen that closely resembles this letter in the style of its construction is *Ep.* 21,⁴ addressed to Sophronius, the Prefect of Constantinople in A.D. 369. From this we may perhaps conclude that this letter is of more than usually developed artistic form.

The sender's name was Paul. The addressee's name was probably Sarapion, though this is not the only possibility. Although no such title as deacon, priest, bishop, or monk is given in the address, it seems likely from the nature and wording of the letter that both were 'heads of Christian communities'.⁵ The literary style of the letter, so much in contrast with the majority of Christian letters in papyri, makes it likely that Paul was a man of considerable learning, and that the recipient also was a man likely to appreciate his efforts.⁶ If Deissmann's view is correct, that the state of education of the majority of the clergy of Egypt was very low⁷ (and certainly the Christian letters among the papyri so far published, e.g. by Ghedini, and by Bell in *Jews and Christians*, tend to confirm this view),⁸ then the writer of this letter must have been an outstanding cleric, which increases the likelihood of his being someone already known to us from historical sources. Some steps may be taken towards this identification, but no conclusion has been reached that accounts for all the evidence, or that can be regarded as certain. The provenance of the papyrus must be taken into account, and the most probable explanation of its presence in Oxyrhynchus⁹ is either that it was delivered to the recipient there,

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, loc. cit., admits in theory the moderate use of *γνώμαι, παροιμίαι, ἀποφθέγματα, σκώματα, αἰνύματα*, and *τροπαί*, but rejects *ἀντίθετα, πάρισα*, and *ἰσόκωλα*, except in fun. For his practice see Marcel Guignet, *Les Procédés épistolaires de S. Grégoire de Nazianze comparés à ceux de ses contemporains* (Paris, 1911).

² Guignet, op. cit., 6 f.

³ Guignet, op. cit., 71.

⁴ In *PG* xxxvii, 56.

⁵ Cf. *PSI* 208, 1041.

⁶ The most polished of Gregory Nazianzen's commendatory letters are those addressed to important men, such as prefects. ⁷ *Light from the Ancient East* (1910), 212 ff.

⁸ So far as I know, among Egyptian papyri, no other clearly Christian letter of any literary pretensions has yet been published. H. I. Bell in *HTR* 37 (1944) 197 mentions P. Ross. Georg. II, 43 as very doubtfully Christian.

⁹ For an unusual note on the religious life of Oxyrhynchus see Rufinus, *Hist. Monach.* ch. V, in *PL* xxi, 408 f.

or that the sender lived there and kept a copy. Of these the former is perhaps the more natural, but these cannot be regarded as the only possibilities.¹

A Sarapion and Paul are mentioned in the same sentence by Rufinus² as members *c.* 374 of a learned company at Alexandria (possibly connected with the Catechetical School) of which Didymus was chief. Another Paul is mentioned by Athanasius³ as one of four of his co-presbyters who were the object of a Eusebian conspiracy *c.* 336. A Paul of Oxyrhynchus is mentioned by Faustinus and Marcellinus⁴ as a monk who led *c.* 360 a secession from the communion of the local bishop Theodorus because of his connexion with the Arian George of Alexandria. Another Paul, a bishop of Egypt, is said by Jerome⁵ to have been expelled by the Patriarch Theophilus, before 395. A late third- or early fourth-century letter of commendation found at Oxyrhynchus⁶ is addressed to a Paul, who is considered by the editor to have been the head of a Christian community. Another Paul who was obviously an influential Christian, though not necessarily one of the hierarchy, is the recipient of a late fourth- or early fifth-century letter of request and commendation from an Apa Johannes.⁷

As mentioned earlier, the recipient or addressee also seems to have been a cleric of sufficient culture and learning to make a letter of this sort desirable. A Sarapammon was among the Egyptian bishops who attended the Synod at Tyre and addressed a letter to Flavius Dionysius.⁸ He also appears to have signed the decrees of Sardica.⁹ Sarapions occur in the lists of deacons of Alexandria and Mareotis who signed the deposition of Arius in 320.¹⁰ Another Sarapion is listed by Athanasius¹¹ as one of the original Arians expelled by Alexander who later returned to office. Two Sarapions are listed among the bishops of Egypt who signed the decrees of Sardica *c.* 343.¹² One of these may have been the Sarapion, bishop of Tentyra, mentioned in the life of Pachomius of Tabenna.¹³ Finally, we must mention Sarapion, Scholasticus, bishop of Thmuis¹⁴ a man of undoubted learning and considerable literary activity, whose writings included

¹ Perhaps the absence of honorific titles and religious formulas in the address, and the careless way in which the bookhand slips into cursive, may be accounted for by the latter supposition. The practice of keeping letters goes back at least to the time of Cicero, and letters were kept by some fourth-century churchmen, as *Greg. Naz. Ep.* 52 shows.

² *Apol.* II, 12, in *PL* XXI, 595A: Serapion et Menites, viri natura et moribus et eruditione germani; ubi Paulus senex Petri Martyris discipulus. . . .

³ *Ap. c. Ar.*, *c.* 40, in *PG* XXV, 317A: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγνώμεν ὅτι καὶ Ἀφθόνιος, καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Καπίτωνος, καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ Πλουτίων, οἱ συμπρεσβύτεροι ἡμῶν συσκευῆν καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ *Libellus Precum* xxvi in *PL* XIII, 101 f.: ad hanc observantiam plerique eorum eruditi sunt exemplo et monitu beati Pauli, qui iisdem fuit temporibus quibus et famosissimus ille Antonius, non minori vita neque studio, neque divina gratia, quam fuit sanctus Antonius. Novit hoc et ipsa civitas Oxyrhynchus, quae hodieque sanctam Pauli memoriam devotissime celebrat (*c.* A.D. 383).

⁵ *Apol. c. Rufinum* III, 17-18, in *PL* XIII, 490 ff.

⁶ *PSI* IX, 1041.

⁷ P.Amh. II, 145.

⁸ Athanasius, *Ap. c. Ar.* 79, in *PG* XXV, 392B.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 50, in *PG* XXV, 340.

¹⁰ Alexander, *Enc. Ep.*, in *PG* XVIII, 580-2. The name Paul also occurs in the lists of presbyters there.

¹¹ *Hist. Ar. ad Mon.* 71 in *PG* XXV, 777.

¹² Athanasius, *loc. cit.*

¹³ See *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, s.v. 'Serapion (8)' and the life of Pachomius in *PL* LXXIII, 246 ff.

¹⁴ *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, s.v. 'Serapion (9)'.

several epistles¹ and a collection of prayers for the liturgy.² If the letter can be regarded as a copy, kept by the sender, it is possible that it was addressed to this last Sarapion, in which case the word *καταφερόντων* would bear the sense of 'bringing down the river' (i.e. towards the Delta) that it frequently has in the papyri,³ and it could have been written by the Paul of Oxyrhynchus mentioned above. They were certainly contemporaries and shared Athanasian and anti-Arian views, both being stout defenders of the Catholic faith. This, however, can only be regarded as a conjecture, and is by no means certain.

While there is no precise evidence regarding the situation in which the letter was written, it may not be reading too much into the wording to see in the strange nature of the commendation in ll. 25–28 a reflection of the disturbances of church life in the fourth century, when there were *ἐχθροί* as well as *φίλοι*, when catechumens might need specially careful supervision, and when the ground of a man's acceptability might be his relationship to certain persons rather than his place in a widely settled order. There were many such times in Egypt during the course of the Meletian and Arian controversies, and the letter fits well against such a background.

Mirror imagery goes back in classical Greek literature to Alcaeus.⁴ Other examples are found in Pindar,⁵ Aeschylus,⁶ Euripides,⁷ and Alcidas.⁸ The LXX has mirror imagery at Wisdom 7, 26⁹ and Sirach 12, 11.¹⁰ The New Testament has mirror imagery at 1 Cor. 13, 12,¹¹ 2 Cor. 3, 18, and Jas. 1, 23–24.¹² The Hellenistic use of mirror imagery is analysed by J. Dupont,¹³ who agrees with J. Behm¹⁴ in finding three groups of texts in the first of which the mirror's clear, pure surface is a symbol of the purity of the soul;¹⁵ in the second, to see oneself in a mirror symbolizes the Socratic exercise *γνώθι*

¹ Of which two survive and are published, with his book *adversus Manichaeos* in PG XL, 900 ff. The style of the letters is very rhetorical, and the longer abounds in quotations of, and allusions to, the Old and New Testaments.

² Ed. Brightman in *JTS* 1 (1900).

³ See note in loc.

⁴ Fr. 53: *οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι δίοπτρον.*

⁵ *Nem.* VII, 20 ff.:

*ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ
εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἕκατι λιπαράμπυκος
εὔρηται ἄποινα μόχθων κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς.
εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἀν' εὐ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι
ὀμιλίας κάτοπτρον· εἶδωλον σκιᾶς
δοκουντᾶς εἶναι κάρτα πρευμενεῖς ἐμοί.*

⁶ *Ag.* 838–40:

(Prof. Margoliouth in *International Journal of Apocrypha* (1909), 7, interprets this as a magical mirror of friendship, with reference to LXX, Sir. 12, 11—see infra.) Frag. 393: *κάτοπτρον εἶδους χαλκός ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ.*

⁷ *Hipp.* 428 ff.:

*κακοὺς δὲ θνητῶν ἐξέφην', ὅταν τύχη,
προθεῖς κάτοπτρον ὥστε παρθένῳ νέα
χρόνος·*

⁸ *Περὶ Σοφιστῶν* 32: *εἰς τὰ γεγραμμένα κατιδόντας ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ θεωρῆσαι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιδόσεις ῥᾶδιόν ἐστιν.*

⁹ This passage is much used by Origen and other Fathers with reference to Christ.

¹⁰ Margoliouth, loc. cit., understands this as a 'magical mirror of friendship' and refers to Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Annales* III, 166. 284, comparing Aesch. *Ag.*, loc. cit.

¹¹ For mirrors in Jewish literature cf. Strack–Billerbeck in loc. There are, among the references there given, two to 'astrological' mirrors.

¹² Wetstein, in loc., cites Plutarch, *de Audit.* 42 B.

¹³ *Gnosis*, Louvain/Paris, 1949, 119 ff.

¹⁴ *Das Bildwort vom Spiegel, I Kor. XIII, 12*, 328–35.

¹⁵ He cites LXX, Sir. 12, 10–11; Wisd. 7, 26; 2 Cor. 3, 18; Cicero, *Fin.* II, 32; V, 61.

σεαυτόν.¹ Dupont states (pp. 122 f.) that this was a favourite theme of Cynico-Stoic preachers, citing several references in Seneca, and Jas. 1, 22–24, and that in the Neoplatonic tradition it received a more mystical development, beginning with an interpolation in Plato's *First Alcibiades* 133 c² later taken up by Gregory Thaumaturgus.³ Porphyry expresses the same idea,⁴ and Dupont compares *O. Sal.* XIII⁵ and Ps.-Clement *Hom.* XIII, 16. Cf. also several passages of Philo.⁶ In the third group of texts seeing in a mirror is a type of indirect knowledge, which attains to the image only and not the reality itself. This idea began with Plato⁷ and was widely used in the Cynico-Stoic diatribe. Dupont cites various attestations of it in Philo,⁸ *Corpus Hermeticum*,⁹ Plutarch,¹⁰ and Seneca.¹¹ It will be seen that Philo of Alexandria made plentiful use of mirror imagery. It is also found in Clement of Alexandria,¹² and to an even greater extent in Origen.¹³ While it is possible, then, that the mirror image in this letter is inspired by Classical models and rhetorical motive, a philosophical or religious source, especially perhaps an Alexandrian one, seems more likely. Indeed, the language seems to suggest numerous theological and mystical overtones.

¹ Diog. L. II, 33; III, 39. (The same notion is attributed to Bias of Priene by Stobaeus III, i, 172.)

² . . . εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἄρα βλέποντες ἐκείνω καλλίστῳ ἐνόπτρῳ χρώμεθ' ἂν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων εἰς τὴν ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, καὶ οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα ὀρώμεν καὶ γινώσκουμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς.

³ Panegyric of Origen, XI, 142.

⁴ *ad Marcellam* 13.

⁵ (Syriac) *Behold, the Lord is our mirror: open the eyes and see them in Him: and learn the manner of your face: etc.* Cf. the notes of J. Rendel Harris in loc.

⁶ *Vit. Mos.* II, 139 (on this see also L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, III, pp. 174 ff., with VI, notes 363–4, pp. 70 f.); *Migr. Abr.* 98. 190; *Jos.* 87. ⁷ *Rep.* x, 596 e; *Tim.* 71 b; *Soph.* 239 d; *Phaedo* 99 d.

⁸ *Leg. All.* III, 101: μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινι τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ θεῷ. *Decal.* 105: ὡς γὰρ διὰ κατόπτρου φαντασιούται ὁ νοῦς θεὸν δρώντα καὶ κοσμοποιούντα, καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἐπιτροπέοντα. Cf. *Abr.* 153; *Spec. Leg.* I, 26 and 219; *Somn.* II, 206; *Fug.* 213; *Vit. Cont.* 78.

⁹ xvii and Ascl. 36.

¹⁰ *Mor.* 765 A–B; 781 F; 382 A.

¹¹ *NQ.* I, 15–17.

¹² *Strom.* VII, ii, 13.

¹³ *In Lev. Hom.* vi. 6; *Comm. in John* I, 16, 93; II, 37. 229; X, 43, 306; XIII. 10, 58; 18, 113; 25, 153; *de Princ.* I, 2, 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1961)

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: *RÉG* 74, 119–268. I refer to this where necessary as ‘*Bull.* 1961’.

(2) L. ROBERT has published *Titres et Travaux de Louis Robert* (1961, without imprint), containing brief biographical details and a full bibliography. The biographical information apart, this is a simple list of titles and does not supersede R.’s earlier *Bibliographie et Index 1924–1937* (1939), which contains indexes of inscriptions, words, and subjects discussed.

(3) My own survey of the year 1960 appeared in *JEA* 47, 139–49.

(4) In *Orientalia* 30, 391–406 J. LECLANT gives a general account of discoveries of Egyptian and egyptianizing objects found outside Egypt in the years 1955–60.

II. *Corpora, etc.*

(5) The first two volumes of A. ADRIANI’S corpus of Graeco-Roman art in Egypt have appeared since my last bibliography: *Repertorio d’Arte dell’ Egitto greco-romano* (Palermo, 1961, Fondazione ‘Ignazio Mormino’ del Banco di Sicilia), Serie A, vols. I and II, containing 229 items (1–72, 73–229), a few of which are inscribed. II, 1: sarcophagus inscribed on the lid and on one side = *JEA* 43, 101, no. (6), *init.* II, 187 = Breccia, *Iscriz.* 128 and pl. xxviii: the text Σαραπίων ἐπ’ ἀγαθῶι | Π(όπλιος) Ἀκείλις Ζώσιμος | Δορυφόρωι ἐποίηι, is correctly given by A. (on whose plate 87, fig. 291 the inscription is illegible), save that the iotas are given as subscript whereas they are in fact inscribed. Breccia, *Iscriz.* wrongly gave Πάκειλις, corrected *Alex. ad Aeg.* (1914), 224, no. 33; *ibid.* (1922), 210, no. 33. 190 = *SB* 8117; 200 = *BSA Alex.* 26, 258, and pl. xxv, a statue of Nile seated on a rock, with a small dedicatory inscription on a smoothed surface of the rock; the inscription is hitherto unpublished and is very difficult to decipher: A. quotes my opinion regarding it after I had studied it at his request in Alexandria: the first line would most naturally contain the name of the dedicant (*Ἐδρυχ[ι]α[νός?]*), the second (which is clear) reads *THEYEPΓETIΔEΩ* . . . , and the third *πήχεις*. For line 2 I suggest in the *Repertorio* τῆ ἐνεργετιδ<ι> σω . . . , in which I have little confidence, though the alteration is slight since both epsilon and sigma are lunate in this inscription. 209 = *OGIS* 699, the statue dedicated Πάππω Θεογονώστω, found in 1819, now in Turin: for the difficulties of interpretation see Dittenberger *ad loc.* and A.’s own discussion. 221 = *SB* 3918 (A. quotes only secondary publications of this inscription, of which the original was in *JDAI* 25, 255 (whence *SB*)), a statue of Nemesis on the base of which is inscribed Πτολλανούβιδος, the name presumably of the dedicant.

(6) M. McCrum’s and A. G. Woodhead’s *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors* (Cambridge U.P., 1961) contains numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions and other documents from Egypt. I do not need to notice them all here, but I must point out (with reference to Egyptian documents only) some at least of the careless errors, the result of superficial work, with which this work abounds. The texts are (it is almost unnecessary to say it) drawn from the standard collections (*SB*, *SEG*, *IGRR*), and have been reproduced from these without consultation either of the original publication or of available photographs, so that errors, even typographical errors, of the secondary publications are reproduced. 35: an ostrakon, described as ‘O. Bodl. unedited, no. 1738’ is *O. Bodl.* II (1955!), no. 672 (only the dating-formula, ‘Vitellius 1’, is given by M.–W.). 41: M.–W. do not refer to, or make use of, Jouguet’s later article, *Bull. Inst. Eg.* 24, 21–32, which contained an improved interpretation of the papyrus. 178: the Γερμανικοῦ in l. 1 is also erased, although Dittenberger, *IGRR*, and *SB* do not say so: it is duly noted by the earlier editors

(Jouguet, De Ricci): a clear indication that M.-W. have simply copied out the text nearest to their hands: note that in l. 1 the *ov* of *οἴκου* are visible on my squeeze, and that in l. 3 the erasure of *Γερμανικοῦ*, the final titlature, is very superficial, and limited to a few rough strokes. 185: the reference 'SB 4961' is not very informative, for *SB* refers only to 'Rev. Arch. 18 (1911), p. 228, no. 87', an alias for *L'An. Ép.* 1911: the original publication is Reinach's *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Coptos*, no. 87. 188: the last two lines of this inscription are so uncertain (though M.-W. make no reference to the fact) that to print them at all as a coherent text is misleading (they are described by Hogarth, in Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayum Towns*, 33, no. III, thus: 'Third line almost entirely, and fourth line entirely defaced'). 189 = *IGRR*. 1, 1151: here M.-W. make one of their few explanatory notes, with reference to the *θεοὶ σωτηῆρες*, whom they describe as 'Ptolemy I and Berenike'; this is at least doubtful: see *Berytus*, 13, 128, note 18. 335: this is based on a rough drawing by Wilkinson, and most of the text before *aedificari* in l. 4 is questionable. 362: there is considerable doubt about the reading of this very fragmentary dedication, which rests in part on a manuscript copy, and I shall republish it shortly. Meanwhile, for the convenience of readers of M.-W., I may point out that *SB* 8802 (whence M.-W.) misunderstood De Ricci's remark at the end of his version of (a), the copy which rests solely on manuscript authority, '(encore lisible: [. . .] κρ[. . .] ρος κ. . .)', and took it to refer to *further* letters instead of to the preceding restoration, for it prints this group of letters and dots at the end of the line, whence M.-W. add 'a few scattered letters', a statement which should be deleted. 411 (a Latin inscription, *CIL* III, 13580) is said to have been 'revised' (the stone is in the British Museum), but the text does not seem to differ in any material point from that given in *CIL*. 459, the Coptos Tariff (*OGIS* 674), an important text, badly presented. M.-W. evidently do not know that the stone is published in Breccia's Alexandrian catalogue with an excellent photograph, by means of which they could have controlled the text. In particular they would have observed that the name of Antistius Asiaticus, the *ἑπαρχος ὄρους Βερενίκης*, was not itself erased, as they indicate by underscoring, but that it had been inscribed in a *rasura* over a previously erroneously inscribed name (for the title *ἑπ. ὄρ. Βερ.* M.-W. refer to '*CIL* III, 13580', but fail to indicate that this is their own no. 411 (cf. above)). They have also misunderstood some earlier editor when they state that *γυναικῶν πασῶν ἀνὰ* in ll. 25-26 is in *rasura*: it is not. And in l. 27 not only *ἐχούσης* but also *ἀμάξης* is in *rasura*. 522 = A. and E. Bernand, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Colosse* 7: in l. 3 M.-W. have misrepresented the *ann(o)* as 'ann.' The brothers Bernand, as pupils of L. Robert, use the latter's system of bracketing, and not the 'Leiden System' currently employed by most persons working in this field, and a glance at the photograph given by them (pl. xiv) would have shown that the '(o)' represents not suspension but lapical error: the carver wrote a *d* instead of an *o*. This is a tiny point in itself, but it shows that in small no less than in large matters very little thought or care has gone to the composition of the volume.

It would perhaps be unreasonable to expect that the editors of such a work should have personally inspected the documents they reproduce, but it is surely not too much to ask that they should consult original editions and available photographs and thus establish reliable texts, and not merely copy out unthinkingly the texts found in compilations readily available.

III. *New Texts*

(7) In *Stud. Class. e Orient.* 10, 209-13 E. BRESCIANI publishes fifteen mummy-tickets from Dendera in the Collection Michaelides, the interest of which resides in the fact that they are of limestone and not wood. They include two bilingual texts (13 and 14—not 10 and 13, as B.), and one Greek, the rest being demotic.

(8) In *Berytus*, 13, 123-61, 'Inscriptions from Ptolemaic Egypt', P. M. FRASER publishes fourteen unpublished inscriptions. 1: fragment of a decree of Ptolemais Hermiou referring apparently to Soter's foundation of the city named after him (for 'eponymous' cities see, in addition to the evidence given, 129, n. 24. *Plut. Alex.* 26: *ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν*, and *Diod.* 1, 50, 6: *τούτου (sc. Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως) γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν οἰκήσαντος*) and to the establishment there of colonists from Argos and elsewhere. The inscription is probably a Roman copy of a Ptolemaic decree. 2, a bilingual (Greek and hieroglyphic) dedication of a granite statue-base (the feet of the statue still preserved) of Arsinoe Philadelphus from Thebes. 3, a dedication to the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί*. 4, a fragment of a gold foundation-plaque of a temple of Isis dedicated by Philopator. 5, an insignificant Ptolemaic dedication from Crocodilopolis. 6, an architraval dedication of the reign of

Philometor from Karanis (the earliest known inscription from that site). 7, another dedication of the reign of Philometor, of *βάθρα* of a *γ[υμνάσιον]* in Alexandria found in the excavations carried out by the Sieglin Expedition (cf. *JEA* 47, 145, middle, where I note this dedication in the context of the epigraphical evidence for gymnasia in Ptolemaic Egypt). 8, a fragmentary dedication on behalf of Philometor, Cleopatra II, and 'the brother'. 9, a dedication to Osiris *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* by a Phaestian *Ἰσχυονίδας* (*sic*, not *Ἰσχυωνίδας*), probably from Alexandria, and probably of the reign of Philopator. 10, a late Ptolemaic dedication from the Delta, *βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω Γάϊος καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς*. 11, a dedication, probably of the late second or early first century B.C., *Διὶ Σωτήρι καὶ Ἡραὶ Τελεῖαι* by τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι φερομένων στρατιωτῶν. 12, a dedication to Artemis Pergaia by Pamphylians, probably of the second century B.C. 13 and 14, two Hadra vases with painted inscriptions, the first of which, dated to a fifteenth year, F. considers on palaeographical grounds may belong to the reign of Soter I (291/290), but which, if (as might be expected in view of the other known dates of Hadra vases) it belongs to the reign of Philadelphus, is of 271/270: the text, of considerable interest, runs thus: *Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου Ἀθηναίου ῥήτορος* (the comma between *Ἀριστάρχου* and *Ἀθηναίου* is an oversight, and should be deleted) | *ἔτους δεκάτου πέμπτου, μηνὸς Πανήμιου | διὰ Φιλοθέου μαθητοῦ*. Under the foot (for inscriptions in this position on Hadra vases see *JEA* 39, 87, n. 1): *Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Φιλτάτου*. The second, of 215/214, which adds to the number of ambassadors' vases, contained the ashes of Asclepiodotus, son of Zenon, an Athenian envoy, whom F. suggests may be identical with the Athenian honorand of 225/224 in *IG* II², 2978.

(9) F. A. HOOPER'S *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou* (Univ. of Michigan, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Studies, 1, 1961) contains the publication of 194 funerary stelae, of which 123 are inscribed, from Terenuthis, of the type familiar from that site (cf. *JEA* 38, 120, no. (20); 41, 131, no. (5)); crudely represented figures in the *orans*-position or recumbent, with an epitaph consisting, usually, of the name of the deceased, the age at death, and the regnal year in which death occurred. The present collection was discovered by the University of Michigan in their excavations at Kôm Abû Billo in 1935. A general review of the work appears in *CR* 76, and to save space I confine myself here essentially to what I omit there, detailed discussion of a few individual items, bearing in mind that (as I said, *loc. cit.*) 'in the absence of sufficient and adequate photographs . . . any attempt to emend or improve these damaged and illiterate inscriptions involves much speculation'. Not all the inscriptions are reproduced in the plates and those which suffer from over-exposure and are difficult to read; further, though they are all presented in majuscule and minuscule, the former is limited to the resources of a 'D. C. Composing Machine' and is inadequate and somewhat misleading. 1: 'inscription: none'. Surely there are faint traces of one, visible even on the photograph? 10: not *Ἄρης Ἀρσίς* but *Ἀρσίς* (or *Ἀρσῦς*) *Ἀρσίς*. 13: *Ἀρωντώτης*. The usual forms of this name are *Ἀρενώτης* and *Ἀροντώτης*. 24: *ἄωρα*. Note the feminine ending. 27: *Ἐρμᾶ* is printed by H. as *Ἐρμᾶ(ς)*, but the ending in alpha is the correct vocative, which occurs quite often on these stones, alongside the form with sigma (cf. 77, 78, in both of which the sigma is restored). 36: in l. 1 H. prints *φιλωπάτωρ* in the majuscule, but *φιλοπάτωρ* in minuscule, without mark of correction (in 35 should *Δαίμωνος* be *Δαίμονος*?). 44: *Λούχης Ἀλεξάνδρου* | *Λ λβ ὀθονιαπῶλης* is taken by H. as male and he notes '*ὀθονιαπῶλης* for *ὀθονιοπῶλης*'. The name suggests a woman, and the calling is suitable for one. The sex seems otherwise determined by the parting of the hair: is it certain here? For another tombstone of an *ὀθονιοπῶλης* see *Fouilles d'Hermoupolis d'Ouest*, 96, no. 5. 49, 63, 90, 93, 101, 104, the majuscule all have *εὐψύχει*, which H. writes as *εὐψύχει*, thus giving a false impression of the literacy of the texts (*εὐψύχει* in 179-80—in 107 the text has *Μεχίρ*, but H. perversely writes *Μεχ(ε)ίρ*). 57: *Ἰσίωv* *Λ η Ἀθῦρ κ*, which H. expands as *Ἰσίωv* (*ἔτους*) *η*, *Ἀθῦρ κ*. If this is correct the age has been wholly omitted (cf. 34), but the omission of the regnal year is more frequent (cf. 30, 32(?), 38, 82), and *Λ* can stand in these inscriptions for either *ἔτους* or *ἔτων*, so perhaps expand to (*ἔτων*). 68: *Εἰσχυρένι*, taken by H., following Bonner, as equivalent to *Ἰσχυραίνι(ον)*: the more regular form is *Ἰσχυρίανα* (e.g. in another Terenuthis stele, *BSA Alex.* 38, 78, no. vii), cf. *Ἰσχυρίων*. 88: read surely *ια*, not *ιβ* (see pl. x, b). 90: *Τιβέλλης*, masculine, *Βελλῆς*, feminine with Coptic prefix *Ti-*: in Greek the form with feminine termination, *Τιβέλλα*, seems to be more common. 92: not *Χοι[άκ]*, but presumably *Χοι[άκ. . .]*. 93: 'reclining figure, upper part of head defaced (lack of tresses suggests male)'. The name is *Ἀθηνόδωρος*, so can there be doubt? 98: H. gives *Ἀχιλλᾶς φιλότε|κνον* (thus accented throughout) *ὡς ἑτῶ[v] ξη|ωρονταε μη Ἀθῦρ [.] δ*, and translates 'Achillas, devoted to his children, about 68 years old . . . Hathur?'. I do not follow H.'s reasoning here, but presumably he takes *μη* as representing *ξη* and indicating

the age in figures after the written version. Since for the regnal year (unlike the age) L is regularly employed in these inscriptions (in 123 the bracket has been omitted in the transcript; in the same item read also <ἐ>των, not ἐτων, for the majuscule has ητων), we should presumably read ἐτῶ[ν ἐ]ξή|κοντα L μη, Ἀθύρ .δ which if correct in principle, would necessitate a revision of the regnal year: L κη as in 138? 108: the text presented here shows the uselessness of the hatching used by H. to indicate illegible or missing letters: hatching covering the space occupied in the line above by six majuscule letters stands in this line for a single missing letter. 112: Ἄρτεμᾶ κουρεῦ, translated by H. as 'Artemas, son of Koureus', but κουρεῦ is surely the vocative of κουρεύς, barber; for professions in Terenuthis tombstones see, e.g., *BSA Alex.* 40, 148, xxxiv (ὑδροφόρος); 44 (above); Edgar, *Cairo Cat. Gk. Sculpt.* 27630 (ἀρτυματοπώλης); 27541 (ἐερογλύφος). The ethnic Κουρεύς, which occurs for Κουριεύς (*REG* 70, 35, no. 29) need not be considered. 138 illustrates the limitations of the majuscule fount available, in particular the absence of a lunate epsilon: the majuscule gives at the end of l. 1 NCXΘE, which is rendered without comment Νεχθε. If the epsilon at the end had been of the correct shape Ε the point would have been clear. 167: a tombstone of two males of whom the second is described as Ἀπολλῶ Θερμίου φιλοτέκνος βιαθάνατος L μδ, the final word of which H. explains thus: 'Βια<ιο>θάνατος, according to L-S-J a term most often used of suicides, is also frequently written βιοθάνατος'. βιοθάνατος is, of course, a late and false variant of βιαιοθάνατος, but since it exists and the variant α for ο is common, there is no reason to print βια<ιο>θάνατος. (The entry is LS⁹ is rather confusing, for under βιαιοθάνατος it says 'frequently written βιαθάνατος', but under the latter it gives only one reference (*P. Mag. Par.* 1, 1950) with one more in the addenda s.v.: see also in Sophocles' Lexicon). 176, representing a woman, the inscription is given thus: Ἀσκλᾶς ὡς (ἐτών) λ̄φ φιλοτέκνος, Ἀπόλ ὡς (ἔτους) ᾠ εὐψύχει: 'Apol, about one year old'. However, a child is not very likely to be described as 'about one year', for memory does not so quickly grow dim: read therefore Ἀπολλ[λ]ῶς [L] ᾠ (after the first lambda H. in any case prints a gap). Ἀσκλᾶς used of a woman is presumably abbreviated from Ἀσκληπιᾶς. 178: Ἀθηνᾶρην (here and in all names of termination -αρην = αριον, accent -άριυν) φιλοτέκνος, φιλάνδρ[ος | φιλά]δελφος, ἀγαθω[τά]τη ὡς L ιβ, 'Ἐπεὶφ εὐψύχει. Unless, with H. (p. 29), we regard the epithets as stereotyped and meaningless in such cases, it seems unlikely that a girl of twelve would be described as 'devoted to her children': possibly, therefore, read κβ for ιβ. 182: a simple tombstone without relief, but the inscription is painted red (and black?) in alternate lines: for the use of colour in Egyptian inscriptions cf. *JEA*, 38, 65, with n. 2. This item raises the same problem as 178. The lady is described as ἄωρος, which in the normal meaning of 'premature', seems unsuitable for a lady of eighty-two. H. regards the epithet as wholly conventional, and translates 'before her time'. May it not have a more diluted sense of 'luckless'?

(10) In *Archaeol. Értés.* 88, 89-90, L. KAKOSY publishes a small limestone relief of unknown provenance from Egypt, representing Thoth in the form of an Ibis, sitting in an aedicula, below which is the inscription 'Ερμηῆς, of Imperial date.

(11) In *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 24, 33-36, A. F. SHORE describes, but does not reproduce, a foundation-plaque of opaque glass, recently acquired by the Museum, on one side of which is the hieroglyphic text and on the other the Greek, consisting of a dedication by Philopator to Aphrodite Urania. It presumably forms part of the same group as those discussed in *JEA* 42, 97-98, and there assigned to the temple of Aphrodite Urania at Cusae.

Cf. also nos. (5), (13), (48), (49), (51), (54), (55), (61), (62).

IV. Discussions, etc., of previously published inscriptions

(12) In *Biblioth. Orient.* 18, 17-19, A. BADAWY discusses the funerary stela in Brooklyn Museum (J. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn Museum, 1941), 23, pl. 36 [*non vidi*]). The deceased is represented standing in an *orans*-posture in an aedicula, on the sloping cornices of which is the inscription 'Ολύμπιος ἐτών κν, followed by a *crux ansata*; the last letter, a *nu*, was apparently explained by Cooney as miscarved for an eta, giving κη = 28 (I say 'apparently', because according to B. the text was read as 'Ολύμπιος ἐτών κλ, 'Olympios, 28 years', which I do not understand). B. claims that the inscription should be so read that 'Ολύμπιος, the full, lunate letters of which seem to have been badly carved, should be read as 'Ολυμπίοος (*sic*), and the remainder as ωων κ ν Ϙ. 'This I would read as the Coptic imperative: 'Rise in Life!' . . . This in no way excludes the possibility of reading in Greek 'Olympios, 28 years', as previously suggested.

It would be an instance of a text so redacted <as> to allow intentionally for two interpretations, such as are known in Egyptian cryptography, in Sanskrit, in German.'

(13) In *Acta Antiqua* (Budapest), 9, 209–330, L. CASTIGLIONE writes on 'Dualité du style dans l'art sépulcral égyptien à l'époque romaine', in which connexion he publishes (fig. 6, and 216) a piece, recently acquired by him, and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, said to come from Zagazig. The deceased woman is represented in the posture normal in Greek representations of funerary banquets, while above her crouches the jackal, Anubis, the god who presided at the ceremony of embalmment: below is the inscription *Τασχινίς φιλοτέκνος | ἄωρος ἄλυπος ἐτών | λ vac. Μεχίρ τ*. The stela closely resembles those from Terenuthis (see above, no. (9)). He also reproduces (fig. 8) and discusses (218) the Abydos stela with the trilingual inscription, published by Edgar, *Cairo Cat., Greek Sculpt.*, no. 27541, pl. xxiv (whence *SB* 4249), *Βησῶς Σισοίτος ἱερογλύφου | ἐβίωσεν L κῆ*. In fig. 19 he reproduces the mummy-coffin, Edgar, *Cairo Cat., Greco-Egyptian Coffins*, no. 33221, pl. xxxii, with the inscription *Θερμουθάρην εὐψύχει* (see no. (18), below, for a similar coffin-inscription).

(14) In *Kratylos*, 5, 172, n. 2, O. MASSON points out that the reading *Βελιτάρης* in *SB* 300 (Kalābsha) is very uncertain (photo in Weigall, *Antiq. of Lower Nubia*, pl. xxiv, 2).

(15) In *Jahrbuch Röm.-Germ. Zentralmus., Mainz*, 7, 197–207, 'Hermoupolis Magna in römischer Zeit', K. PARLASCA discusses G. Roeder's *Hermopolis 1929–1939* (cf. *JEA* 46, 95, no. (6); 96, no. (11)), and suggests a Roman date (as opposed to the late Ptolemaic date proposed by me) for the inscription, *Mitt. Deut. Instit. Kairo*, 9, 66 (cf. *JEA* 38, 121, no. (28)) on the base of the statue group dedicated to Aphrodite by Hermaios and his family. This seems unlikely to me, since, other considerations (notably the letter-forms) apart, I would expect in an Imperial dedication of this quality the addition of the name of the reigning emperor, which is rarely omitted (note, however, *SB* 987–9, and my comment, *JEA* 41, 135–6). He also discusses the architrave-inscription of the reign of Euergetes I, Wace, *Farouk I Univ., Bull. Fac. Arts*, 3, 9–14, of which he publishes a faint photograph (a careful but also rather faint facsimile, Wace, *op. cit.*).

(16) In *Hellenica*, 11–12, 384–6, L. ROBERT publishes a photograph (pl. xii, 1) of the Jewish epigram from the Delta now in Göttingen, Kaibel 430 (Peek, *GVI* 850), already republished by him in *Hellenica*, 1, 18 ff. (for the reference to 'Sammelbuch, 3765', on 385, n. 1, read '5765').

(17) In his collection of epigraphical material relating to the various forms of the word *δράχμη* and its compounds and derivatives, *NC* 1960, 1–24, M. N. TOD calls attention (9, n. 6) to the appearance of the drachma sign Ϝ , 'used jocularly', in the epigram from Hermoupolis, *Ann. Serv.* 22, 78–79 (*SEG* VIII, 625), which contains the isopsephic total of a preceding distich (*ibid.* 624), thus: *κεφάλαιον τούτων τῶν λαμβείων | εἰς ἀργύριον (sic) λόγον Ϝ ητογ = τούτου δὲ αὐτοῦ* (that is, the inscription itself) $\text{βψκ} =$.

(18) H. ZALOSKER's attractive and well-illustrated study of mummy-portraits, *Porträts aus dem Wüstensand* (Munich, 1961), contains (Abb. 1) a photograph of the mummy-coffin in the British Museum with the inscription *Ἀρτεμίδωρε εὐψύχει* (Budge, *The Mummy*, 1 (1893), facing p. 186 (whence *SB* 59179, where the name is wrongly given as *Ἀρτεμιδώρη*); ed. 2 (1925), pl. xii).

V. Religion

(19) The study by J. A. S. EVANS, *Yale Class. Stud.* 17, 145–283, 'A social and economic history of an Egyptian temple in the Greco-Roman period', gives a general account of the administration and organization of the temple of Soknebtunis at Tebtunis, as recoverable from the papyri referring to it and from comparable material from other temples. He gives a clear general statement of the relations between the temples, the State, and the Crown, and the means of control exercised by the last. His discussion (180–3) of the priestly tribes and the change from four to five tribes ordained by the Canopus-decree (*OGIS* 56, ll. 24 ff.), and (183–206) of the ranks and titles of priests recorded in that decree, is based on the Memphite decree (*OGIS* 90) and on Clement of Alexandria's description of an Egyptian priestly procession (*Strom.* vi, 35, 3–37, 3 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 372); while his account of the *ἀπομοίρα* (217 ff.) includes a discussion of the reference to that tax in *OGIS* 90, ll. 14–15; that of the *ἀρταβεία* (256–7) discusses the remission recorded, *ibid.*, ll. 89–90; and that of the *τελεστικόν* (257–8) the reference to that tax, *ibid.*, l. 16. Even if, partly through lack of evidence and partly because of the author's extremely schematic treatment of the material, no clear picture emerges of the manifold activities of the shrine, this is a good general introduction to the whole subject of temple-administration in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

(20) In *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 64, 17–138, *Ἀρχηγός–Ἀρχηγέτης*, G. A. GALITSES publishes a convenient compilation of material on the use of these terms in Greek religion. In particular, Part II (75–130) contains an analysis of the deities and heroes of whom the term is used, with detailed lists of inscriptions and papyri.

(21) J. G. GRIFFITHS'S *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool Univ. Press, 1960) has an interesting chapter (87–118) on the Greek versions of the myth.

(22) In *Jahrbuch für Antike u. Christentum*, 3, 34–50, A. HERMANN writes on 'Die letzte Apisstier', an aspect of the survival of Pharaonic cult in the Christian period (for a previous article on a kindred theme by the same author see *ibid.* 2, 30–69; cf. *JEA* 47, 147, no. (16)). He discusses (35 f.) the interest of the Roman emperors in Apis, including Hadrian (in which context he quotes the dedication to Sarapis and associated deities on behalf of Hadrian (Breccia, *Iscriz.* 68) found in the Alexandrian Serapeum, and suggests rather improbably that it expresses the gratitude of the priests of Apis at Memphis to the Emperor for his suppression of the revolt occasioned by the birth of a new Apis in 121/2 (*SHA*, Hadr. 12, 1). 39–41 he discusses representations of Apis in temples of the Egyptian gods, etc., outside Egypt, including those of the Emperor as Apis. He also discusses the references to Apis in Christian (41–43) and Pagan writers (Claudian and Ammianus), of whom the latter records the last known Apis of antiquity, A.D. 362. The remainder of the article is concerned with renaissance and later representations of Apis.

(23) In *JEA* 47, 119–33, "Ο Καράκαλλος Κοσμοκράτωρ", A. EL-MOHSEN EL-KHASHAB discusses the significance of Caracalla's devotion to Sarapis and the other Egyptian Gods, with particular reference to a group of Alexandrian coins on which that Emperor is associated in various ways with Sarapis and Sarapis-Helios. He quotes Breccia, *Iscriz.* 83 (*IGRR* I, 1063) as evidence for Caracalla's title *κοσμοκράτωρ*, and *ibid.* 1064 for his title *σώτηρ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης*.

(24) In *JfP* 13, 123–9, 'Quelques remarques sur le rôle des *Καισαρεία* dans la vie juridique de l'Égypte romaine' (the *Καισαρεία* being the temples of the Imperial cult, and not the festivals in honour of the Emperor, the *Καισάρεια*), C. KUNDEREWICZ gives a list (based on Blumenthal, *Archiv*, 5, 318 ff.) of papyri and inscriptions in which he claims that *Καισαρεία* or *Σεβαστεία* are mentioned. The list is rather misleading since the inscriptions do not refer expressly to *Καισαρεία* or *Σεβαστεία*, and each item must be considered in the light of Blumenthal's reconstruction of its purport. He shows from the papyri that official ordinances and also wills were read out in the temples of the Imperial Cult, oaths of loyalty exacted there, and appointments scrutinized by the strategos.

(25) In *Eos*, 51, 21–38, S. LURIA, writing on 'Demokrit, Orphiker und Ägypter', discusses the early migration of ideas and beliefs from Egypt to Greece, and, in connexion with the Egyptian habit of putting texts from the Book of the Dead in tombs, he notices the Orphic plaques found in graves in S. Italy and Crete (*FVS* i⁵, 17–21) and compares (*post alios*) the phrase which occurs in them, *δότη' αἴψα ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ*, with the familiar prayer to Osiris, *δοίη σοι ὁ Ὅσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ* (*IG* XIV, 1488, 1705 (in Latin: *doe se Osiris to psychron hydor*), 1842 (all wrongly referred to as '*IG* xii'). 35–38 he discusses the evidence for pre-Hellenistic interest in Ammon and Isis in the Greek world.

(26) In *Vestnik drevn. Ist.* 1960 (2), 96–100 (cf. *Bibl. Class. Orient.* 6, 246–7, a bare summary of an interesting article: I am much indebted to Mr. F. G. B. Millar for translating the Russian article for me), S. LURIA writes on 'The question of the origin of the Christian holy doctor', à propos of an amulet from the region of Gorgippia published by I. W. Blawatskaja in *Issledovanya v chest' akad. Dechev (Festschrift Dechev)*, 231–9. His discussion of the amulet is prefaced by a discussion of Isis as goddess of healing. As evidence for this aspect of the cult of Isis he quotes, *inter alia*, the Cnidian dedication, *BMI* 818 (quoted by him as *LBW* III, 511), *Σαράπι[δι] | Ἱσι θεοῖς πᾶσι θεραπευθεῖς Ἀπολλωνίδας Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*, refers to the Latin dedications to Isis *pro salute*, etc. (*CIL* III, 2903, 4809, etc.), and gives instances in which Isis and Sarapis are either associated with or identified with Hygieia and Asclepius. He then discusses the cult of Isis ἐν Μένουθι, at Menuthis (the modern Abû Qîr), on the promontory east of Alexandria (for the site see J. Faivre, *Canope, Menouthis, Aboukir* (Alexandria, 1917) and Drescher, *BSAAlex.* 38 (1949), 16 ff.), which occurs in *OGIS* 706 (cf. Letronne, *Rec.* I, 436), and maintains that *Κυρία | Ἱσις*, for whom he quotes numerous examples, particularly proskynemata from Philae, is identical with this Isis of Menuthis, and that the goddess was worshipped as goddess of healing particularly under the title *κυρία* (cf. *IG* XII, 2, 114), on the ground that Sophronius of Jerusalem in his colourful account of the miracle of Cyrus and John (the text, or most of it, is conveniently available in Hopfner, *Fontes*, 732 ff.) calls the healing-spirit at Menuthis, which the Christians

cast out, ἡ *Kūra*, and it is said of her (in an anonymous life of the two saints, Mai, *Spic. Rom.* IV 252), ὄλως κῦρα καὶ θεὸς εἶναι δυνατὸς καὶ προσκεκύνθαι θέλει—a turn of phrase which L. regards as reflecting the formula (most familiar at Philae) προσκεκύνθηκα τὴν κυρίαν Ἰσιν. He accepts the notion that the word *kūros* and its cognates and derivatives played an especial part in ancient notions of divine healing, and supports this by the story recounted by Sophronius that the healing cult at Menuthis was forcibly replaced by a healing cult of the martyrs Cyrus (*Kūros*) and John. Against this background he discusses the inscription on the amulet published by Blawataskayja, one side of which (*A*) carries an invocation for the expulsion of poisons, and the other (*B*) an invocation containing a long list of parts of the body, for which the benison of healing is required. The text, as corrected by L., is as follows: *A*: πρὸς φαρμάκων ἀποπομπάς: *B*: Κυρεία, δέομαί σου, πόησον (*sic*) | τῆμ Μαθηνάκην ὑγιειῆ | περι τοῦ κορυφῆς ἐνκεφάλ[ου] | ὤτων | μῆνυγος | σταφυλῆς | τραχήλου | μετώπου | μυκτῆρος | πωλύπου | ὀδόντων | στόματος. L. maintains that the *κυρία* here invoked is the Isis of Menuthis, comparing the similar invocation to Isis, *IG* XIV, 2413, ἀπάλλαξον Πρίσκον ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τοῦ ἥπατος, θέ[α | Ἰ]σις. The *κυρία* of the amulet may indeed be Isis, if not Isis ἐν Μένουθι, but there are various difficulties in the way of L.'s main contentions, (1) that Isis *Kyria* is reserved for Isis in her role as goddess of healing, and (2) that this was her regular role at Menuthis. First, Isis *Kyria* in the proskynemata at Philae is *Kyria* as Queen of Philae, and the great Epiklesis of Isis, P.Oxy. 1380 (of ii. A.D.) shows that Isis might be *κυρία* in many different ways and in many different places. Secondly, in the only inscription referring to Isis ἡ ἐν Μένουθι, *OGIS* 706, she does not bear the title *κυρία*, and thirdly P.Oxy. 1380 refers to the particular quality of Isis at Menuthis not as that of healing but as ἀληθία, which indeed may not point to cult, but is at least supported by other texts (aretalogies) which refer to Isis as the discoverer of truth, and therefore does not appear to be invented by the author of the Epiklesis. It looks therefore as if the emergence of Isis as goddess of healing at Menuthis occurred at a late date.

(27) In *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (Abh. Sächs. Akad. phil.-hist. Kl. 53 (1), 1961), D. MÜLLER discusses the Egyptian elements in the theology of the aretalogies, with particular reference to the question of formulation. Accepting the view that the Greek versions are, more or less, free renderings of Egyptian models, he sets himself to consider how the similar notions of deity were expressed in the two languages—his work thus belongs to the same sphere as Dumas's valuable *Moyens d'Expression*, etc. (cf. *JEA* 40, 136, no. (69)), though the latter is concerned with priestly decrees originally composed in Greek and translated into Egyptian. He discusses by way of prelude the relation of the various versions to each other (11–14), and the form which the various aretalogies took (15–18), deriving them not from Egyptian religious texts but from the royal inscriptions in which the Pharaohs record their *aretai* in very similar terms. The body of the work is concerned with establishing the extent to which the Greek (represented in the main by the Andrian recension) embodies a translation, or adaptation, of Egyptian modes of thought and phraseology, but since no Egyptian fragment of any of the texts survives, this is inevitably to some extent Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. The general result of the investigation seems to be that few of the phrases can be directly rendered into Egyptian, though a number clearly embody Egyptian notions (cf. 91, where the results are tabulated; cf. also 87: 'zwischen den beiden Polen des ägyptischen und des hellenistischen Isisbildes steht sie [Die Isis-Aretalogie des Memphis] etwa in der Mitte, aber das Schwergewicht hat sich bereits zugunsten des griechischen verschoben'). In his discussion (71 ff.) of the apparent fusion of Greek and Egyptian notions of fate (ἐγὼ τὸ εἰμαρμένον νικῶ, etc.; cf. also id. *Ber. Sächs. Akad.* 52 (1), 29 ff.; *JEA* 47, 149, no. (52)) M. quotes the epitaph from Alexandria (Imperial), Milne, *Cairo Cat. Greek Inscr.* 9924, p. 50 (Peek, *GVI*, 1935; the text, which is in sczons, is also in Knox's *Herodas*, etc. (Loeb, 1929), 278–81).

VI. Political and Social History

(28) In his account of the Jewish Revolt of A.D. 115–17, *JRS* 51, 98–104, A. FUKS gives a valuable concise account of the evidence for the regions concerned, including Egypt (99). He concludes that the revolt 'emerges from old and new sources as the most massive and powerful movement of the Jews of the Diaspora against the Graeco-Roman world'.

(29) In *JEA* 47, 113–18, J. G. GRIFFITHS writes on 'The Death of Cleopatra VII'. He criticizes the view that Cleopatra's employment of the snake derives from her identification with Isis (for which he quotes the evidence, 113, n. 5) with whom the snake is alleged to be closely associated, since he maintains that the

monumental evidence for the association is weak. He also criticizes Spiegelberg's opinion that death by the cobra, i.e. the uraeus, 'was thought to imply both felicity and apotheosis', as being based only a statement of Jos. *Cont. Ap.* II, 7 (86), which contains the notion of apotheosis which G. rightly points out to be meaningless in an Egyptian royal context. He maintains, on the basis of some evidence in Roman poets, notably Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 697, for the use of the plural when referring to the snake(s) that caused the death of Cleopatra, that she employed two cobras for the task, as symbolizing the double uraeus, a familiar symbol of royalty.

(30) In *CP* 56, 1-20, S. I. OOST writes on 'The Alexandrian seditions under Philip and Gallienus', giving a general discussion of the Christian persecutions of the reigns of these emperors, based on the main surviving source, the letters of St. Dionysius of Alexandria attacking the persecutors. The complicated chronology and sequence of events at this time cannot be discussed here, but I may note (1) his suggestion that Dionysius' description of Macrianus, the main target of his attacks, as *ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μάγων ἀρχισυνάγωγος* refers to Macrianus' status as ruler of the Egyptian priests, and that he may therefore have been *Idios Logos*, which does not seem very likely; and (2) his discussion (10) of the locality of the fighting in 261, described in a letter of Dionysius (18-19, and n. 50).

(31) In *Chron. d'Ég.* 35, 244-61, 'Les Antisémites de Memphis', R. REMONDON republishes *CP* 141, the Tebtunis papyrus, probably of the first half of the first century B.C., l. 9 of which reads *οἶδας | γὰρ ὥτι βδελύσ(σ)ονται Ἰουδαίους*, and offers a new explanation of the situation described in this very damaged text. Not all of R.'s proposed alterations and readings convince, and the uncertainty of reading is such that this interpretation remains as conjectural as that in *CP*. He attributes the origins of the antisemitism here expressed to the role of Jews in the dynastic quarrels from the mid-second century onwards.

(32) In *Chron. d'Ég.* 35, 262-70, 'The Strategus in fourth century Egypt', J. D. THOMAS discusses the duties and status of this official at the period in question, in particular his relation to and identity with the *exactor*, and appends a list of known strategoi in the century.

(33) In *Recherches de Papyrologie* (Publications de la Fac. de Lettres et sc. hum. de Paris, 1), 1, 41-93, R. REMONDON publishes an interesting Byzantine papyrus from Edfu (but probably originating from Hermoupolis Magna), which he dates to the reign of Justinian, recording a series of payments by various intermediaries to soldiers and their relations. In connexion with the reference to *metatum* (billeting) he discusses (62, 64) as evidence for its replacement by the provision of public buildings for troops, the interpretation of Lefebvre, *Recueil*, 561/2 (*SEG* VIII, 780; facsimile in Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian period in the B.M.* (1905), figs. 1 and 11), the two inscriptions on either side of a stele from Kôm Ombo of the sixth or seventh century A.D., one face of which refers to the construction of an *ἀπαντητήριον* (rest-house) and the other to its reconstruction after it had been rendered uninhabitable by troops billeted in it (64, n. 4, R. lists other inscriptions referring to public works in this period: Lefebvre, op. cit. 592-7 (Philae); *SB* 1598, 7425, 7800, all three from Aswân). In the second part of the article (67 ff.) he discusses the history of the Barbarian invasions of the Nile Valley in the sixth century, especially those of 563-8, in the light of the papyri, and also (80 ff.) the military organization of the Thebaid at the time, and has some interesting notes on the naval strategy of the Nile (89-90).

(34) In *JEA* 47, 107-12, 'Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology, II: The Twelfth Year which is also the First. The invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes', T. C. SKEAT publishes another document relevant to the debated chronology of this event. This is a papyrus of unknown provenance dated to 'Year 12', almost certainly that of Philometor, i.e. 17 April 169 B.C., containing an order from one Apollonius to another person of the same name to issue some barley to a third like-named individual described as dispatched from the Hermoupolite nome together with the carriages (*πορεία*) from the same nome in transit to the camp 'with the king' (*εἰς τὸ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατόπεδον*). Skeat maintains that this unusual expression indicates 'that though the king was Philometor, the camp was that of Antiochus, and that the expression perfectly exemplifies the ambiguous position of Philometor who, while nominally retaining his sovereignty over Egypt, was really little more than a prisoner, helpless in the power of his adversary'. He concludes that during his first invasion Antiochus made no attempt to impugn Philometor's authority, and that 'his alleged coronation as Pharaoh at Memphis must have taken place if at all during the second invasion in 168 B.C.' It seems possible that the phrase in question may be no more than an obscurity of expression on the part of the writer of the letter. Skeat also has a new suggestion to make (108-9) regarding the occasion of the introduction of the joint reign.

(35) In *Eos*, 51, 55–63, ‘Hellénion de Memphis—La Rencontre de deux Mondes’, A. SWIDEREK discusses the light thrown on the interaction of the inhabitants of Memphis, Greek and native, by papyri and other sources (significance of ‘*Ἑλληνομεμφίται*, etc.), and maintains that by the time of Alexander’s conquest the early Greek population had been wholly egyptianized.

VII. Prosopography

(36) In *Orient. Christ. Per.* 26, 29–41, ‘*Nónnos, Nónna*, et Nonnus, Nona’, J. M. HANSSSENS returns to a popular subject (cf. *ἸΕΑ* 41, 138, no. (42); 42, 111, no. (34)), and gives a chronological list of the instances of the names in question. He concludes that *Nónnos* is of Egyptian origin, and thence spread to the other provinces of the Empire. He does not seem to have made use of the studies of Bonner and Dostálové-Jenistová, discussed *ἸΕΑ*, locc. citt., and cf. also J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1955, no. (57).

(37) J. IJSEWIJN’S *De Sacerdotibus Sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis* (Verh. van de Konink. Vlaamse Acad. voor Wetenschap, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, 42, 1961 [published in Flemish in 1959]) contains a complete list of the eponymous priests with prosopographical and other notes, followed by a discussion of various special aspects of the institution. This is the work of a protégé of Professors Peremans and Van ’t Dack, who assisted them in the publication of their alphabetical list of the eponymous priests, etc., in *Prosop. Ptol.*, nos. 4984–5348, published in 1956, and evidently contains the fruit of the work undertaken in that connexion.

The list of priests itself brings up to date and completes the various other partial lists which have appeared from time to time since Plaumann’s fundamental article in Pauly–Wissowa, s.v. *Hiereis*, cols. 1424–57, and it will thus be a valuable work of reference. To the list, which contains the evidence, Greek and demotic, underneath each item, I. has appended substantial prosopographical notes. These suffer both from undue length (surely the repetition of the careers of such familiar figures as Dioscorides, Agathocles, Hippalus, Comanus, Seleucus and Polycrates the governors of Cyprus, and others, might have been omitted, since I. in these entries is either summarizing his own previous work or that of others) and from that most fatal and frequent weakness, the tendency to identify persons of the same name even when there is no otherwise ascertainable link between them. The third chapter provides an analysis and list of the dates of the introduction of the individual Ptolemaic deifications, which I. shows with some probability to have occurred in the years in which Ptolemaieia were celebrated (126–8), though precise evidence on this point does not extend beyond one or two cases; tenure of office (iteration, suffect tenures, etc.); cities for which royal eponyms are known; the origin of the titles and the duties of the incumbents; their ethnic and social origin and genealogies; and, finally, the careers of the individual priests and their nearest relatives. The work is completed by an alphabetical list of priests and priestesses, and useful indexes both of new restorations to texts and new dates offered for inscriptions and Greek and demotic papyri.

This is a work which will prove its value in a variety of fields. The following observations concerning the list itself, and the prosopographical notes, attempt to clarify a few selected dubious points. I refer to the items by the serial number in the left-hand column in the list.

7a: *Ἀ[θη]ναῖ[ο]ς seu Ἀ[μ]ναῖ[ο]ς Ἀπ[ο]λλώ.* (a) The patronymic is surely *Ἀπ[ο]λλω(νίου)*, not *Ἀπ[ο]λλώ*, which is a most improbable hypochoresitic name at this date and in this context, and, if a genitive, would in any case be *Ἀπ[ο]λλοῦς*. The photograph, P.Hib. 1, pl. x (no. 97) shows a mark above the final omega which no doubt represents suspension. This error, if such it be, is already in the list of priests given by Grenfell and Hunt, loc. cit. 370, and in Plaumann, loc. cit., col. 1439. (b) in the relevant note (p. 62) I. seeks to associate *Ἀ[θη]ναῖ[ο]ς* or *Ἀ[μ]ναῖ[ο]ς* with the Alexandrian named in the Epidaurian list of proxeni, *IG* IV, 1², 96, l. 23, ‘*Ἑρμόδημος Ἀθηναίου Ἀλεξανδρεῦς*’ (whom I. wrongly calls ‘Hermodorus’) who, he suggests, may be the son of the priest. The inscription can be dated to any time in the first half of the third century (see Hiller, *ad loc.*, who dates the change of name from Teuchira to Arsinoe—in l. 23 the other proxenus is a *Ταυχόριος*—too early: see *BSA Alex.* 39, 135), and the name Athenaios is found again in early Ptolemaic Alexandria (*OGIS* 18, the best copy of which, that of Wilbour, given by Miller, *BCH* 9, 146, no. 7, shows in l. 4 ‘*Ἐπικράτης Ἀθηναί[ο]ς*’), and although subsequent editors accepted Neroutsos’s *Ἀθηναῖος*, the simple name with the ethnic is not likely, and *Ἀθηναί[ο]ς* is the preferable reading).

24: I. suggests [*Ἀριστόνικον Περιλάου*] as the supplement for the Samian inscription, *Ath. Mitt.* 72, 233, no. 63, l. 1, but his statement regarding the date, ‘Habicht . . . saeculo tertio iusta cum causa tribuit’ is

misleading. The stone is lost and Habicht's publication reproduces a copy made by Buschor. Habicht says of the date, 'Beachtenswert ist die Assimilation *πρόξενον* καὶ in 3 . . . die den Text vielleicht um oder kurz vor 300 zu datieren erlaubt (s. zu nr. 37). Der Orthographie wegen dürfte die Urkunde jedenfalls älter also das 2 Jhdt. sein; da aber jedes sicher Indiz für eine Datierung fehlt . . .'. And yet I. goes on to say 'Tamen eum anno 262/1 flaminem Alexandri fuisse pro certo habemus'.

29 and 38: Although these two eponymous Antiochi must be distinguished on account of the different canephoroi of the two years (apparently sisters) the patronymic of the second remains conjectural: see *JEA* 46, 99, no. (29).

39: The suggested identification of Tlepolemus with the homonym of a Delphian ('Delian', I.) inscription is not likely, since the inscription is probably of the second century: see Daux, *Delphes au ii^{ème} siècle*, 517, Bourguet, *FdD* III, 1, 269, commentary on no. 454.

75: This year (212/211) contains the only possible evidence so far from an Alexandrian inscription relating to the eponymous priesthood: Breccia, *Iscriz.* 164 (pl. xxvi, 64), with the date ἐφ' ἱερέως Διοτέλους associated by me with P.Grad. 15 in *JEA* 41, 135, no. (19). This is a very tricky problem and it must be admitted that in discussing it I. has scattered the path with red herrings in the form of unreal objections—though others remain. Thus it is sad to see him still maintaining 'utrum vero lapis origine Alexandrinus sit an Rhodius prorsus (!) ignoratur' (cf. also 134), for this groundless scepticism has been exploded many times in the last fifty years (see especially Wilhelm ap. Plaumann, *Klio*, 13, 485–90). The difficulty resides not in whether the inscription is Alexandrian or not, of which there can be no reasonable doubt, but whether the eponymous priest named in it is the priest of the royal cult; and if he is, whether he is identical with the Dioteles hitherto regarded as the eponym of this year 212/211. In this connexion I may note a few points. (1) I.'s objection that the formula of the inscription is not compatible with the eponym-formula found in papyri has no substance, for we have no other Alexandrian civic decree with which to compare it; it does not seem to me at all likely that a psephism of the Alexandrian boule and demos would record the full titulature; it would simply record the essential dating formula in the manner traditional in a Greek psephism, (2) I.'s additional point (134) that *Τε*, which follows Διοτέλους in the inscription (l. 1) shows that this cannot be a dating formula because the patronymic in papyrus—dates is always preceded by the article τοῦ is equally without substance, since the patronymic was probably not recorded at all, *Τε*—representing the opening of the name of the Secretary of the boule, e.g. *Τε*[ισ τοῦ | Ἀπο]λλοδώρου. (3) Granted that the difference in formulation does not exclude the possibility, the question remains whether Dioteles was in any case priest of the ruler-cult, and not, as I. prefers to think, of some other cult such as that of Alexander Ktistes. As to this there is some evidence for a cult of Alexander Ktistes in the Ptolemaic period (Dorion, *ἱερατεύσας Ἀλεξάνδρου*, in *SB* 6670; cf. *JEA*, 40, 58, no. (58); 41, 135, no. (19), bottom; I. p. 60), but nothing at all to suggest that the priest of that cult enjoyed eponymous status, and there is no likelihood of there having existed two different eponyms, one for the country as a whole, and one for Alexandria, at the same time. However, (4) the letter-forms of the inscription point to a date considerably earlier than 212, and since there are several vacancies in the earlier part of the list (especially in the last years of Soter and the first of Philadelphus) into which this Dioteles could be fitted, this seems a more satisfactory solution than I.'s tentative suggestion that Dioteles' year may belong to the period before the establishment of the royal cult, and represent the priesthood of an unknown deity. (5) There remains the reading of P.Grad. 15, which was given as Διοτέλλ[ο]υ[s]. I. says that the editor erred in his reading since the demotic titulature of 211 shows that the eponym of that year *stimus* was holding office for the second time on that occasion, and that he was therefore eponym first in the preceding year, and this name is not Dioteles. If this argument holds at all points the case against the identification of the two priests is complete.

The canephoros of the same papyrus (P.Grad. 15) is Πτολεμ - - Ἀλεξανδρείου, which on the basis of the demotic 'Ptolema<is> Dionysi filia' I. restores as Πτολεμ[α<is> Διονυσίου] Ἀλεξανδρείου, and takes Ἀλεξάνδρειος as an Alexandrian demotic, which seems natural, if the reading is correct, strange though it may be that it has not appeared before (in *SB* 5249 Ἀλεξανδρείων is no doubt merely for Ἀλεξανδρέων).

84: Σάτυρος Ἐυμένους, the priest of Alexander in 203–202 is identified with the Samian flute-player of that name (and patronymic) who was honoured at Delphi and Delos in the early second century. There is nothing to connect him with Egypt, but I. makes the identification because Agathocles, in power in that year, was a Samian, was descended from a long line of flute-players, and was in the habit of giving posts to

his friends. This remains a conjecture, though I. regards it as certain. It is curious to see, on the other hand, that for the following year, for which Adaios is attested priest, though I. refers to the Adaios appointed in this very year by Tlepolemus to be governor of Bubastis—and thus on I.'s own showing the sort of person likely to be appointed eponymous priest—he suggests that since Adaios is a common name another Adaios may have been eponym.

I. makes or accepts a number of identifications which seem very probable; e.g. 67–68, the suggestion that (1) Δημήτριος Ἀπελλήτος was brother of Aristophanes of Byzantium, the grammarian, whose patronymic is known from the Suda; and (2) that the canephoros of the second of these years, Νύμφω Νυμφαίου, is the sister of Φορμίων Νυμφαίου Βυζάντιος of the Oropian decree, *OGIS* 81; again, 149, the priest at Ptolemais, Apollonius the son of Ptolemy, is convincingly identified with the homonym of the long epitaphs from Edfu, Peek, *GVI* 1150 and 1151. 178: Diasthenes, the father of the athlophoros Hippikē, may well be identical with the honorand of the Cyprian inscription, *OGIS* 146, for the name is uncommon. There are other identifications which seem to me convincing, and which I must leave readers to judge for themselves. What I have said shows that, in spite of faults, this is a useful collection of material, which would have been even more so if I. had familiarized himself with non-Egyptian and non-papyrological material.

(38) In *Annal. Univ. Sarav.* 8, 105–15, 'Papyrologie et épigraphie latine', H.-G. PFLAUM discusses the contribution each subject makes to the other, and illustrates this by two lists, (1) of the references, in Greek and Latin inscriptions, on the one hand, and papyri on the other, to the Prefects of Egypt, and (2) of the *origo* of Roman officials of Egypt (also given in his *Carrières procuratoriennes*, here described as 'sous presse') which he analyses.

(39) In *JfP* 13, 109–22, C. VANDERSLEYEN writes on 'La Date de la Préfecture de Sossianus Hierocles en Égypte', à propos of a papyrus of the Archive of Isidorus. The papyrus was republished after V.'s article was finished, as *Archivé of Aurelius Isidore* (see V., p. 122), and it is clear that the date of the papyrus is uncertain (307 or 310), but in any case V. seems to have made out a good case for the first half of 307 as the time of Sossianus' prefecture (116–18, n. 28, V. discusses the chronological evidence for the disappearance of Flavius Severus from the dating-formulas of papyri during the year 307).

VIII. *Lexicography and Language*

(40) In *Aegyptus*, 40, 67–72, 'Note per la storia dell' esercito romano in Egitto, ii', S. DARIS discusses 'I veterani χωρίς χαλκῶν', who occur in a few military diplomas.

(41) In *Aegyptus*, 40, 177–314, S. DARIS publishes 'Il lessico latino della lingua greca d'Egitto'. In his introduction D. envisages a general study, the aim of which will be to interpret the process of integration of the Roman with the Greek world, but this instalment is confined to a lexicon of Latin words in Greek dress. This does not add very much to Meinermann's *Die lateinische Wörter* (1927), with the addenda to it by Cavenaile, *Chron. d'Ég.* 26, 391–404 (cf. also id., *Aegyptus*, 33, 191–209), but it is useful to have a complete list in one place. D. concludes (300–14) with some general reflections based on the word-list, emphasizing that military terms predominate. He quotes as the earliest instance of such words the proskynema at Philae, *OGIS* 196, of 32 B.C. (D. quotes this as *SB* 8427, where, however, the old, erroneous date, 25 B.C., proposed by Letronne and Franz, is perpetuated), in which *praefectus* is translated into Greek, ἐπαρχος, while *centurio* is transliterated as κεντορίων. To the same early stage belong P. Oslo, II, 26, l. 23 of 5/4 B.C. (κεντορίων), and the vase-inscription of 2 B.C., *JfP* 4, 107–15 (κεντορία). Subsequently the word κεντορία is replaced by ἐκατόνταρχος, which first appears in P. Oslo, II, 30, 2, of 20 B.C. (in the form ἐκατονδράκει). D. also discusses the incidence of other and alternative Greek and Latin forms, such as λεγεωνάριος and στρατιώτης λεγεῶνος, οἱ ἐκ σπειρῶν and χωρτάριος, κάστρον and παρεμβολή, etc.

(42) In *Chron. d'Ég.* 35, 271–7, 'L'énigme du mot ΚΑΡΠΙΣΤΗΣ à propos d'un procès alexandrin du 1^{er} siècle après J.C.', F. DE VISSCHER discusses the significance of this word in the inscription published by Fraser and Nicholas, *JRS* 48, 117–29. This article largely reproduces De V.'s views about this word already expressed in his article in *Rev. Int. des Droits de l'Ant.* 6, 179–207 (cf. *JEA* 46, 75, no. (8)), since a fresh publication of this inscription, based on a collation of the stone by F., appears in *JRS* 52, with further discussion of the word καρπιστής, I need say no more here.

IX. *Geography, Topography*

(43) In *JEA* 47, 134–8, 'The 'Δίοικος' of Alexandria', P. M. FRASER calls attention to two passages of

Xenocrates of Aphrodisias (i. A.D.) preserved by Oribasius, which refer to a 'diolkos', that is a slipway, at Alexandria. F. analyses the topographical indications of the passages and decides that the slipway lay at the north end of the Heptastadion, at the southern tip of Pharos island. He concludes that the Diolkos existed neither at the time of the Alexandrian War nor at that of Strabo's residence twenty-five years later.

(44) In *JEA* 47, 91-99, A. H. GARDINER, writing on 'The Egyptian Memnon', discusses the questions, 'How came the Greek and Roman tourists who visited this broken-down statue to identify it with the hero whom the Odyssey presents as the slayer of Nestor's son Antilochus and as himself slain by Achilles, and to what date ought that identification to be ascribed?' He interprets Strabo (816) as meaning that the colossi sat in front of the 'Memnonion', i.e. the lost temple of Amenophis III, and that Strabo includes the statues in the word Memnon, and argues that the term *Tὰ Μειμόνια*, applied to the whole left bank and its buildings from Medinet Habu to beyond Dra Abu'n-Naga on the north, was derived from the temple. He attacks Letronne's thesis that the term 'Memnonion' is of Egyptian origin, and had no connexion with the Greek Memnon. He quotes the poem of Balbilla as evidence that the Greeks were aware that, while they regarded the statues as representing Memnon, the Egyptians regarded the figure as Amenoth (A. and E. Bernard, *Inscr. de Colosse*, 29, ll. 1-4: *Αὔτως καὶ γεράρω Μέμνον, παῖ Τιθωνοῖο | Θηβάας θάσσων ἄντα Διὸς πόλεος, | ἡ Ἄμεινόθ, βασιλεὺ Ἀιγύπτειε, τὼς ἐνέποισιν | ἴρηες μύθων τῶν παλάων ἴδριες*), and he suggests that the pronunciation of the praenomen of Amenophis in the dorsal inscription of the vocal statue may have resembled that of the Greek Memnon, and led to the use of the latter name by the Greeks. In support of this he points out that among the graffiti of the Tombs of the Kings, those of Tomb 9 (where the great majority is inscribed) show that the tomb was regarded as the Tomb of Memnon (see especially Baillet, no. 1277: *τῆνδε μάλιστ' ὀρόων [μέγ'] ἐθαύμασα Μέμνονος ἐσθλή[v] (sc. σύριγγα)*), once again, G. maintains (as Baillet already, *ad loc.*), because Ramses VI and Amenophis III had the same praenomen. He stresses that the identification and the first vocal utterances may go back far earlier than Letronne (who assigned the latter *e silentio* to a date later than Diodorus) would allow.

(45) In *Antiq. J.* 41, 218-23, R. G. GOODCHILD discusses the representation of the Pharos on the Gasr el-Lebia mosaics of A.D. 539 (cf. *Ill. Lond. News*, 14 December 1957, *AA*, 1959, cols. 342 ff.; for the inscriptions of the mosaics see Reynolds, *JTS* 11, 291, no. 21, I) bearing the inscription *ὁ Φάρος* (ibid., I (k)). The mosaic portrays a naked Helios on the Pharos and another naked figure on a triumphal arch across a strip of water. G. compares a gem in the Brit. Mus. (Dalton, *Cat. Christ. Antiq. B.M.* 14, no. 78, representing Apollonius of Tyana on one side (identified by the inscription *Ἀπολόωνις ὁ Τουανεὺς μ[άγος?]*) and a harbour scene on the other, including a three-storied building on the summit of which is a Helios figure, which Dalton identified as Aegae (where Apollonius lived for some time, and which has a lighthouse on some of its coins), but which G. plausibly identifies as Alexandria. He stresses the traditional nature of such mosaic work and argues that this representation possesses a 'basic veracity carried down by artistic tradition into Byzantine times', though, as he says, it does not follow that the form here portrayed was the original form of the Pharos. G. suggests that the second statue may be on one of the public buildings of the city inland from the harbour, but the sea represented as running between the two statues suggests that it may be envisaged as on the other side of the harbour, i.e. on Pharillon.

(46) In *Cyriaque d'Ancone en Égypte* (Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akad. van Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde, 21 (12), 1958) C. C. VAN ESSEN gives a text of what survives of Cyriac's account of his Egyptian trip in 1436: it contains a brief account of Alexandria ('ubi primum antiqui phari praecelsi vestigia vidimus, et eximiae urbis moenia portasque ingentes, et vetustatum egregia plurima extra intusque conspeximus'), Cairo, the characteristic animals of Egypt, the Pyramids, and hieroglyphics.

X. Nubia, Ethiopia, etc.

(47) In *Kush*, 9, 284-6, P. L. SHINNIE discusses the text of *CIL* III, 83, the only Latin inscription from the Sudan (Muṣauwarât), comparing the copies of Lepsius (*LD* 6, 101, Lat., no. 56, whence *CIL*, loc. cit., and subsequent editors), Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroé*, III (1826), 375, and a facsimile (now in the Bankes collection) made by Linant de Bellefonds in 1822 (pl. xxxv). On the basis of the letter-forms given by the latter, which he considers to show the influence of Old Nubian, he dates the inscription to 'not earlier than A.D. 600'. Another recent discussion of the text, that of Hintze (see *JEA* 47, 14, no. (42)), makes no attempt to date it.

(48) In *Ghazali* (Sudan Antiq. Service, Occ. papers, 5, 1961) P. L. SHINNIE and H. N. CHITTICK publish

the excavations of 'Ghazali—a Monastery in the Northern Sudan', a site some 10 miles east of the Nile in the Wadi Abû Dôm which forms the base of the triangle of which the other two sides are formed by the great bend of the Nile between Merowe and Berber. The monastery was known to earlier travellers, and Lepsius published some funerary stelae from it (*LD* 6, 99 and 103). S. and C. publish (69–111) the inscriptions and graffiti found by them 'in collaboration with Dr. J. W. B. Barns, to whom most of the transcriptions and commentary are due'. The inscriptions are sandstone grave-stelae, predominantly with Coptic inscriptions, though there are a number of Greek ones with familiar formulas, which I list: 5, an ostrakon; 8; 11; 13; 14 (inscribed in cruciform pattern); 15; 17; 20–21 (a slightly more elaborate inscription); 26; 32; 42; 61 (a piece with the 'long acclamation'; cf. Junker, *ÄZ* 60, 124 f., for it and variants of it); 65(?); 72; 77–79 (the last has the long Greek formula above an old-Nubian text—the only Nubian in these inscriptions). The graffiti are either names of Greek type or else monograms, of all of which line-drawings are given (figs. 33–44).

(49) In *Acme*, 13, 31–76, A. STENICO gives an archaeological report on the site of Ikhmindi, the walled Christian city of Lower Nubia, excavated by the Missione Archeologica in Egitto of the University of Milan, which yielded the interesting Christian building inscription published by Donadoni (discussed *JEA* 47, 147, no. (39)). S. gives (fig. 4, p. 61) a facsimile of the building inscription, which shows that the spelling is even worse than appeared from Donadoni's text, but otherwise confirms it, and also publishes an inscription found on the south gate of the city (65): τὸ προσκύνημα Ἄνουβᾶτος {ἐν} (?) ἐμ|πόρου καὶ Ἀθηνη|αρουῆτος τῆς γυναι|κὸς αὐτοῦ. 67, fig. 10, graffiti on ceramic fragments (a photograph of the building inscription also given by Leclant, *Orientalia*, 30, pl. xi, showing the borders decorated with a running-frieze).

XI. *The Ptolemaic Empire*

(50) In *HTR* 54, 141–5, 'The Foundation-Date of the Alexandrian Ptolemaieia', P. M. FRASER discusses this problem in the light of J. Bousquet's association of a dated fragment (266–265 or less probably 270–269) with the Amphictyonic decree accepting an invitation to attend the inauguration of the festival published by F. in *BCH* 78, 49–62, and concludes that 'the traditional date [281–279 B.C.] has yet to be overturned'.

(51) In *AJA* 65, 93–151, 'Further contributions to the epigraphy of Cyprus', T. B. MITFORD continues his large-scale operations in the field of Cypriot epigraphy (cf. also in the year under review, *Studies in the Signaries of South-Western Cyprus* (Inst. Class. Stud., Univ. of London, Bull., Suppl. 10), which falls outside the scope of this survey). The material here published (forty inscriptions in all) is mostly new and comes from different parts of the island. 96–98 M. gives an analysis in majuscule of the letter-forms of each inscription. In what follows I omit entirely all reference to items of the Roman period, interesting though some of these are. The first group, 1–2, comes from Marion-Arsinoe (M. says that this city was renamed by Philadelphus 'doubtless on the occasion of her death in 270 and her deification', although it has been pointed out more than once that P.Hib. 199 (publ. 1955) shows that the Theoi Adelphoi were already deified by 272/271, before the death of Arsinoe), the first a funerary dedication (dated by M. to the time of Alexander, but it could surely be considerably later) by a πορφυρεὺς, a worker in purple dyes, named Ἐβδομαῖος, to his mother, followed by the addition καὶ Τιμαγόρας Στασιοῖκου, presumably the brother of Hebdomaios (M. says 'll. 3–4 . . . are a later addition, possibly by a different hand', read 'll. 4–5'). 2, a similar, fourth-century dedication by Timagorate for her husband Onasilos, a γναφεὺς, fuller. The unusual form of omega in this inscription, √, is worth noting: it is the omega of *Dikaïomata* (see Schubart, *Gr. Paläogr.* 27, Abb. 3), and exemplifies the transition between the epigraphical omega and the fully cursive. The name Ἀελλαῖος may, as M. says, be new, but it has kin in Ἀελλώ, etc. 3–14 from New Paphos and neighbourhood. 3, a list of names of mid-II a.C. which M. regards as those of members of the Ptolemaic garrison, and for which quotes similar lists (and gives, n. 19, a revised text of *BMI* 969, which he dates to the reign of Euergetes I). 4, fragment of 23 lines of a petition to Philometor or Euergetes II by troops, apparently concerning an increase in rations and pay (l. 11, ref. to Alexandria; 22, ἵνα σὺ θεὸς ᾖς). 8, fragment of a *lex sacra* of Ptolemaic date (= Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 33, no. 11, where virtually no text is given) from Heraion of Agia Mone, 15 miles NE. of New Paphos: the regulation concerns a festival called τὰ Ἐὐθερώσια. 11–14, Limassol and neighbourhood. 14, a dedication by a gymnasiarch to Philometor: [ὁ]πὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ | βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας, θεῶν | Φιλομητόρων, καὶ τῶν τέκνων | αὐτῶν, τὸ θύρωμα καὶ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς προσκειμένης τῆι διπλῆι | ἐπικίονας δεκατρεῖς | Ὀνασικράτης Ὀνησικράτους | γυμνασιαρχῶν, dated by M.

to 'the decade preceding 152 B.C.', on account of the absence of any reference to (1) Eupator, who was co-ruler 152–150, and (2) 'Neos Philopator, who was to become king in 145'. It is, however, by no means certain that Eupator would have been mentioned in a dedication of this sort (he occurs in no inscription of the period in question, though, of course, he occurs in the dating-formulas of papyri); it would perhaps be wiser to leave the wider margin 165–145: cf. *Berytus*, 13, 141, n. 70. He discusses the structure implied in the '13 ἐπικίονες [a new word: capitals, according to M.] of the stoa adjacent to the double portico', which he interprets as referring to a stoa with a double row of columns. 15–20, Citium area. 16, a late third- or early second-century dedication on a limestone jar to Apollo Keraiates (hitherto unattested, but cf. Apollo *Κερεάτας* in Arcadia). 19, dedication of a statue-base of Menedemus, son of Zoilus of Aspendos, dedicated by —νιτῶν ὁ θίασος, dated by M. to the reign of Epiphanes. M. calls attention to the frequency of the name Zoilus at Aspendos (*PCZ* 59,034; *IG XII*, 3, 1619), and discusses the significance of θίασοι in Ptolemaic Cyprus. 21, mid-third-century dedication to Aphrodite from Trikomo, 7 miles north of Salamis. 23–26, Carpasia. 23, dedication in honour of Σωφάνην [του δεινός] Ἀχαιόν (not Ἀχαιόν). ἡγ[εμόνα ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν] | Ζάτων ὁ τ[αμίας καὶ οἱ παν]οίκιοι γεω[ργοὶ ἐνεργεσίας ἔνεκεν [τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς] (text already given, *Aegyptus*, 33, 85, n. 4; cf. *JEA* 40, 140, no. (90)), of mid-ii a.C. M. discusses the status of the πανοίκιοι λαοί, serfs, and suggests that Zaton administered an estate 'farmed by these georgoi in the interests, it may be, of some Alexandrian grandee'. 27–30, Chytroi. 27, statue-base of Philadelphus, Βασιλέα Π[τολεμαίων θεῶν] Σωτήρων [Χυτρίων ἢ πόλις]. M. assigns this on letter-forms to the early years of the third century; if this is correct the shorter restoration Βασιλέα Π[τολεμαίων] | Σωτήρων [e.g. ἡ πόλις] would be preferable (see *BSA Alex.* 41, 50, n. 2) if this would not run counter to the dimensions of the block (cf. M.'s description). In a footnote M. offers another restoration of *OGIS* 29, the lost dedication from Citium in honour of Berenike: [Β]ερενίκην τὴν βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Σωτήρος | [γ]υναῖκα Ποσειδippe φρούραρχο[ς κατ' Ἰδάλιον] | καὶ κατὰ Κίτιον καὶ Βόισκος καὶ οἱ <σ>υνηγεμ(ό)νες? 28, three dedications to Apollo (in one of which he is ἐπήκοος), by Aristos son of Aristodemos, dated by M. to the third quarter of the third century on their letter-forms—might they not be considerably earlier in the third century? 29, a dedication of a 'Year 35' (probably that of Philometor, according to M.: i.e. 147/146): Λ λε Φαρ[μοῦθι] | Ἐρμεῖ Ἡρακλ[εῖ] | Ἀλέξανδρος | Μενεσθέως γε|νεθλίους παισὶ | [λαμπα]δαρχῶν, with which M. associates (a) *JHS* 57, 33, no. 8 β[ασιλεῖ Πτολεμαί]ω καὶ βασιλίσση Κλεοπάτρα[ι] | θεοῖς Φιλομήτ[ορσι] καὶ Ἐρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ | Τύχῃ Χυτρίων | [ὁ δεῖνα e.g. Τιμώ]νακτος παισὶ λαμπαδαρχῶ[ν], and (b) Peristianis, *Γεν. Ἰστ.* p. 938, no. 28: Λ Α [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός] | τῶν [municipal ex-office] | παισ[ὶ] λαμπαδαρχῶν]. 29 provides the earliest instance in Cyprus of the Egyptian calendar, and also probably establishes the month of the birth of Philometor (unless the celebration of the γενέθλια was monthly in this case, which M. does not think likely): for a new gymnasial dedication from Alexandria of the reign of Philometor see above, no. (9), item 7. 31–32, Kyreneia. 31, of the late fourth or early third century, an interesting octostich epigram concerning a dedication made in response to Apollo's instruction, couched in the form of a dialogue between the god and the votary. 33–35, Soloi. 33, fragmentary epigram referring to a Σολίωμ βασιλε[ῖ]. M. dates this on letter-forms, rather unconvincingly, to 'either the 1st or the 3rd quarter of the third century, since they [the forms] have none of the distinctive characteristics of the time of Philadelphus'. A date towards the end of the century does not look impossible, in which case the subject was no doubt a descendant of the last king of Soloi. 34, a dedication of an unspecified object to Ἀπόλλων Κύπριος by Ζώιλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ζωίλου, dated by M. to probably the later decades of the third century B.C. The inscription contains a lunate sigma, and M. lists other third-century lunate forms in Cyprus. The epithet of Apollo is new but paralleled by Aphrodite *Κυπρία* of Amathus. 35 = Peristianis, op. cit. 950, no. 39, the dedication by the θίασος τῶν ἐπιγόνων in honour of Theodorus the son of Demetrius, Ἀρσινοεὺς τῆς ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας, ἡγέμων τεταγμένος ἐπὶ Χαράδρου and his Samian wife and their two sons. M. dates the inscription to the reign of Euergetes I, and understands the thiasos to consist of the descendants of the cleruchs of the island and the 'inheritors of the obligations of these military settlers', comparing the θίασος τῆς ἀποσκευῆς in an inscription from Chytroi. He points to the occurrence of the ethnic Ἀ. τῆς ἐπὶ Παμφ. in Breccia, *Iscriz.* 191 (a Hadra-vase), and regards the inscription as coming from the region of Soloi, and not imported from Cilicia, where Charadrus, of which Theodorus was hegemon, lay, east of Selinus. It seems more likely that the stone is imported: the more so since as M. himself admits 'the tense of the participle τεταγμένος indicates that the honorand at the time of the inscription was still commandant of Charadrus'. Under this item M. republishes *Arch. Pap.* 13, 20, no. 8, which he likewise regards as containing a dedication by a Cypriot

body in honour of a commander on the Cilician or Pamphylian coast—τὸν καθεσ[τηκότα ὕ]πὸ τοῦ βασιλέως [ἐπιστάτ]ην τῆς περὶ [. . . .N]ξαπό(λ)εως. 36 is from Ledroi of which M. discusses the history, and which he places 'beneath the modern Nicosia'. It is an epigram commemorating the dedication of a statue of Nicocles, the Paphian king, by Archaios, in the shrine of Aphrodite at Ledroi (on the ethnic *Λέδριος* see *JEA* 40, 140, no. (90): M. now discovers a further instance in the list of the Delphian theorodokoi, where in col. I, l. 8, he supplies [Λε]δ[ρ]ιος for the accepted [Θρ]ό[δ]ιος, at the end of a long list of Cypriot cities). 37 is a funerary epigram of the late fourth or early third century, of an Aeolian woman named Myrte. 38 is a tombstone of one Timocyprus erected by his three freedwomen, dated to a 'Year 36', which M. identifies (after a discussion of alleged 'era'-dates in Cyprus, in the course of which he publishes a revision of *Devia Cypria*, 63, no. 16 (cf. already *Aegyptus*, 33, 89) and substitutes for the date σλβ L that of τ[δ] λβ L, i.e. year 32, which he identifies as that of Philometor), as that of Augustus, either A.D. 6 (beginning with 1 Thoth, 30 B.C.) or A.D. 13 (beginning in 23 B.C.). 39 of unknown provenance, now in Larnaca, is a dedication by [ὁ θίασ]ος τῆς Μαρ—, in honour of Stasidemos [Ἐρω]τος Πάφιος [θε]ῶν ἐπιστάτης, dated by M. to the later years of Epiphanes or the earlier of Philometor. M. again discusses the role of the Ptolemaic θίασοι here: 'they fostered Hellenism and more particularly loyalty to the Ptolemies among military settlers of the island's garrison before this was drastically reorganized by the second Euergetes to break the long connexion between garrison and land'. He gives a list of known thiasoi in Ptolemaic Cyprus (six items). For the interesting title θεῶν ἐπιστάτης he compares θεῶν οἰκονόμος of *LBW* 2740 ('2739' by error, M.) = *BCH* 20, 363, n. 3, of ii p.C. M. says that Stasidemos was without doubt overseer of temple properties, but it is perhaps more natural to connect the unusual title with the temple epistatai of Ptolemaic Egypt, in which case his role was more that of a government supervisor of all aspects of the temples: this in Cyprus where, as in Egypt, native cults flourished, would be a responsible post: for the Ptolemaic temple epistatai see now above, no. (19). 40, of unknown provenance, is a lead mina, 0.115 diam., bearing in the depressed centre crossed cornucopiae, to the left of which a herm, to the right an ear of corn, and the inscription above and below, ἔτους Δ | Δημοσία | Μνᾶ, and round the rim Ζηνοβίου. M. dates this to the fourth year of Philometor, 178/177, and regards Z. as agoranomos. He says that the weight is 'notable for bearing no obvious identification of the city to which it belongs'. The cornucopiae presumably represent the Ptolemaic house, just as Seleucid weights and seals bear the anchor and other dynastic devices (Rostovtzeff, *Yule Class. Stud.* 3, 41 ff.) alongside the civic identification. As an addendum M. publishes a further dedication to Apollo Mela(n)thios in the Ashmolean Museum (*JHS* 9, 261, no. 3) 'during the war evacuated (??) and thereupon lost for twenty years': Λιγ Ἀπόλωνι Με|λαθίω Φαλιάρχος εὐχῆν. This M. dates to the 13th year of Euergetes.

(52) In *Quad. di Arch. Lib.* 4, 1-54, G. PUGLIESE CARATELLI edits some thirty inscriptions from Cyrene from the *Nachlässe* of G. Oliverio. Of these only one seems to concern Ptolemaic matters at all directly: 11, the large circular base bearing the dedication in honour of Soter II by Stolos, published by me, *Berytus*, 12, 113, no. 7. He publishes with it (b) the inscriptions on the rear side, not visible when I saw the stone; (i) an erased space of three letters followed by *Κυραναῖοι*, and (ii) the signature *Εὐφράνωρ Σωσάρχω Κυραναῖος ἐποίησε*. There is, unfortunately, no photograph of (b), and it is not clear whether the first group of letters represents an entire inscription, to which the signature belongs or not. O.'s note says 'Prima iscritta con (b), poi capovolta e riadoperato per (a)'.

(53) In *Hellenica*, 11-12, 111-15, L. ROBERT republishes the inscription from Thera published by me, *JEA* 44, 98-100. He substitutes participles for infinitives, as being in accord with the formula employed (in ll. 6 and 7 ὄντας for εἶναι, ἡξιωμένους for τυχεῖν in ll. 7-8), the Doric form φίλος for my φίλου|[s] (a correction which I have verified on my squeeze) and takes - - - λεν, which I had regarded as an aorist, as a Doric infinitive. H. maintains that Aristocrates and Ptolemaios the honorands were not, as I supposed, temporarily resident in Thera, but were resident in Alexandria where the τινες τῶν πολιτῶν had been assisted by them. This, in the absence of a specific reference to οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν *vel sim.* must remain uncertain, though it gives point to the τινες.

(54) In *Hellenica*, 11-12, 132-76, 'Sur un décret des Korésiens au Musée de Smyrne', L. ROBERT publishes a decree of Koresia of the early third century honouring an unknown person (probably a citizen of Miletus) for restoring to the people of Koresia citizens seized by brigands, etc. R. shows that this is the Koresia of Keos, and he discusses at length the reasons which led to the Ptolemaic use of the harbour of

Koresia, with the simultaneous alteration of the name to Arsinoe (he also discusses the appearance of the city under this name in the list of Delphian theorodokoi, which falls outside the scope of this survey). He gives an excellent account of the importance of the harbour of Koresia (Hagios Vasilios) especially for Ptolemaic Aegean strategy. (I spent some months at Koresia in the spring and summer of 1961, and can attest from prolonged observation the importance this natural harbour retains today, even when the employment of Diesel fuel has led to its obsolescence as a coaling station (the ruined installations of Michalinos & Co. were occupied in the summer of 1961 by poor squatters from Peiraeus), for during the continuous strong *beltemi* numerous ships found refuge there, particularly in the calm inner harbour of Vourkari, the site of the neolithic settlements at Hagia Eirene now being excavated by J. Caskey: the outer or western harbour can be very stormy.) The strategical importance of the Ptolemaic base is immediately relevant to the question of the date of the recently excavated Ptolemaic fort on the Koroni peninsula (see no. (57)). It seems inconceivable that the Ptolemaic command can have hoped to retain and supply that post unless they held Keos, and particularly Koresia, as a main base. Koroni and Iulis stand face to face and fully visible across the narrows.

(55) In *Eis Mnēmyn K. Amántou*, 140 ff. (and pl. 1, squeeze) A. P. STEPHANOU publishes a well-preserved Chian decree—the prescript and part of the right side are missing—in honour of an official of the Ptolemies (ll. 7, 11, 17, οἱ βασιλεῖς, l. 18, ὁ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος), Apollphanes son of Apollodoros, who had been sent to Chios to settle some —[— ὑπο]ἱπέρις δικαί (—γείς, St.; traces, doubtful of the pi, certain of the iota are visible both on the photograph and on a squeeze kindly provided by Mr. W. G. Forrest: for the phrase cf. *Inscr. Dél.* 1513, ll. 29–30: καὶ μηκέτι ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτοῖς περὶ μηδενὸς ἔγκλημα μηθὲν παρευρέσει μηδεμίαι: the reference is to cases still outstanding) and who apparently was anxious to return to Egypt, his task completed: ll. 6–8: ἡξίωκεν καὶ δεδέηται [ἀποστέλλεσθαι ταχὺ πρὸς τοὺς] | βασιλεῖς, φάσκων διὰ τὸ χρονιωτέραν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπο[δημίαν κατασταθῆναι] | σπουδάξει παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. (for delay in the settlement of legal business in similar circumstances cf., for example, *FdD* III, 3, 120, l. 11 (τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰλκυσμένων ἐκ πλειόνων χρόνων; *SEG* II, 281, etc.)). Lines 19 f. decree measures for A.'s swift return to Egypt, ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσφαλ[έστατα . . .]. The lettering of the decree points to the middle of the third century (c. 260–250), and is very similar to and evidently only slightly earlier than the decree partially published by Kontoleon, *Πρακτικά*, 1953, 271, ἐκ. 9, referring to Remus and Rome. It has always been a matter of uncertainty whether or not Chios (like Samos and Mytilene) was a Ptolemaic possession in the third century (cf. *Opusc. Athen.* 3, 25). This decree suggests, but by no means proves, that it was.

(56) In *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1953–4 εἰς μνήμην Γ. Π. Οἰκονόμου, iii (publ. 1961), 321–49 MME E. VARUCHA-CHRISTODOUPOULOU publishes a 'συμβολὴ εἰς τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον πόλεμον', consisting of coins of Philadelphus and other objects which she dates to the Chremonidean War, found in the area of Markopoulo, Koroni (the fort on the Koroni peninsula probably belongs to the same date: cf. above, no. (54)) and Keos, and also on the western side of Hymettus in Helioupolis and near Vouliagmene (Mikro Kavouri). The notorious difficulty of dating Ptolemaic coins exactly inevitably enjoins caution here, but quite apart from the possibility of exact dating by symbols and monograms, the general composition of the total (86 pieces) and their condition (those of Soter very worn, not so those of Philadelphus) points to a date towards the middle of the third century, and it is natural to connect them with the Chremonidean War. She refers to and quotes part of an unpublished inscription found at Rhamnus referring to troops under the command of Patroklos.

(57) In *Ant. Class.* 29, 369–90, 'La Cyrénaïque et les partages successifs de l'Empire d'Alexandre', E. WILL discusses the status of Cyrenaica in the distributions of Alexander's empire in 321 and 311, and shows that Ptolemy held Cyrene throughout as a personal external possession. The question is of interest in relation to the constitution imposed on Cyrene by Soter (*SEG*, IX, 1).

XII. The Egyptian Gods

(58) In *Antik Tanulmányok*, 7, 69–74 (cf. *Bibl. Or. Class.* 6, 347–9), E. B. THOMAS writes on the sanctuary of Isis at Scabantia, and publishes a photograph of the Latin inscription *CIL* III, 10940, containing a dedication to Silvanus, on the back of which there is a rough representation of a head of Anubis.

(59) In *BCH* 85, 438–46, 'Isis Pélagia à Délos', P. BRUNEAU publishes a fragment of a Corinthian lamp bearing a representation of Isis Pelagia (or Pharia) standing on the prow of a ship, already mentioned by

Roussel, *CED* 67, and a marble relief of the first century B.C. also representing the same deity. He gives a catalogue of the iconography of the type of Isis standing in this position, otherwise known only from coins. He discusses Isis θαλάσσης κυρία (the Kyme aretalogy, Peek, *Isishymnos von Andros*, 122, l. 15) and her discovery of the sail mentioned in the Andros hymn, *ibid.* 2, ll. 152–4, and quotes epigraphical instances of Isis Pelagia (*IG XII*, 2, 113) and Pharia (*OGIS* 706; *CIG* 5119; *IGRR* 1, 1310), and also of Isis as patroness of shipping at Delos (*Inscr. Dél.* 2153, Isis Euploia; 2128, dedication ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοῦζομένων πάντων to Zeus Ourios and the Egyptian deities).

(60) In *Rev. Phil.* 1961, 106–8, St. ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΕΣ publishes some prosopographical corrections to the Tanagraean inscription published by Chrestou, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1956, 34–72 (*JEA* 47, 148, no. (49), and the detailed discussion by J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1961, no. (336)).

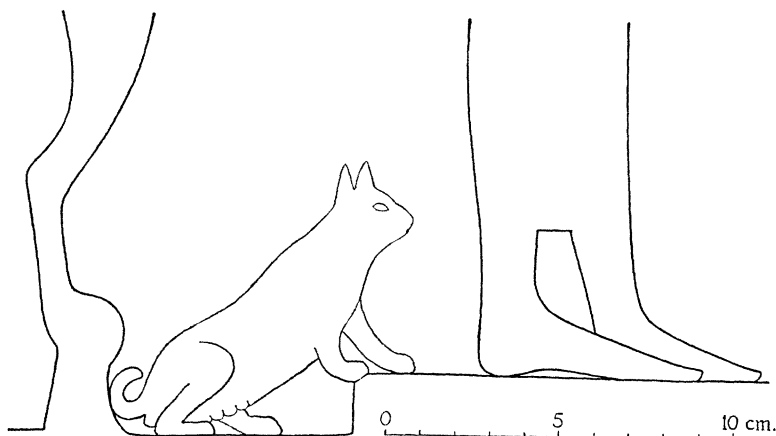
(61) In *Mél. Univ. St. Joseph*, 36, 62, no. 65, R. ΜΟΥΤΕΡΔΕ publishes a haematite amulet in Damascus, with, on the main face, a representation of Horus and Harpocrates riding a lion which is trampling on a corpse and other figures. On the reverse the inscription: Σύν<ε>ννος Ε[ἴ]|<σ>ι Φθῶς ἐγώ εἰμι | ὁ ἀλλ<λ>ωστι (i.e. ἄλλως τε?) μέγας· τοῦ|το φορῶν εἶδω(λον) τὸν οὐρανὸν κατέσχεν· | τοῦτο φορῶν Σοβα|υν ἀντιδίκους | κατέβαλε· τοῦ|το φοροῦ.

(62) In *Hellenica* 11–12, 85–89, and pl. v), ‘Inscription hellénistique d’Iran’, L. ROBERT publishes a remarkable deed of manumission in the form of a letter of notification, written in a very characteristic early hellenistic hand, said to have been found at the eastern corner of the Caspian Sea: Εὔανδρος | Ἀνδραγόραι | Ἀπολλοδότῳ χαίρειν· | ἀφέωκαμιν Ἐρμαῖον | ἐλεύθερον ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Ἀντιόχου καὶ βασιλίσσης | Στρατονίκης καὶ ἐγγόνων | ἱερὸν Σαράπιος καὶ ἀνα|τεθείκαμιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ | τὴν ἀφῆσιν αὐτοῦ τε | [κ]αὶ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ τε | . . . Γορπιαίου· ἔρρωσθε. Though the era-date is missing at the beginning of the last line (though part of one letter followed by a punctuation-point seems just visible on the photograph) the reference to Antiochus and Stratonike fixes the date to 281–261 B.C. The dedication of the manumitted slave to Sarapis at this point in the Seleucid Empire at this date is indeed remarkable. It would be rash to comment at present further on this isolated item, though it is, in the context of this survey, worth pointing out that it must surely deal yet one more blow to the view that the spread of the cult of Sarapis was a result of Ptolemaic propaganda or policy.

(63) *L’Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell’ Italia Settentrionale* (Comunità di Bologna, Museo Civico, 1961) contains a section (161–7) by G. C. SUSINI entitled ‘Testimonianze egizie nell’ Emilia in epoca romana’, followed by a map showing the dispersion of Egyptian cults in north Italy. S. refers to Latin and Greek inscriptions in the Museo Civico.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS



An early pet cat





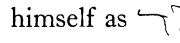

WE have in the Petrie Collection (UC 14322-3) two sides of the lower part of an Eleventh-Dynasty limestone stela of a man and his wife seated, which Petrie found at Koptos and published in *Koptos* (1896), pl. xi, 5, 6 and p. 12 where he says: 'Another piece of a stele is engraved on both sides, and shows this truly XIth Dynasty taste for dogs; on No. 5 the dog is named Hemu-ma, and on No. 6 there is a turn-spit.' Presumably Petrie split the stone, although the two halves do not now correspond exactly in size, as may be seen from the plate. The point of this note is to show that Petrie was not correct in identifying the second animal (fig. 6 = UC 14323) as a dog. Although the stone is worn, there is no doubt that it is a cat, 'making dough' behind its mistress's feet. I am indebted to Mr. H. M. Stewart of the Institute of Archaeology for the accompanying sketch.

A. J. ARKELL

A new interpretation of B.M. stela 1203

THE stela of Antef, son of Ka, in the British Museum (no. 1203),¹ contains the word  four times. In the past it has usually been interpreted as the Old Egyptian demonstrative in spite of the fact that the Middle Egyptian *mw* (here written ) is used in l. 12 (following the numeration of Clère and Vandier). The translation of the four passages containing *mw* makes poor sense if the word is taken as the demonstrative (*iw ir·n·(i) mw* in ll. 2, 3, and *ink mw* in ll. 3, 4) and I would therefore suggest that it be taken as the noun 'hunter', translating the passages 'I acted as a hunter' and 'I was a hunter'. The whole section containing the instances of *mw* (ll. 2-4) can now be rendered: 'I acted as a hunter for my lord the Horus Wah·ankh, son of Rē Antef the Elder, for my lord the

¹ Hand-copy in *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1 (ed. 1), pl. 53; photograph in Budge, *Egyptian Sculpture in the B.M.*, pl. 7; good recent copy in Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, 19.

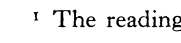

Horus Nakht-neb-tep-nefer, son of Rē Antef, for my lord the Horus Setankh-ib-tawy, son of Rē Mentuhotpe. I acted as a hunter for the west, for the east, for the temples. I was a hunter for the . . . (?).¹ I was hunter for the *knbt*-court.' Later, in ll. 12–13 we have 'I did this (*nn*) for the whole of the Theban nome'. The word *nnw* 'hunter' is often written without a determinative, e.g.  'overseer of hunters Khety', *B. Hasan*, I, pl. 30;  'hunters, people of the desert, placed as the protection of my body', inscription of Henu, l. 11, Couyat and Montet, *Hammâmât*, pl. 31. Kay, the owner of Berlin stela 22820 (*ZÄS* 65, 108 ff. and pl. 7) describes himself as  'overseer of desert-hunters' (l. 2) and says of himself, in words curiously like those in the inscription of Henu, *rdi·n wi nb·i m s·sn* 'My lord placed me as their protection'. The inscription of Antef in the Wadî Hammâmât contains *nnw* in an interesting variant context,  'There was no desert-hunter who knew its marvels' (Couyat and Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 101 and pl. 38, ll. 6–7).

JOHN BENNETT

Amenysonb in Liverpool and the Louvre

SINCE my publication² of Liverpool stela E. 30, the Editor has kindly passed on to me a suggestion by Professor Kees that should be made known, namely that the Amenysonb of stela E. 30 is none other than the well-known Amenysonb of Louvre C. 11 and 12 who served the Thirteenth—Dynasty king Nekha'nema'etrē Khendjer.³ Not only was the mother of each identically named (*Nbt-it*), but Kees would read my *Wc-m-š* as *Wc-m-kšw*, thus making the fathers identical also. In fact this possible identification had already occurred to me when writing my paper, but as the orthography of only two conjoined *kš*-signs for a plural seemed at first sight too bizarre to be likely, I did not venture to mention the possibility but merely contented myself with citing *Wc-m-kšw* as a parallel for the supposed *Wc-m-š*.⁴ However, in the light of Professor Kees's independent suggestion, I have re-examined the point, and I now wholeheartedly agree with the identification. The following brief notes will provide some epigraphic justification for the reading *-kšw*.

This reading presupposes two conjoined *kš*-signs each having loops for hands and two little vertical ticks between the arms; this form is well attested.⁵ The 'ticks' are an extreme stylization of the two slight 'swellings' that meet in the middle of the *kš*-sign, at the junction of the two shoulder-ends of the upper arms.⁶ Intermediate forms show more prominent swellings and triangles which become mere strokes or ticks.⁷ The use of two *kš*-signs conjoined may occur on B.M. 692 (cartouche),⁸ and clearly on scarabs and seals of Ammenemes II and Sesostri III.⁹ One may even find

¹ The reading here is , a meaningless group, and not  as Gardiner gives, *E.G. Suppl.* 4. Possibly *hry-wdb* was intended.

² *JEA* 47 (1961), 10–18.

³ Sethe, *Äg. Lesestücke*, 76–77.

⁴ *JEA* 47, 12 and n. 1; cf. pl. II and fig. 1 (upper left, vertical column) for *Wc-m-š/kšw*.

⁵ See T. G. Allen, *Egyptian Stelae*, Field Museum (Chicago, 1936), pl. 7, l. 3; Cairo 20694, l. 8 (Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine, MR*, IV, pl. 53), 20240, l. 4 (*ibid.*, pl. 19); open hands, 20177, right margin (*ibid.*, pl. 15), 20612, l. 3 (*ibid.*, pl. 48).

⁶ See for original form the superb *kš* surmounting King Hor's statue in Cairo (Lange-Hirmer, *Egypt* (1961), pls. 112–13) and in inscriptions, the prenomen of Sesostri I from Karnak (*ibid.*, pls. 96–97); Mentu-woser stela, horizontal line 3 (C. L. Ransom, *Stela of Mentuweser*, frontispiece, or Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, I, fig. 195, p. 298).

⁷ Cf. Allen, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, l. 2; Cairo 20273, l. 4 (Lange-Schäfer, pl. 20), 20596, l. 2 (*ibid.*, pl. 47), all with pronounced swellings or triangles; B.M. 233, ll. 6, 8 (*B.M. Introductory Guide* (1930), p. 323, fig. 172, apparently with projecting little points); Cairo 20720, ll. 5, 6, 9 ff. (Lange-Schäfer, pl. 54), very short ticks leading to the form discussed here.

⁸ *Hierogl. Texts, B.M.* IV, pl. xi.

⁹ Cf. Fraser, *Catalogue of Scarabs*, nos. 31, 33, on p. 5 and pl. ii; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 13, 12–13, no. 9.

three linked *ks*-signs,¹ instead of two and one below. The Liverpool stela, however, has no third sign to form a proper plural²—which fact originally gave me pause—but this is apparently an omission or abbreviation occasioned by lack of space. Another example of this phenomenon, five centuries later, occurs on the façade of the smaller temple of Ramesses II at Abû Simbel: over the doorway ‘Sun of Princes’, *Rc-n-hksw*, is written with only two *hk*-signs because of lack of space, while just to the right on the façade it is written ordinarily with three.³ The sign *š* or *sh* is not easily found on Middle Kingdom stelae; two examples⁴ are sufficiently different from the Liverpool sign to hint that the latter is not a natural form for *š*. The identification of the Liverpool Amenysomb with his famous Louvre namesake adds still more to the interest of the Liverpool stela; if Garstang’s records of the *Fundplatz* had survived, it might even have been possible to determine whether one of the tombs 303, 305, had been the last resting-place of King Khendjer’s faithful subject. I am grateful to Professor Kees and the Editor for this opportunity of making known so interesting an identification.

K. A. KITCHEN

The Harold Jones Collection

IN his article on the ‘so-called coffin of Akhenaten’ in a recent issue of the *Journal*,⁵ Professor Fairman reaches the conclusion that Smenkhkarē^c was interred in Valley Tomb no. 55 and ‘equipped with a small and makeshift collection of miscellaneous objects of various royal persons’. He finds ‘indirect support’ for this suggestion in the fragment of an inscribed coloured glass vessel which, it is alleged, was found in the tomb but which apparently fits on to a larger piece discovered earlier in the tomb of Amenophis II.

In its context this can only mean that Fairman believes that an incomplete and broken glass-bottle was put into the tomb of Amenophis II at the burial of that king, and that after an interval of some sixty years another fragment of the same bottle was added to the deposit sealed in Tomb no. 55. It also means that this same fragment escaped the notice of such trained observers as Ayrton, Weigall, Carter, Wiedemann, and other Egyptologists who visited the tomb during its clearance, not to mention amateurs like Davis and the Lindon Smiths, all busy looking for clues, yet was retrieved by Harold Jones who apparently brought it to no one’s attention despite the fact that his training with Garstang and Newberry had taught him the value of such inscribed fragments. Fairman’s viewpoint can only have arisen as a result of his acceptance, without any cavil, of the statements regarding the Jones’ Collection reported by Mrs. Bosse-Griffith in the same issue of the *Journal*.⁶ It is, however, possible to take a more sceptical view, especially if one discounts mere hearsay, even when given in the best of faith, and deplores the lack of any written statement by Jones that the objects in question were indeed removed from the tomb with his own hands, or were seen by him in the tomb before they came into his possession, that they, or some of them, did not come from his excavations with Garstang in Abydos early in 1907, and that he did not add to their number in subsequent years.

¹ Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, 12–15, no. 1.

² Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 73, 2.

³ Maspero, *Temples immergés, Rapports* (1911), pl. 169. This rare, abbreviated usage of writing a phonogram only twice for a plural instead of thrice does not seem to be noted in the standard grammars.

⁴ Cairo 20081: *f* (Lange-Schäfer, IV, pl. 8; cf. I, pp. 97, 98, for position); Cairo 20539, 1 b 22 (*ibid.*, II, p. 154; IV, pl. 41); note projecting ends of *š*:/*sh*, not attested on the Liverpool stela. Regrettably, no photographs are given in Lange-Schäfer for 20025, a 9; 20538, III, IV (*tpyw sh*); 20675, c 3; or 20733, b 10; so their palaeographical details remain unknown.

⁵ *JEA* 47, 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–70, esp. pl. VII.

There are other grounds for disbelief. For instance, Tomb no. 55 had suffered severely from damp which is particularly detrimental to Egyptian faience. All the faience pieces from the tomb recorded in Daressy's catalogue¹ and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art² were examined by me in 1956, and I could not fail to note how the characteristic aspect of Egyptian faience, which reached its highest degree of technical excellence during the 'Amarna period, had been entirely changed by the effects of damp. The brilliant surface glaze had entirely disappeared, and the pieces had the appearance of being carved out of fine, grey-green ash.³ The objects illustrated in *JEA* 47, pl. VII, 3, 4, with their glistening oily surface-glaze present an entirely different appearance and cannot have been subjected to the same humid conditions. Moreover, these amulets are of a type, style, and material which cannot be dated to the New Kingdom far less to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The typology of amulets has not been sufficiently studied by Egyptologists,⁴ but references to any well-classified material (e.g. that from the contemporary sites of Ghurab and el-'Amarna⁵) will show that amulets, as distinct from beads, are scanty in the Eighteenth Dynasty as compared with the plethora of such mass-produced objects in the burials of the Late Period. They are, too, rather rudimentary and still show the influence of hard-stone archetypes. The *djed*-pillar amulet (no. 4) is of a type that is far removed from the Eighteenth-Dynasty pattern with its ill-designed upper part and its absence of a spreading foot. The ibis-pendant (no. 3) is an example of an amulet that in design and material belongs exclusively to the Late Period,⁶ and nothing resembling it has been found in the royal deposits of the Bibān el-Molūk, including Tutankhamūn's funerary equipment.

There are also grave doubts for considering the gold cowrie-shell bead (no. 6) as New Kingdom in date. Such beads, which during the Middle Kingdom are almost exclusively used on women's girdles,⁷ as generally in the Nilotic area today, were replaced during the later reigns of the Twelfth Dynasty by a different kind of ornament.⁸ By the Seventeenth Dynasty⁹ the cowrie-shell bead had developed into the imitation 'acacia-seed pod' so common in the ensuing dynasty.¹⁰ Mme Posener (*JEA* 47, 69) is therefore quite right to regard the gold shell in the Jones Collection as of Middle Kingdom date, and as an isolated specimen it may be seriously doubted whether it was ever found in Tomb no. 55.

Lastly it will be evident to most students that if the fragment of a glass bottle (no. 2) fits on to a larger piece found by Loret nine years earlier in the tomb of Amenophis II, then it, too, is exceedingly unlikely to have come from Tomb no. 55 which at the moment of its discovery was completely sealed. Of the five objects illustrated on pl. VII, only the fragment of a mud seal (no. 1) satisfies any claim to have been found in the tomb. In addition there is a fair chance that the disintegrated pieces of gold leaf also came from the same source.

For an understanding of what happened when Tomb no. 55 was cleared we must have recourse to the diary of Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, a copy of which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹¹ From this it is clear that the tomb was found by Ayrton on January 7, 1907, and he was in full charge of its clearance, a circumstance which is corroborated by Weigall.¹² Harold Jones arrived from Abydos on January 22, and began to copy the scenes on the various parts of the shrine the next day. Three days later, as soon as he had finished his drawing of 'the big door', all the objects, with

¹ Davis, *Queen Tiye*, pls. ii, 1, 4, 6; iii, 1, 3, 5; iv, 2, 4.

² Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 294.

³ Hayes, loc. cit.; note also remarks in Daressy's catalogue *passim*.

⁴ Reisner, *Amulets*, makes no attempt to date any specimens.

⁵ Brunton, *Gurob*, pl. xlii; *City of Akhenaten*, II, pl. xlix; III, pls. cviii, cxii.

⁶ Cf. Petrie, *Amulets*, 247.

⁷ Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 220.

⁸ Winlock, *Treasure of El Lāhūn*, pls. viii, ix; p. 40.

⁹ Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. xxix.

¹⁰ Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 135-6.

¹¹ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Hayes for permission to publish extracts.

¹² Weigall, *JEA* 8, 194.

the exception of the human remains and the large parts of the shrine, were crated and removed to Davis's dahabiyeh under the supervision of Ayrton and Weigall. The next day, January 28, Davis reported that everything that was to be moved was out of the tomb. The bones and debris from the coffin had been put in a box and were left for the time being in the tomb.

It is thus clear that Jones spent no more than three or four days at work in the tomb under Ayrton's surveillance before it was virtually cleared. The 'handfuls of souvenirs' can therefore only refer to the many small fragments of gilded gesso and gold leaf fallen from the upright parts of the shrine and considered not worth retrieving with the rest of the treasures. Davis, who had already declined Maspero's offer of the best of the canopic jars for his own collection, does not appear to have been the man to welcome souvenir-hunters as the following extract from Mrs. Andrews's diary shows.

February 17. 'Theo was in Luxor this a.m. and Carter told him of various small and precious things which had been shown him by a native which had been stolen from Tyi's tomb. The man had told Carter that Mr. Davis could have them all for £400—provided no attempt at arrest was made. These fellows are difficult to deal with. Theo told Carter if the men would produce everything they had, and would show them, he might consider a price and promise no arrests to be made! Their practice is to mass together a lot of valuable things on such an occasion, with what has been stolen from a late find, and try to get a big price for all. Later in the day Theo went into Abd el Hamed's and Ali's shops on the river, and the latter handed him several small objects from the tomb—some gold 'nefert's' from the necklace, carnelian lotus flowers, and a lovely bit of gold and enamel from a necklace—only one of which we have—and it is marked No. 17 in hieroglyphic characters. Ali would not take anything for these—among them one bearing Aten's cartouche. It is humiliating to find that thieves have been among your trusted workmen—they have such chances in sifting debris, to hide a valuable thing in their loose clothes.'

Mrs. Andrews's appreciation of the situation was characteristically shrewd. Davis, who had not been in the tomb every day and whose powers of observation were doubtless untrained, must have had little idea what had actually been in the deposit and had to negotiate with Carter, a mere bystander, acting as the honest broker. The temptation for dealers to sell off doubtful or 'hot' pieces as well as genuine 'strays' from the tomb must have been irresistible. In my mind there is little doubt that Davis had unloaded on him objects that had never been in the tomb and which he could not positively identify at the time but had to give the benefit of the doubt. Among such pieces must have been a fragment of glass stolen from the tomb of Amenophis II four years earlier. I suggest that it was some of these retrieved pieces which were given by Davis to Harold Jones after it had become clear that they had nothing to do with the material found in Tomb no. 55.

CYRIL ALDRED

A New Kingdom relief from Memphis

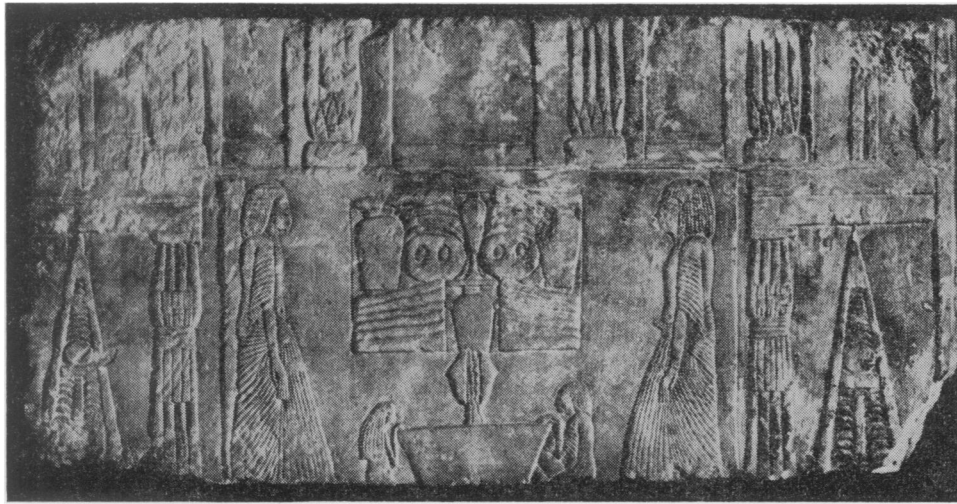
IN the Petrie Collection at University College there is a piece of relief (no. 408) about the provenance of which some doubt exists. This relief is carved on the front of a slab of limestone measuring 0.30 m. in length and 0.60 m. in width. The back is unscribed; the front in bas-relief still retains slight traces of yellow paint in the centre of the scene and also at the left.

The relief was first published by Capart¹ who stated that it came from Memphis and depicted a court in front of a rock-tomb. He compared it with the type of tomb which was sometimes approached by way of a small pylon and which had a small pyramid erected over the entrance to the actual tomb in the rock.

¹ *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* (1902), 1, pl. xlii.

A very different account of this relief was published by Petrie¹ who later described it as 'a scene in the court of the palace of Akhenaten'.

Yet a third view was held by Glanville² who considered that it was a scene from a tomb which represented a scene in a temple. In the absence of any inscription on the slab guidance in this matter can only be obtained from a careful study of the scene itself. This certainly does represent a court such as might be found in a temple. It is surrounded by columns and looks imposing, although Capart went too far in calling it 'vast'. This impression of size does not suggest the type of court found before a private tomb of the New Kingdom period, but a larger layout. In the



top register of the scene a central door is shown flanked by the pillars of the court. On either side of this door there are smaller doorways represented as being in the same wall. This arrangement suggests a temple sanctuary flanked by side sanctuaries.

To the right and left of the court, which is shown in the lower register, stand two large statues of the deceased owner (?) facing one another. They wear the elaborate dress of the late Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty period. Between them in the centre of the courtyard stands a carved stone offering table piled high with offerings. Capart does not mention the fact that some liquid (? water) is shown pouring from a channel into a large basin into which two small figures are looking. The left figure is female, the one on the right male. This basin resembles two granite libation tanks in the British Museum (nos. 108 and 1258) which possess similar small figures carved beside them.

In the lateral porticoes of this court stand two pyramidal shaped objects which appear to be offering stands piled high with bread and cakes.

All these factors combine to suggest that here is represented a courtyard of a small temple, perhaps one dedicated to the funerary rites of a deceased nobleman. The style of the relief and the details of the figures indicate a date not earlier than the later part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. If Capart is correct in stating that the slab came from Memphis, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he was told this by Petrie, it would rule out any association with el-'Amarna or Thebes. The style of the carving is unlike that found at el-'Amarna, while the 'Amarna fragments found by Petrie at Memphis³ itself in no way resemble it.

E. P. UPHILL

¹ *Handbook of Egyptian Antiquities exhibited at University College* (1915), p. 39, no. 537.

² As shown by the register of objects in the Petrie Collection.

³ *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. liv.

REVIEWS

Egypt of the Pharaohs: an Introduction. By SIR ALAN GARDINER. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xx+461, pls. 22. Price 35s.

In this book we have the latest but not the least of Sir Alan Gardiner's many contributions to the literature of Egyptology. Here is a general introduction to the history of Ancient Egypt based firmly on written records, with the minimum of theory, and devoid of the flights of fancy which have rendered suspect the work of certain historians of Egypt in the past. It is true that, as the author points out, what evidence we possess of the course of Egyptian history is but the rags and tatters of what must once have existed—sometimes literally rags and tatters, witness the Royal Canon of Turin—but at least those rags do provide us with sufficient facts to enable us to discern the general course of history, even though they fail to furnish the finer detail which we desire. Indeed, scrappy though our evidence is, compared with what we know—or do not know—of some other civilizations of the past, what Ancient Egypt has bequeathed to us is wealth indeed. At any rate, we have here an introduction to the history of Egypt which is at once factual and eminently readable, suitable both to the general reader and to the student; also the latter is guided to further reading by the select bibliographies which appear at the ends of the various sections. An especially useful appendix devoted to a comparative study of the king-lists will be of benefit to others besides beginners. If there is a point which might be queried, it is the postponement of the chapter on Prehistory to the end of the book, but Sir Alan gives his reasons for so doing, and it is hard to quarrel with them. Of the plates one must single out the frontispiece, a speaking likeness of King Ammenemes III which must surely rank with the famous obsidian head as one of the supreme instances of the skill in portraiture of the Egyptian sculptor, and an instance, moreover, which has not been repeated *ad nauseam* from book to book. It is good also to have a really excellent photograph of the Turin statue of Ramesses II, to single out only one of the remaining plates.

The price of this well-produced book has been kept exceptionally low, so that it can be unreservedly recommended to those interested in the topic with which it deals, and into whose hands we hope it will find its way.

R. O. FAULKNER

Chaos en Beheersing. Documenten uit Aeneolithisch Egypte. By HENRI ASSELBERGHS. Leiden 1961. Pp. xv+343; pls. 104 with 30 text-figures and one map. Price 63 guilders.

This book, which is written in Dutch, happily includes an extended summary in English. Although this summary can give no more than a sketch of Dr. Asselberghs's argument, it provides ample proof of the wide reading of the author and of the deep thought he has devoted to the problem of the beginnings of Egyptian history. The title of the book, 'Chaos and Control', points to its principal theme which concerns the emergence of the unified state of Egypt out of the chaos of early Predynastic times; the sub-title, 'Documents from Aeneolithic Egypt', indicates the method used. The documents here are taken to be those objects found in Predynastic cemeteries and settlements which through the representations they bear serve as the only 'written' records of this otherwise 'prehistoric' time. Dr. Asselberghs, who has for many years studied this period with care and with the depth of interest of a true scholar, may appear to interpret these documents with greater confidence than some Egyptologists would allow, but his line of general argument is sound and full of interest.

Two preliminary chapters open the work, the first being introductory, giving a survey of the beginnings of the study of Predynastic and Protodynastic Egypt and of the nature of the evidence found in the tombs and occupation-sites, in particular the palettes, carved knife-handles, and mace-heads; it is pointed out

that these important objects, originally made for personal use, developed in importance, becoming first the signs of position and wealth and later being used for formal votive purposes when they have great political significance. The second chapter contains a general survey of the possible political and social developments which led to the ultimate unification of the land. Dr. Asselberghs is fully cognizant of recent contributions to the study of this difficult subject, and he sets out the views of most of his predecessors with great fairness. He is himself convinced of strong Asiatic influences in this period both by way of physical infiltration and by cultural inroads by way of trade. He sees the whole period as one in which opposing forces constantly encounter one another—Asiatics and Egyptians, Lower Egyptians (Gerzeans) and Upper Egyptians (Amratians), nomads and farmers—and he puts forward strongly the interesting idea that the clash of opposites became in the Predynastic Period such a formative influence for the Egyptians that throughout their subsequent history they were able naturally to use successive clashes to their advantage. The conflict of opposing forces became for them paradoxically a unifying force. Perhaps this is only another way of saying that the Egyptians were great improvisers and believers in compromise, a point of view that is certainly true of Egyptians in the historic period. In other ways the character of life in Predynastic Egypt is regarded with some originality. The author is interested in the ways of life of the inhabitants in the various parts of the Nile Valley and the Delta and the manner in which herdsmen, farmers, and fishermen impinged on each other's spheres of activity and were affected by alien influences entering the country from the east. He also considers that a closer study of special categories of significant objects might lead to important conclusions about cultural movements in palaeolithic and later times; in particular he emphasises the possible information that the close study of flint-industries in Egypt, the Sudan, and Asia might yield.

The bulk of the book is devoted to a survey of the principal 'documents' surviving from the Predynastic Period. First the Painted Tomb at Hierakonpolis is examined, elements in the painting are related to details found on 'decorated' pottery and the conclusion reached that the tomb should be dated to the transition-period between the Gerzean and Late Gerzean Periods. The evidence offered in the article in this volume of the *Journal* (pp. 5 ff.) about the dating of this tomb would no doubt lead Dr. Asselberghs to modify his views somewhat.

A long chapter is allotted to the carved ivory knife-handles and related ivory objects, culminating in an extensive re-examination of the Gebel el-Araq knife-handle. The surviving examples of this category of object are arranged in a plausible order of development, according to the character of the representations, from the stiff rows of animals on the Metropolitan Museum comb to the greater freedom of arrangement found on, for example, the Gebel et-Tarif knife. On the later objects in the series the decoration can be related to that found on the palettes of Hierakonpolis and the most striking case in this respect is the Gebel el-Araq knife-handle. It is suggested that here a new un-African characteristic can be discerned which brought to the old manner of representation a vital, dynamic element. The further suggestion (following that of Schott that Onuris of This is represented between the lions above the boss) that the attackers on the reverse side are the warriors of This is perhaps an over-interpretation of the evidence.

Slate palettes, finally the most important documents of the Predynastic Period, are examined first archaeologically and secondly as evidence of the rapid development of Egyptian intellect and, more directly, as pointers to the stages by which Egypt moved politically towards nationhood. On palettes in general it is thought that all animal-shaped palettes are Gerzean while those carrying peripheral decoration are Amratian. The second type is regarded as the more important in being the origin of the great ceremonial palettes of the latest Predynastic Period. Dr. Asselberghs maintains that palettes outgrew their function as cosmetic objects, becoming at first signs of prosperity and marks of power and ultimately something much more significant, votive objects and vehicles for communicating ideas and recording great events. It is in this section, in which the decoration of the great palettes, the precursors of the Narmer palette, are discussed that the author seems to draw conclusions that overstep the bounds of credibility. The interpretations which credit the ancient palette-makers with attempting to represent cosmic ideas and other vague concepts seem strained. On the other hand, the idea that the evolution from symbolic representations to the concrete scenes of the latest palettes is in fact the development from symbolism to writing, seems quite valid. This development reaches its ultimate form in the Narmer palette.

The final stage in the journey from prehistory to history is evidenced in the reliefs on the great ceremonial mace-heads from Hierakonpolis. On these the spiritual freedom of the new era is expressed. Throughout

this book the author has a tendency to interpret the 'documents' with excessive confidence. In so doing he diminishes the authority with which he writes and weakens the effect of his real achievement. His achievement in fact is to have drawn attention to the value of a great many Predynastic objects as documents in their own right. He has also, in providing his book with a magnificent set of plates, done Egyptology a great service. These plates contain all the important Predynastic 'documents' and very many little-known pieces besides, all beautifully reproduced and at a usefully large scale in most cases. Full details of the objects are given in a descriptive catalogue of the plates sensibly written in Dutch and English. The addition of an index would have made the volume even more useful.

T. G. H. JAMES

British Museum: Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. Part I, Second edition. By T. G. H. JAMES. London, 1961. Pp. 50+42 pls. Price 63s.

After a lapse of almost a quarter of a century—the last volume (VIII) was published in 1939—a further instalment of the well-known series of *Hieroglyphic Texts* has appeared which will be a delight to all researchers in the Egypt of the Old Kingdom. It is called the 2nd edition of Part I, but this does not fully convey what it contains. Out of 110 pieces presented here only 74 had appeared in the first edition of Part I; 11 had been included in Part VI, while 24 appear now for the first time. These last may be found not to be of considerable importance, but it is a comfort for the student to be assured that he has here available all the Old Kingdom stone monuments with inscriptions now possessed by the Museum, and that there is no stone left in a dark corner of a store-room which he might have liked to consult.

On the one hand it is a pity that the old Part I with its unattractive drawings and notoriously inaccurate readings cannot yet be dispensed with, the more so as it has been out of print for many years. It still is practically the only source for 22 monuments not included in James's new volume since they either belong to the archaic period or are of Middle Kingdom date. It also may still have to be consulted in cases where the monuments have suffered since 1911, for the signs which have disappeared in this way have not been restored in this second edition. These disadvantages are, however, amply outweighed by the high quality of reproduction of the present new volume. For this all the monuments have been carefully drawn on photographs and checked on the originals, with varying light whenever necessary. James is a scholar of no mean draughtsmanship, so that the results are accurate and pleasing reproductions which leave nothing to be desired. It is in every respect a perfect publication with clear and attractive line-drawings which do not require any further consultation of originals or photographs.

It is to be hoped that this exemplary volume will be followed by others to make the Egyptian riches of the British Museum widely accessible, and also that it will wake up the conscience of the custodians of other Egyptian collections. Should the fears be materialized that after the completion of the High Dam the rise of the water level in Egypt will destroy the antiquities still under ground, then the future is very gloomy indeed. The progress of Egyptology may be then possible solely by utilizing down to the last scrap the documents already deposited—let us hope with final safety—in museums and collections.

J. ČERNÝ

Egyptian Astronomical Texts, I. The Early Decans. By O. NEUGEBAUER and RICHARD A. PARKER. Brown Egyptological Studies III. London, 1960. Folio. Pp. x+134, pls. 18 lithographic+36 collotype. Price £7.

Professor Neugebauer and Professor Parker have set themselves the task of publishing 'critical and definitive' editions of all the purely astronomical texts that have survived from Ancient Egypt. Their previous excellent work in this field shows how well fitted they are to carry out this task, and of the three volumes projected the first is now to hand.

The subject-matter is the star-tables found on the underside of the lids of certain M.K. coffins; the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Senmut belonging to the Eighteenth Dynasty; the ceilings with elaborate

pictures of the sky-goddess Nut, accompanied by legends, found in the Cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydos and the tomb of Ramesses IV at Thebes; and finally the two papyri of the second century A.D. known as P. Carlsberg I and Ia.

The reason for bringing these texts together is that all are concerned, either entirely or partially, with the measurement of time by night. This was accomplished by the observation of the risings, and later of the transits, of named stars, which it is customary to refer to as decans. In effect we have to do with star-clocks.

The earliest examples are those found on a dozen M.K. coffin-lids. They are published in 23 plates which give excellent photographs of each one. In addition each example is the subject of a brief note giving such facts as the name of the owner, provenance, and bibliography. The star-clock is supplied in each case with a critical apparatus dealing with variant spellings and other matters worthy of note, while the clock itself is examined by reference to a standard diagram which has been evolved to avoid the necessity of lengthy description and to facilitate comparison of one copy with another. From this comparison it emerges that there are five groups of these coffin star-clocks, falling into a chronological sequence starting in the Ninth or Tenth Dynasty and extending into the Twelfth Dynasty.

The astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Senmut is the subject of a large photograph, while the southern half is further illustrated by a line-drawing. This ceiling is to be studied in detail in a later volume, but is introduced here because the decanal list it contains is really a star-clock which 'preserves in a frozen order the decans of the last revision . . . in Dynasty XII when . . . the basis of the clocks changed from observation of stellar risings to transits'. Another star-clock, based on group IV of the coffin-lid clocks and so earlier in origin than the Senmut example, is to be found in the Cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydos. Only a fragment (fig. 16 in the text) is preserved. This is unfortunate for valuable additional information was present.

This same Cenotaph and also the tomb of Ramesses IV have each a ceiling on which there is a symbolic picture of the earth, the sky and the air between: the arched figure of Nut being the sky, held on high by Shu, the air, who stands upon the earth, on which the tips of Nut's fingers and toes also rest. The whole is accompanied by explanatory legends, decan-lists, and, in the Abydos example, by a long dramatic text, all in hieroglyphic writing. These form the subject of six photographs showing every detail to a quite large scale. The Ramesses IV example has been taken first with a blue, then with a yellow filter, the two results complementing one another. In effect these two pictures are also star-clocks.

The Carlsberg papyri, here published in eight facsimile plates, contain in hieratic the same texts as accompany the Nut-picture of Sethos I and Ramesses IV, and in demotic a phrase-by-phrase commentary on those texts. The picture itself is absent, but is frequently referred to, and may well have stood at the beginning of each of these papyri. All versions of the Nut-picture texts are set out in hieroglyphics in parallel in 10 plates, a most useful feature. A transcription of the demotic of the fragmentary, but hitherto unpublished, P. Carlsberg no. 1a is printed; but that of no. 1 is omitted because it has already appeared elsewhere,¹ only corrections to it being given. This omission is on the whole unfortunate as it detracts gravely from the completeness of the present book. A complete translation, with textual, philological, and explanatory notes, is given of the basic texts and of the demotic commentary. These translations are a marked improvement on their forerunners, very considerable advances having been achieved. It is, however, a pity that they have not been couched in a less 'Egyptianized' English.

The final chapter contains a scientific investigation into the astronomical facts involved in the star-clock as it is found in Ancient Egypt, with results that differ considerably from previous ideas on the subject. This is a most valuable and interesting part of the book. It is established that the 'decans form no great circle on the sphere but are not far from a parallel circle to the ecliptic', a fact which will greatly help future attempts to identify the stars concerned. The twelve-hour division of the night is discussed and the length of the hours investigated. It is shown to be probable that the rising of a decan-star marked the end, not the beginning, of an hour. It is quite certain that this is true of the transits that were in use later. A fundamental conclusion is that the whole decanal system arose from the phenomenon of the appearance of stars after a period of invisibility, of which Sothis is the prime example. The fact that the year consists of not 360 days but $365\frac{1}{4}$ caused the Egyptian star-clock to be in need of constant revision. Special arrangements were

¹ H. O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1*, Copenhagen, 1940.

made to include the epagomenal days but appear soon to have been abandoned. A number of revisions of the main body of the clock can be discerned. These can be used to calculate approximate dates, and give a time of origin of about 2780 B.C. It is suggested that a fixed version of the star-clock may well have come to be used without further revision, for all that would be needed to keep it in step with the civil calendar would be to remember the number of days to be subtracted, which would be given by observing the heliacal rising of Sothis each year.

A series of appendixes gives an explanation of the astronomical terms used, a table enabling the Julian date to be read off if the Egyptian date of the heliacal rising of Sothis is known, a table showing the dates in the Julian and the Egyptian calendar that correspond to the Gregorian dates March 21 and June 21 for each hundredth year between 2800 B.C. and A.D. 200, and a table of Egyptian chronology.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions. By JAN ZANDEE. Supplements to *Numen*, v. Leiden, 1960. Pp. xxii+344. No price given.

Dr. Jan Zandee prepared this work under the guidance of the late lamented Prof. Dr. A. de Buck, and it has been translated from the Dutch by Mrs. W. F. Klasens-van der Loo. It shows the soundness and thoroughness one would expect to find in a pupil of de Buck.

That the Egyptians, in spite of the assurances of their religion, both hated and feared death, is well known, but hitherto we have lacked the detailed exposé provided in this book. After a chapter devoted to a 'General Outline' Dr. Zandee presents a study of 'Terms' in a chapter of 252 pages—easily the main bulk of the book. The treatment is schematized under headings and it shows a close acquaintance with the extensive original sources. As the author gives all the Egyptian terms (in transliteration) his discussions are philologically valuable. It is therefore all the more regrettable that he does not supply an index. One must, admittedly, be grateful for the very full table of contents which includes the terms, although not in lexical order. The last two chapters are entitled 'Representations of the Netherworld in Demotic Literature' and 'Punishment in the Hereafter according to the Coptic Texts'.

It is the last chapter that is undoubtedly the most controversial. In order to reach a general conclusion that the origin of Coptic conceptions of the netherworld should mainly be sought in Jewish and Christian writings rather than in Egyptian sources, Dr. Zandee has to indulge in some unfortunate inconsistencies and also, occasionally, in rather specious argumentation. For instance, he rightly says on p. 320 that the term *γέεννα* betrays Jewish-Christian influence; and on p. 323 that the name Ariel points to Jewish apocalyptic. But on pp. 302 ff. he performs laborious acrobatics in order to demonstrate that *ⲁⲁⲛⲓⲣⲉ*, although the same as the Egyptian *'Imnt*, has nothing to do with it ideologically, being really equivalent to Sheol in the O.T. and Hades in the N.T. He argues, *inter alia*, that the river of fire in the Coptic texts has the function of judgement and also of eternal punishment, and that the role of fire in Egyptian texts is quite different. Here he has to admit (p. 309) that 'in the Book of Gates II we read . . . that the just pass the river of fire unhindered and that the godless do not'. He goes on to emphasize, however, that 'the function of the fire in the Egyptian texts is the total destruction of the dead, not the eternal torture'. Yet on p. 285 he has told us that, according to Egyptian ideas, 'the punishment of the sinners is everlasting'; and this applies, in one of the instances there quoted by him, to enemies of Osiris 'in fiery divisions of hell'. Again, on p. 315 he discusses a Coptic text which includes 'a description of a fiery hell'; 'and that is why', according to Dr. Zandee, 'we need not think here of an Egyptian example'. This is really puzzling, for on p. 133 he has stated that 'the notion of a fiery hell is wide-spread in Egypt'.

That the Coptic texts show an amalgam of variously derived ideas is clear. The Egyptian element, however, is stronger than Dr. Zandee would have us believe. What is admirable about his book is that he fully and scrupulously presents the evidence which enables one occasionally to disagree with him.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period. By B. V. BOTHMER in collaboration with H. DE MEULENAERE and H. W. MÜLLER. Edited by ELIZABETH RIEFSTAHL. New York, 1960. Pp. xxxix and 197, Pls. 134. No price given.

Between October 18, 1960, and January 9, 1961, a memorable exhibition of Ancient Egyptian sculpture was mounted in the Brooklyn Museum. It was devoted to pieces made within the limits of 700 B.C. and A.D. 100, which in this context is taken to be the Late Period—a definition which some Egyptologists might wish to contest. This period of time until recently had generally been regarded as an age of decline and small artistic achievement. The reaction to this attitude has largely been brought about by the single-minded zeal and formidable activity of Mr. Bernard Bothmer who is in the process of producing the first comprehensive study of the sculpture of a single period of Egyptian history. The Corpus of Late-Egyptian Sculpture is not yet complete, but with the staging of this exhibition it is evident that the work is sufficiently far advanced to enable judgements to be made on individual pieces with an authority undreamed of a few years ago.

As the organizers were able to gather together for this exhibition sculptures from most of the principal collections of the world, it may be said that late sculpture received at Brooklyn a very fair showing. Those who were not able to visit the exhibition—reports say that it was splendidly mounted—are not wholly denied the interest and pleasure of seeing what was shown, for the catalogue here reviewed is very full and informative. Every exhibited piece is illustrated (some with more than one view given) and the notes contain abundant references to pieces not shown which supply evidence for conclusions on matters of style and dating. In this catalogue, therefore, the methods and many of the conclusions of the Corpus of Late-Egyptian Sculpture are for the first time adequately expounded, and an opportunity is offered of evaluating what is involved. In the exhibition itself and, at second hand, in the catalogue, the sculpture of the period is on trial. The Corpus itself is revealed as a well-organized undertaking, capable of yielding results of very great importance for the study of Egyptian art and of the archaeology of the Late Period. The reputation of the 'artistic' quality of the sculpture of the period, here so vigorously argued, needs closer consideration.

The preface to the catalogue is devoted to an exposition of the methods used in its compilation and to a statement of its scope. Herein are incorporated details of techniques which may be taken as those used generally in the Corpus and which therefore will prove of great use to others who wish to work in similar fields in the future. The notes on photography are especially interesting inasmuch as they describe methods that have been proved useful in practice over many years. It is worth noting that not the least satisfactory outcome of such comprehensive studies is the bringing together (if only theoretically or temporarily) of scattered fragments. Parts of statues, uninteresting in themselves, acquire new significance when they can be shown to belong to well-known pieces elsewhere. The record of the Corpus in this respect is very good.

A short introduction gives the historical background of the artistic revival of the Late Period and describes the principal innovations and general characteristics of the sculpture of the period. The main types of statuary are explained and the distinction drawn between the 'archaizing' style frequently employed in the Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties and the 'archaistic' style used in the Thirtieth Dynasty. The former was a harking-back to sculpture and relief of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the latter a conscious attempt 'to revive the glories of Dynasty XXVI and, more specifically, of its early decades when Psamtik I was ruling'. This introduction does not contain the detailed exposé of criteria for dating late sculpture which some may have expected and hoped for; but it must be remembered that the book here discussed is a catalogue of an exhibition. The publication of the Corpus will, no doubt, contain such an exposé. An analysis of the notes given on the various pieces in the body of the catalogue would yield many useful dating criteria, but it would probably be premature to use such criteria uncritically at this stage in the production of the Corpus.

Certain general points about late sculpture are made in the course of the introduction which are of great interest. It is pointed out that all late sculpture was 'destined for temples and meant to be seen by those who came to worship' (p. xxxiii). It was therefore far less 'private' than sculpture of earlier periods, most of which was made for the tomb, to be hidden from human gaze. It is suggested that the placing of sculpture in public places like temples led to greater realism and subsequently to positive portraiture. Possibly this factor may have played some part in the development of portraiture, but it may be considered that the elevation of private persons to positions of real power and importance *vis-à-vis* their evidently mortaj

rulers, contributed more to the cult of the individual personality in the Late Period. The inscriptions on statues whereby the owners could be identified were frequently so placed that it cannot be believed that they were intended to be read by the general visitor to the temples. Even if such a visitor could see the heavily inscribed back-pillar (see p. 52) it may be doubted whether he could read it. The intellectual climate of the times undoubtedly favoured the development of the cult of the personality. An indication of this development is the vast increase in private documentary activity during the Late Period.

One extraordinary fact to emerge from this intensive study is the paucity of female figures made in this period up to the advent of Alexander the Great. During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty apparently the only women represented in 'durable materials' were the divine consorts of Amūn (p. xxxvii). The absence of representations of women is interpreted by the compilers of the catalogue as the result of a positive ban (this idea is repeated on pp. 118, 134), but may it not be the case that the form of presentation of sculpture in the Late Period automatically denied women the opportunity of being represented in this way? The votive statues placed in temples were made by high officials, and high officials were invariably men, apart from the divine consorts. As for the abrupt cessation of private sculpture in the Roman Period, it is suggested (p. xxxiii), rather dramatically, that with the advent of strict, exacting Roman rule, the Egyptian aristocracy ceased 'to display their images in their sanctuaries, but hid them from the sight of the hard bureaucrats and armored cohorts who had come from beyond the seas to govern Egypt'. In the place of sculpture, portrait-painting on panels developed as an alternative. Elsewhere (p. 183) the evolution of the mummy-portrait is described as probably due directly to the decline of stone sculpture in the round. It is difficult to argue over matters for which little evidence exists, but a few reflections on this idea may be made. The placing of a portrait-sculpture in a temple, while being in some sense an act of personal piety, was undoubtedly also a gesture of pride and an act of self-advertisement. In many cases the dedicators of statues were temple-benefactors who had made donations or carried out building-works in local or national sanctuaries. Under Roman rule these pious activities died out and native Egyptians had little to be proud of and nothing to advertise. It may also be doubted whether the facilities for obtaining good stone and the services of skilled craftsmen remained available for Egyptians by the end of the first century A.D. The evidence suggests that native culture in general disintegrated rapidly after the end of the Ptolemaic Period. As for the mummy-portraits, such positive evidence as exists suggests that they were made for Greek (or Hellenized) settlers in Egypt and not for native Egyptians.¹

The body of the catalogue consists of the individual discussions of the pieces shown in the exhibition. In each case a general section of description and evaluation is followed by a tightly argued section of comment. This arrangement allows the compilers to divorce the general from the particular in such a way as to provide the uninformed visitor to the exhibition with interesting notes unburdened by close argument and confusing references to pieces not exhibited, while at the same time offering the scholar a reasoned statement to substantiate the views expressed in the general sections. The sections of comment are admirable, full evidence in support of conclusions of style and dating being presented. By themselves these sections form an invaluable contribution to the study of Egyptian sculpture and set a new standard for the treatment of such material. A criticism which may be levelled against the comments is that they often read like private discussions drawn from a well-stocked card-index; the references to unexhibited sculpture used largely to support conclusions are of the briefest, so that checking is rarely possible. It is difficult, however, to know how else the task could be accomplished in a work of this kind—basically a catalogue and only secondarily an interim report on the Corpus. Gratitude at being given so much, and for the most part in so clearly a trustworthy form, stifles criticism. And yet, occasionally, when the power to check is available, it may be found that Homer has nodded.

P. 24. A red vein in the grey granite statue of Bes (no. 20) prompts the reflection that sculptors of the Late Period sometimes appear to have chosen stones with irregularities for aesthetic effect, whereas those of earlier periods chose perfect blocks. The British Museum colossal statue of Ramesses II (no. 19) is made of a block of granite of two colours of which the sculptor has utilized the lighter for the crown and head and the darker for the torso. Again, the statue of Khaemwese (B.M. no. 947) is made of a conglomerate block so varied in texture throughout that it can scarcely be believed that any sculptor would have worked it unless it had been chosen deliberately for its aesthetic appeal.

¹ Cf. A. F. Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt* (London, 1962), pp. 16 ff.

P. 61. A regret is voiced that so few identifiable representations in the round of kings of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties survive, so that it is difficult to establish canons of royal portraiture. In particular it is stated that only one head each survives of Shabaka and Taharqa. Of the latter, however, surely much evidence for stylistic analysis survives in the round in the form of exceptionally large *shabti*-figures, of four figures of the king placed between the front legs of figures of the ram of Amūn found at Kawa (Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, II, 138-9 and pl. L) and of the sphinx from Kawa (op. cit. 139 and pl. LXXIV, now B.M. 1770; it is mentioned on p. 63 of the catalogue).

P. 113. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (B.M. 10) is made of predominantly grey-green, not red, breccia.

P. 179. B.M. stela 1054 is used to show that the skirt with serrated edge occurs as early as the reign of Ptolemy II, although the earliest approximately datable statue wearing this type of dress is of the time of Ptolemy III. A recent examination of this stela has suggested that the king represented is in fact Ptolemy IV. The first cartouche is almost completely illegible but the traces could 'with faith' be reconciled with the signs found normally in the first cartouche of Ptolemy IV. In the second cartouche occurs the epithet *mry ʾst* which was regularly used by Ptolemy IV, but never by Ptolemy II (cf. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, 223 ff. and 264 ff.). The queen shown will therefore be Arsinoe III, not Arsinoe II, and the conclusions drawn from her Hellenistic-type dress on p. 135 will equally need modification.

If this catalogue is read continuously two points in particular stand out: firstly, that a great attempt is being made to establish accurate canons for dating by the use of closely dated pieces and by a strict analysis of significant detail; secondly, that the case for sculpture in the Late Period to be regarded as work of high artistic merit is being argued with especial emphasis being laid on the emergence of true portraiture. Of the former point much has already been said in approval. Of the latter it must be confessed that the case appears to be greatly overargued. There were 141 pieces in the exhibition and, from the catalogue, it would seem that most of them were masterpieces. It is perhaps a characteristic of catalogues of exhibitions that the general remarks on individual pieces should to some extent justify their right to be exhibited. Here, however, advocacy is excessive and some modest pieces are written up beyond their merits as sculpture (e.g. nos. 46, 70, 73, 101). The subjective naming of pieces (no. 93 'Tired Old Man', no. 104 'Portrait of a Strong Man') contributes to the general feeling of being subjected to high-pressure salesmanship. This excessive enthusiasm produces the opposite effect from that intended because the reader feels that he is being bullied into appreciation; which is a great pity, for there were indeed many fine pieces in this exhibition and few people will study this book and remain unconvinced of the artistic achievement of the Late Period. On the question of portraiture much is made of its beginnings in Egyptian art of the Late Period and its development down to the Roman Period is cleverly traced. Again, however, subjective interpretations of sculptors' intentions tend to weaken a well-established case (e.g. on pp. 91, 173, 175, 183).

One further criticism which arises from the over-enthusiastic tone in which the book is written is that the compilers, while seeking to establish through their work here displayed the tenets by which the dating of late sculpture may be determined, yet show unnecessary impatience towards what they regard as gross misdatings of pieces by others. To say of Brussels E 7049 and B.M. 1329 that they 'languish in alien surroundings amidst the Middle Kingdom statuary, although they date from the Late Period' seems an unnecessarily ungenerous way of scoring a point. It is probably true that these pieces have been wrongly dated, but it should have been allowed (if only for charitable reasons) that when they were so dated there were apparently good reasons for the choice of dates.

In the end, however, praise and gratitude must be offered for what has been done and for what is still in progress. No longer will 'Saite' be in sculpture the loose appellation it has been in the past. The eyes of Egyptologists have been opened to the artistic qualities of the sculpture of a period sadly neglected formerly, and in the process the value of systematic study and stylistic analysis has been conclusively proved.

T. G. H. JAMES

The Conflict of Horus and Seth. By J. GWYN GRIFFITHS. Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies. Liverpool University Press. Pp. xi+182. Price 32s. 6d.

In this book J. Gwyn Griffiths has traced the story of the conflict of Horus and Seth from the early

textual allusions in the Pyramid Texts down to the references to it to be found in early Christian writings, and in so doing has compiled a work of considerable erudition which should be assured of a warm welcome by those who are concerned with questions of Egyptian religion, for it should appeal both to the specialist and to the general reader who is interested in ancient religions. The greater part of the book consists of discussions of various important aspects and episodes of the myth, with extensive quotations from original sources, while the fifth and last chapter contains G.'s interpretation of the myth as he sees it. Here there is undoubtedly room for differences of opinion, but such differences are apt of their nature to be somewhat subjective, and it seems to me that on the whole the author's conclusions are eminently reasonable. He is certainly to be congratulated on having brought to a conclusion what must have been a long and arduous piece of work.

If there is a fault to be found in this book it lies in the translations of the quotations from Egyptian texts. Such improvements in G.'s renderings as are possible in no way generally invalidate the conclusions he has drawn from them, but some of the finer points have undoubtedly been missed. For example, he has not seen that the opening sentences of Spell 7 of the Coffin Texts (*CT* I, 19c-20a = G., pp. 61-62) provide a mythological account of the origin of the sacred pool in Heliopolis. I translate this passage thus: 'The earth was torn up when the Rivals fought, their feet scooped out (*šd-n*) the pool (*šdyt*) of the god in Ōn.' Farther on in the same spell (21a ff.) a better sense can be obtained by regarding the words *tm chꜣ*, *hꜣm hꜣnw* not as participial epithets of Thoth, as does G., but as sentences describing the result of the god's efforts at pacification. Here I would render the whole passage 21a-d as: 'The fighting is ended, the tumult is stopped, the fire which went forth is quenched, the anger¹ before the Assessors of the god is calmed (*id*, lit. 'censed'), and they sit to give judgement in the presence of Gēb.' In 22d *hrw-f ꜣw nfr n hꜣw* is better rendered as 'this his happy day of accession'² (of Horus to his father's throne). On p. 75 there is a definite mistranslation; in *CT* I, 9c the words *irt(y)·sn wdꜣ-mdw hft-k* (var. *hft-t*), rendered by G. as 'who will enact the command of thine enemy', surely mean in fact 'who would have judgement against thee'. Here the author has apparently confused *wdꜣ-mdw* 'have judgement' with *wd-mdw* 'command', and has also failed to observe that the following *hft* must be the preposition, since it has no determinative (cf. *hft(y)w*, *hft(y)t* 'enemies male and female' earlier in the same passage).

It would be wasteful of space, and also unjust to the author, to set out in detail all the points where my translations would differ from his, for, as already remarked, his main conclusions are not invalidated by differences of opinion on points of philological detail; my purpose is solely to enter a *caveat* to the effect that the translations from the Egyptian quoted in this work are not always to be taken at the foot of the letter. These blemishes apart, the book must be recommended both to the Egyptologist and to the general student of the religions of the Near East. At the end a long bibliography of works consulted and a general index are important additions, the value of which is not always appreciated by authors, since they involve much tedious and time-consuming labour.

R. O. FAULKNER

Ägyptische Eheverträge. By ERICH LÜDDECKENS. (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Band I.) Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1960. Pp. 371+8 pls. and 12 tables. No price given. A supplementary article, 'Eine Wiederentdeckte demotische Zahlungsschrift', by the same author, in *Acta Orientalia*, 25, 238-49. *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: a contribution to establishing the legal position of the woman*. By P. W. PESTMAN. (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, Volume IX.) Brill, Leiden, 1961. Pp. xii+232+4 tables. No price given.

These books are complementary. Professor Lüddeckens of Mainz has re-edited in transliteration and translation all the Egyptian 'marriage contracts' in 'abnormal hieratic' and demotic script published to date,

¹ For this sense of *dšrw* cf. *Hymnen*, 1, 4; *Nu*, 42, 21, quoted by Gunn, *Syntax*, 61 and by Lefebvre, *JEA* 35, 72 (n. 11).

² Cf. Gardiner in *JEA* 31, 24; 39, 23. This comment applies also to other references to the 'appearances' (*hꜣw*) of Horus.

together with two unpublished ones, and has provided a grammatical and exegetical commentary, *apparatus criticus* in the form of tables, and detailed analysis of the composition of the documents and the groups into which they fall. Mr. Pestman of Leiden, working independently, has produced a reasoned critique of the legal intent and effect of these documents and those bearing on divorce, with the purpose of determining the status of women before, during, and after marriage in Ancient Egypt and the manner in which their rights of person and property were protected in law. Thus at long last a most interesting body of material for the assessment of social life in Ancient Egypt is available in comprehensive and convenient form to legal and general historians, sociologists, and not least to Egyptologists themselves. This achievement is of greater significance than might at first appear, for reasons which may be summarily stated.

Evidence concerning the position of women and the status of marriage in Egypt down to the first millennium B.C. is virtually confined to the rather nebulous indications obtained from tomb reliefs and casual literary references. The few legal and official documents which survive are widely spaced in time and generally refer to special cases; their evidence is summarized by Lüddeckens in eight pages of historical introduction. The mass of available material concerning marriage and the legal and property rights of women is provided by the 'abnormal hieratic' and demotic contracts of first-millennium date assembled and analysed in these two books. Though the majority of these documents has been available in museums for at least a hundred years, and over sixty have been published sporadically here and there since the pioneer work of Revillout and Griffith at the end of the last century, they have on the whole remained the province of a few specialists. The obscurity of the hands, the inadequacy of many photographs and transcripts, the philological difficulties, the unfamiliarity of the legal terminology, and the tendency of Egyptologists to distrust 'late' evidence, have all combined to inhibit scholars from using these, and other documents written in 'abnormal hieratic' and demotic, to throw light on Egyptian social conditions—a light much needed, which is provided by these sources.

It may be stated at once that Professor Lüddeckens has removed any excuse for this neglect in future so far as the 'marriage contracts' are concerned. He gives the text of his 70 documents¹ in transliteration with a translation, as near literal as is practicable, on the opposite page; every uncertainty of reading or translation is commented upon in the notes, where alternatives are fairly presented and criticized, and difficulties are examined. It is natural that in such a large body of material there should be a good many points of philological detail which it would be tempting to discuss here, but to do so would fill this volume of the *Journal* and distract attention from the vital point, namely, that here is, as near as may be, a definitive edition of these texts. Perhaps therefore the best service that this reviewer can render the book is to underline his opinion, based on careful independent examination of a good proportion of the original documents, that those unfamiliar with the demotic script can rely on Professor Lüddeckens's translations as approximating to the best that can be done at the present stage of our knowledge. His strict grammatical exegesis has been of value here in elucidating the precise meaning, more particularly of verbal forms, where previous publications have been vague or erratic. He has also been well served by his printers and proof-readers. A very trying piece of compositors' work has been accomplished with a mere handful of printers' errors.

Professor Lüddeckens's survey of the published material, as mentioned earlier, is as far as I know complete, with the exception of fragmentary documents, which he lists and promises to republish later. His document 18, which he describes as a papyrus once in the Louvre (früher im Louvre befindlicher Papyrus), is in fact Pap.dem. British Museum 19394, originally labelled 'Hay 479';² it is apparent from related papyri not yet published that it comes from Armant.

In the chapters following the actual texts and philological commentary Lüddeckens examines various detailed aspects of the contracts. Chapter II is an attempt to estimate the social and professional status of the parties to the documents and of their scribes; it is useful, but from the nature of the evidence not very conclusive. Chapter III is a painstaking examination of the differences of expression and meaning in the individual legal clauses into which he divides the contracts. This is to be read with reference to the twelve

¹ Including P.Cairo 34662, published in the article in *Acta Orientalia* quoted at the head of this review.

² So correctly Pestman in his 'Commentary to the Diagrams' under A, no. 19 on p. 191, and in his 'Index of Sources', p. 221. To Pestman's list of references add Revillout, *Chrestomathie démotique*, p. cxxxii, which contains a short summary of the document under its Hay number.

fold-in tables where he sets out in parallel the variants for each clause in the several documents; though some what clumsy to use, these tables are invaluable for comparative study. Chapter IV deals with various syntactical matters. In Chapter V Lüddeckens lists the composition of the fourteen groups into which he divides the contracts on the basis of the clauses included and the order in which they are placed. He succeeds thereby in showing clearly that the actual manner of drawing up the document and the matter included depended far more upon the professional habits of groups of scribes at particular dates in particular towns than upon any difference in the type of marriage or in the circumstances of the parties. This conclusion is important, and as an analysis of the history of the composition of these contracts the chapter is valuable. For an analysis of the difference in legal effect between the contracts, however, Pestman's arrangement into three categories, discussed below, is to be preferred. Bibliography and indexes complete Lüddeckens's book, the quality of which is perhaps best expressed by the German word *eingehend*.

Though Professor Lüddeckens comes down on the side of Junker and Edgerton in regarding the 'marriage contracts' as settlements of property consequent upon marriage, and not as documents validating marriage itself as Mustafa El-Amir thinks, he clearly did not intend in this book to examine fully the legal meaning of the documents and the effects of marriage in law in Ancient Egypt. He may perhaps consider that this task is best left until all the unpublished material in the museums of Europe and Egypt is in print; at all event, it would be unreasonable at the moment to ask more of Professor Lüddeckens than he has given us. Mr. Pestman, however, has made a radical attempt to do this on the basis of our present knowledge.

Mr. Pestman bravely and justifiably reconsiders the problem *ab initio*. Though he scrupulously refers to the opinions of former writers, his work does not build on theirs but proceeds directly out of the documents. His book is thus an independent whole, and has its own logic. A summary of his treatment will help in assessing its success.

Pestman divides the problem into two parts. In Part I he discusses the evidence of the documents as to how marriage was legally effected (Chapter I), its consequences in family law and the law of persons (Chapter II), and how it might legally be dissolved and the effects of the dissolution (Chapter III). In Part II he is concerned with the effect of the provisions of the documents on the property of the spouses. He does this by discussing the position of the parties before marriage (Chapter IV), the personal property brought in to the conjugal household by the wife (Chapter V), the types of settlement of his property the husband may make in consequence of marriage and their legal effect (Chapter VI), property rights during marriage (Chapter VII), the application and result of the provisions of the document in case of divorce (Chapter VIII), and a summary (Chapter IX). A concluding section sets forth the formal arrangements of the contracts (Chapter X), and a brief final assessment of the legal status of women in Egypt (Chapter XI).

It must be admitted that the division of the book into two parts inevitably involves Pestman in some repetition, and it might fairly be alleged that what is deduced concerning the actual celebration and dissolution of marriage in Part I is mainly of a negative character. Yet I think that Pestman shows true legal acumen in dividing the evidence concerning marriage from that concerning marital property, for this articulation enables him to emphasize how much the documents are concerned with securing against possible infringement the rights of the woman and her children to property, and how little they are concerned with securing her rights of person. This is not because the latter did not exist, for some of them are referred to. It is clear that a woman after marriage was still a legal *persona*, that she might continue to be an owner, though administration and disposal of some parts of her property passed to her husband; that she might leave her husband of her own free will, and do so without losing anything that she had brought into the marriage;¹ and that if repudiated, the rights of her heirs were secured. The reason that the documents specifically secure arrangements concerning property, maintenance, and inheritance which may vary in individual marriages, but not these more general rights of person, can only be because the latter were acknowledged in Egypt, whether by statute or by general consensus, and therefore no contractual agreement was necessary to secure them.

This brings us to a problem which must be squarely faced. Pestman's work has endorsed the view of

¹ Except in the instance of the 'great sin', i.e. probably adultery. It is remarkable that it would appear that repudiation merely, and not death, was the penalty of adultery. Pestman does not comment on this.

Junker and Edgerton that these documents are not validations of the marriage ceremony, but arrangements concerning inheritance, maintenance, and property which might not be drawn up until some time after marriage.¹ However, a 'marriage contract' can certainly not have been drawn up in the case of every marriage; yet some settlement concerning property must always have been made. As Pestman has well seen, the absence of documentary evidence does *not* mean that the legal settlement did not take place, but only that it was not recorded on papyrus. Why this may have been we do not know; I should imagine that the fees of notaries and possibly also of witnesses may have had to do with it. At all events, I think we must accept that, despite the great reliance on documentary evidence by Egyptian courts in the Saite-Ptolemaic Period, verbal agreements had legal force.

The possibility that agreements between the parties were not necessarily put into writing is also raised in an acute form when we consider the division of the documents into classes. As we have seen, Lüddeckens has shown that the inclusion and exclusion of certain clauses, and the order in which they are placed, may often be due to local and temporal factors. Nevertheless, from a legal viewpoint, Pestman contends—rightly in my opinion—that the essential division is between (i) those documents (the majority) where the man gives the woman a bridal gift (*šp n hm-t*) and the property brought by her into the conjugal household is listed with its money value (Pestman's Class A) and (ii) those where the woman gives a sum of money to the man (Pestman's Classes B and C). In Class B, the money (*hd n ir hm-t* 'money of becoming wife'), probably a real sum, is repayable on repudiation; should the husband not repay he is liable to give his wife maintenance (*scnh*) at a stated rate. In Class C the sum of money (*scnh*) paid seldom varies and is expressed in an outmoded formula; the payment was therefore probably a legal fiction, but carried with it the important obligation upon the husband of providing maintenance (also called *scnh*) for his wife at a stated rate throughout marriage, and in the case of divorce until the agreement was terminated by repayment of the notional sum. However, as Pestman points out, the payment of maintenance (*scnh*) by the husband is regularly stipulated in those documents of Class A which were written in or about Thebes between 315 and 169 B.C. and therefore may well have been a feature of other marriages where documents of this class were drawn up, even though it is not mentioned. Similarly it is almost inconceivable, as Pestman admits, that in marriages where documents of Classes B and C were drawn up the wife brought no personal property into the conjugal household; yet no list of it occurs in them. These omissions cause one to wonder whether the obligations undertaken on marriage may not have been very similar, whichever form of documentation was adopted. How far this consideration may invalidate Pestman's conclusion that documents of Class A refer to a different type of marriage from those of Classes B and C I leave to readers to judge.

To one problem concerning these contracts Pestman has offered a very attractive solution. Documents of Class C (*sh n scnh*) were always accompanied by a 'document of specie payment' (*sh e-tbe ht*). A *sh e-tbe ht* was drawn up at any transfer of property whether by gift, mortgage, loan, sale, etc. Actual transfer of ownership, however, only took place on the passing from the first party to the second party another document, generally, if inaccurately, called a 'cession document' (*sh wy*). Pestman has connected the presence of the *sh e-tbe ht* with the fact that in documents of Class C the whole of the husband's property is made security in case of his being unable to support the burden of the maintenance (*scnh*) of his wife imposed upon him. He supposes that it is this property, which is potentially the wife's as being her security, that is transferred by the *sh e-tbe ht*. The one case in which we have a *sh wy* which refers to an earlier *sh scnh* and *sh e-tbe ht* (Pap.Louvre 2428) will then be a case where the husband's property was actually forfeited owing to failure to continue maintenance. This suggestion seems to me far more convincing than Lüddeckens's remarks on the same subject (p. 24). My only reservation is that in the case of documents of Class B, where the husband's property is similarly made security, there is never a parallel *sh e-tbe ht*. This calls for explanation. However, it may be noted that after 145 B.C., when Ptolemy Philometor passed a decree concerning the registration of

¹ I think, however, in general they are most likely to have been drawn up at the time of marriage, when the contractual relationship between man and wife (or father-in-law) was first undertaken, though the arguments on pp. 26–30 prove that the document might be drawn up later. El-Amir's point that *ir-y-ḫt n hm-t* 'I have made you wife' refers to the recent conclusion of solemnization appears to me a good one; for the narrative *sdm:f*, which is perfect and not preterite as Pestman rightly points out, frequently refers in demotic documents to a legal act that has just been performed.

demotic documents, documents of Classes B and C were regularly registered in the Government archives, whereas those of Class A never were. Pestman may well be right in associating this with the fact that a man's property is pledged in security in Classes B and C only.

Enough has been said to show the quality of Pestman's legal acumen, and the clarity and usefulness of his analysis. Moreover, he gives in my view good grounds, which cannot be discussed here, for believing that the legal position reflected by these documents may have been substantially that which subsisted in earlier periods of Pharaonic Egypt—a point of the first importance. One has, however, grave doubts about the categories to which he has assigned certain of the earlier documents. For instance, is it really proper to assign Pap.B.M. 10120 A or Pap.Bryce to Class B? This is a matter of some moment, for if these are wrongly placed the incidence of the class is confined to the years after 190 B.C. instead of stretching back into the sixth century. Pestman is also occasionally tempted into the kind of over-legalistic interpretation of Egyptian documents that marred some of Sethe's work and for which Gardiner criticized Edgerton's interpretation of the Nauri decree of Sethos I. As typical instances chosen at random I would quote the argument at the bottom of p. 98, where it is clear that the alternative between returning the wife's personal property or its money value is intended to secure the wife's rights, not to act to the advantage of the husband; and the argument on p. 103 that the 'money of becoming wife' may have been a fictitious payment, which is in my view stultified by the figures given on the same page. In summarizing he also occasionally puts a strain on his evidence, as, for instance, in the confident statement in the last sentence of the penultimate paragraph on p. 52. Nevertheless, these slips are the exception; and in general, considering the welter of confusing documentation, the argument is clear and well sustained.

In this connexion the reader must be warned that the English translation is far from perfect. Though the translator, Mrs. Klasens, who is a lawyer, has evidently spent great pains on the work and has correctly interpreted the legal terms, there still remain certain passages which are ungrammatical and unidiomatic. Few of these inhibit understanding, but they do increase the burden of reading. The format and printing of the book are good.

The publication of these books provokes a final remark. Between them they assemble, organize, and re-assess all the available evidence on a single topic of great interest for the social history of Egypt. There are many other such topics in Egyptology, the sources for which are buried in books and periodicals stretching back over a hundred years, which urgently require review. Egyptologists are few, and the inevitable tendency is for new material to accrue without radical re-assessment of the old. The vital work of compilation and analysis requires industry, clear thinking and, in many cases, co-operation. Let us hope that these two praiseworthy volumes are a good augury for the future in this direction.

H. S. SMITH

Le Papyrus Jumilhac. By JACQUES VANDIER. Paris 1962. Pp. 349. Pls. 12, bound together in a separate insertion. No price given.

This is a book that will be a puzzle to the casual reader, but a veritable mine of information to the diligent student. It is, indeed, not a book to be glanced at casually, for the nature of its contents is such that a surer deterrent from the Egyptological passion could scarcely be conceived. Yet all students of Egyptian religion and mythology, of the byways of iconography, and of certain geographical problems, will be peculiarly grateful to Monsieur Vandier for his extended study of a difficult but important document. It has been known for years that this work was in progress and occasional articles based on particular points have issued from Vandier's pen from time to time giving hints of the contents of the text.¹ Now that the final publication has been issued, the magnitude of Vandier's task can be fully realized and the extent of his understanding of the duties of a first editor of a text wholly appreciated. For the volume contains not simply a straight exegesis of the text, but also a series of useful essays on the principal elements embodied in the text.

¹ E.g. 'Quelques remarques sur le XVIII^e nome de Haute Égypte', *MDAIK* 14, 208 ff.; 'Le Dieu Shou dans le Papyrus Jumilhac', *ibid.* 15, 268 ff.

The Jumilhac Papyrus (Louvre pap. 17110), once in the famous Sabatier Collection, was acquired by the Louvre in 1945 from Count Odet de Jumilhac. It is 8.962 m. long, very little of the original length of the document having apparently been lost, and is now mounted as 23 sheets. The text is written in hieroglyphs and is accompanied by a series of finely drawn vignettes that occupy in most cases the lower parts of the sheets. At some time after it was written the text was carefully revised and corrections made both within the body of the text and in the margins. In the latter case the point at which the correction is to be made is often indicated by a sign resembling an inverted circumflex accent. The margins in places also contain glosses written in a script which is here described as demotic, although it may be more closely related to hieratic (as Vandier observes). The first chapter of the book is devoted to a careful examination of the document from a physical and material point of view; each sheet is separately described and all the additions and corrections listed and the demotic glosses expounded. From the character of the demotic writing the glosses may be dated to the late Ptolemaic Period or early Roman Period and it is thought that the text itself was written only a little earlier.

An interesting fact that emerges from the physical examination of the papyrus is that in a number of places patches have been applied to cover up tears and small holes. In some cases signs have been covered by these patches and this evidence shows that the text must have been much used and probably, therefore, much valued in antiquity. This fact is in some ways surprising because it postulates an interest in the contents of the papyrus which is of some significance from the point of view of the attitude of the Egyptians to their religious traditions in this late period. The text of the Jumilhac Papyrus is devoted to myths and legends in the tradition of the XVIIIth nome of Upper Egypt, that is the district on the eastern bank of the Nile between el-Hiba in the north and Tihna in the south. In the great periods of Egypt's history the nome-capital was Hardai (Cynopolis), but at the time when this text was written it seems that the district no longer existed as a separate administrative unit. Nevertheless, the local sanctuaries remained active and the complicated local versions of Egyptian religious traditions were apparently jealously preserved—the more so perhaps because the area had lost its administrative independence. The versions of ancient legends given here—they are not expounded but simply told—closely involve the towns and localities of the old XVIIIth nome and the geographical details that emerge from the text enable Vandier to study the geography of the area comprehensively. The information gained, as is usually the case with texts of this kind, is thin and without much background, but is yet of great value because very little is known of this part of Egypt in antiquity.

The form of presentation of the myths and legends in the papyrus is such that considerable skill has to be exercised to extract the principal themes and to trace their development in the text. In two chapters (III and IV) Vandier summarizes and explains the legends, distinguishing three principal themes and a number of secondary themes. This part of the book is at once the most interesting and the most difficult; most interesting because here it is made clear how the versions of national legends current in the XVIIIth nome were specially adapted for local consumption; most difficult because the text is so elusive and imprecise. In the unravelling and exposition of this maze of ideas Vandier has performed a notable task. He makes great use of the other collections of late religious texts, the inscriptions in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples, and he rightly points out that each of these temples is, like the Jumilhac Papyrus, the repository of the religious traditions of one locality. It may be argued from the existence of this papyrus and from the evidence of its great use, that Egyptian religion in the late Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods was a much more lively force than is generally believed. Likewise, the texts in the great late temples may indicate more than just the passion of close circles of priests for preserving locally the religion of their ancestors.

In the Jumilhac Papyrus the principal legends dealt with concern the god Anti, the 'boxes' of Horus, and the *hstt*-beast; the secondary legends involve Osiris, the conflict between Anubis and Seth, the contests between Horus and Seth and between Isis and Seth, and a few others briefly touched on. The translation of the text of the papyrus, which has been accomplished with great care, is accompanied by a long commentary devoted to the elucidation of particular points in the text. This commentary is additional to the chapters in which the geographical and mythical elements of the text are variously treated, and it is full of interesting information; a wealth of comparative material is brought to support translations of difficult passages and to substantiate interpretations. For the contents of this papyrus are admittedly obscure and elusive.

The volume is completed by a chapter devoted to the description of the vignettes, a chapter in which the grammar of the texts is analysed (the language used is a derived form of Middle Egyptian like those found in

the texts of the various Ptolemaic temples—but lacking the eccentric orthography of the temple texts) and very full indexes. It is altogether an admirable publication in which the author has done a very great deal to render an exceptionally difficult document understandable.

T. G. H. JAMES

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A. Volume II. Edited by B. R. REES, H. I. BELL, J. W. B. BARNES. Dublin, Hodges Figgis & Co., Ltd., 1959. Pp. xiv+209, pls. 46. Price £8. 8s.

Un premier volume de *Merton Papyri*, publié en 1948, par Sir Harold Bell et C. H. Roberts, avait été salué avec faveur tant pour l'importance des textes présentés que pour la qualité de leur publication et l'intérêt d'une illustration photographique intégrale. Ce sont les mêmes satisfactions que nous procure ce deuxième volume. Si la plupart des papyrologues britanniques y ont collaboré de près ou de loin, le volume paraît sous une triple signature, celle de Sir Harold Bell qui se trouve au départ de l'entreprise, celle du Rev. J. W. B. Barnes, qui, il y a de longues années, dans le cadre d'un doctorat, a pu assurer l'édition de vingt inédits, et, enfin, celle du Professeur B. R. Rees, qui, depuis 1952, assura la mise au point et la publication du volume. Comme dans le cas du premier tome, un papyrus testamentaire et quelques textes littéraires sont suivis d'une longue série de documents classés chronologiquement depuis l'époque ptolémaïque jusqu'à l'occupation arabe.

Pour le 51, fragment d'un codex de papyrus (III^e s. après J. -C.), les rapports, très proches, avec *Év. Luc* VI-VIII ne peuvent malheureusement pas être définis avec précision. Parmi les *papyrus littéraires*, deux sont d'un intérêt majeur, et particulièrement le n° 52, un fragment de volumen de l'*Odyssee* datable du I^{er} siècle avant notre ère (remploi au verso pour un document en l'an 5 av. J.-C.). Il s'agit d'une fin de rouleau, dont la dernière colonne ne comportait, au haut, que cinq vers: la fin du chant II (vv. 431-4) suivie du premier vers du chant III. Entre β434 et γ1, pas d'interligne plus large, mais, dans la marge gauche, une *coronis* avec *paragraphos*. Il s'agit là d'un procédé de librairie destiné à faciliter le repérage du volumen suivant, à une époque où le début des rouleaux ne comporte en principe pas de titre. Ce procédé, qui rappelle quelque peu les *reclamantes*, vient d'être attesté par deux autres fins de rouleaux homériques du même I^{er} siècle publiés par Mademoiselle M. Vandoni: P.Milan inv. 414 (= Lameere 043), fin de H et Θ1, avec *coronis* à *paragraphos*, et P.Milan inv. 212 (= Lameere 081), fin de λ et μ1 (marge gauche perdue). P.Oslo 68, de même époque, en est peut-être un autre exemple. Les éditeurs connaissaient un cas plus récent, P.Lond. 136 verso (Milne 11), I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C., où la fin de Δ est suivie de E 1 et du titre ΙΑΙΑΔΟΣ Δ; encore s'agit-il peut-être dans ce cas d'une disposition empruntée à un modèle de librairie plus ancien. J'ai montré ailleurs (*Chronique d'Égypte*, 36 (1961), n° 71, pp. 216-18) que le P.Lefort de l'Université de Louvain (= W. Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique*, n° 1, pp. 15-53) atteste probablement le même procédé beaucoup plus tôt, dès la deuxième moitié du III^e siècle ou le début du II^e siècle: le fragment b de ce papyrus (Lameere, pl. Vb) semble en effet appartenir, contrairement à l'opinion de son éditeur, à une fin de volumen où φ 434 est suivi du seul χ1. Sur le plan de la critique textuelle, 52 omet le vers β407 avec P.Oxy. 773 et plusieurs manuscrits médiévaux. (Dans la *Table of Papyri*, p. xiii, transférer la mention B.C. de 53 à 52.)—54 (Euripide, *Phoenissae*, 768-90 et 793-806; deuxième moitié du II^e siècle A.D.) est écrit au verso d'un document de l'Arsinoïte. Il faut y voir une copie d'écolier d'un passage ou même de toute cette tragédie, l'une des plus lues d'Euripide, plutôt qu'une 'édition sur verso'. Bien que la qualité du texte se ressente de son origine modeste, le fragment n'en a pas moins son intérêt dans la constitution d'un texte où les manuscrits médiévaux ont multiplié les problèmes. Avec les scholies, le papyrus présente *ἄρας* au v. 786, et, avec tous les manuscrits, en 796 un *ἔνοπλον* que l'on a considéré souvent comme métriquement inacceptable. En 783, il donne le texte correct *προσευχόμεθα*. Avec Kirchhoff, il omet le vers 778, et l'omission de 800 est intéressante; celle de 781 s'impose moins, sans être à rejeter d'emblée. En 773, où les manuscrits ont *μομφὰς ἔχειν*, je me demande s'il ne faut pas lire *εχω*, plutôt que *εχε<ω>* des éditeurs; de toute façon, les trois dernières lettres sont douteuses, du moins sur la photo.

L'un des deux documents ptolémaïques retiendra l'attention des juristes (59, *Crocodilopolis*, 154 ou 143 av. J.-C.). A la suite d'une *ἐντευξις* d'Asklapon devant les chrématistes contre (son épouse) Antigona, et

avant que la procédure soit engagée, les époux conviennent de se séparer à l'amiable, probablement sur torts mutuels. Ils établissent un accord, avec χειρογραφία et serment, suivant lequel le mari est délié des obligations nées du contrat de mariage et renonce aux griefs formulés dans l'enteuxis, tandis qu'Antigona recouvrera sa dot, et particulièrement son esclave Opora. Cette συγχώρησις, qui occupe le centre du document, est précédée d'une note actant le dépôt de l'accord avant l'audience, et est suivie d'une note de la même main qui fait connaître le jugement (κρίνομεν), qui donne force à la synchoreσις et ordonne que copie en soit envoyée au πράκτωρ ξενικῶν. L'adresse en tête du document montre qu'il s'agit précisément de l'exemplaire destiné au praktor.

Les n^{os} 61 à 85 et 87 appartiennent à la période impériale, et forment un bon échantillonnage des contrats, déclarations, comptes et surtout lettres de cette époque.—La lettre d'introduction 62 (6 après J.-C.) où un Sarapion apparaît comme στρατηγὸς καὶ γυμνασίαρχος semble fournir un terminus post quem très proche de la réorganisation de la stratégie.—La lettre 63 (nome arsinoïte, an 57), au sujet de contributions pieuses (εὐσέβεια) pour le temple de Souchos, signale qu'il a été fait appel à tous, même aux classes privilégiées: les Ῥωμαῖοι, les Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, et les κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ.—En 68 (contrat de location, Karanis, an 137), l. 4, ἀδελφιδους ne doit pas être corrigé en ἀδελφιδού; en effet, le doublet (nominatif en -ιδης?) avec génitif en -ιδους (accentuation incertaine) est attesté au génitif ἀδελφιδους comme pour θυματριδους, cf. *Aegyptus* 32 (1952), 401.—Dans le compte 70 (an 159), relevé mensuel établi par des ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὠνῆς, il faut modifier la lecture de la ligne 8 où ναυνου (interprété comme ναύλου) ne peut être retenu. Il faut lire en fait ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὠνῆς πλύνου γναφέων (la première lettre de πλύνου est certainement π; pour le λ, voir Ἀπολλωνίου à la l. 2); cf. la νυτρικὴ πλύνου dans les ostraca ptolémaïques Tait I, *Bodl.* 37, 39 et 126.—Dans 71, 3 lire Ἡρακλειδιαίνη, nom bien attesté à l'époque romaine; à la l. 2, la correction χαλκῶμα<τα> est peut-être inutile, l'adjectif χαλκῶμα pouvant se rapporter aux deux objets inventoriés à cet endroit: δίφρος καὶ χάλκωμα.—La déclaration des sitologues 77 au stratège Appianos (Karanis, 182), serait datée, si l'on suit l'édition, suivant un formulaire irrégulier; en fait il faut lire 18–20: (ἔτους) κγ Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου | Κομμόδου Ἀντωνεῖνον σεβαστ(οῦ) | Ἀθὺρ α, libellé bien connu, particulièrement au Fayoum.

Parmi les papyrus protobyzantins, signalons 88, 89, 91, 92 qui appartiennent comme P. Merton 1, 30 et 31 aux archives d'Aurelius Isidoros.—La date du reçu 86 (an 296) présente, contrairement à l'édition, un formulaire régulier (avec redoublement, banal à cette époque, de l'abréviation de ἔτους); car il faut lire l. 5 (ἔτους) ιβζ καὶ (ἔτους) ιαζ καὶ (ἔτους) δζ Ἐπειφ δ, cf. pl. XVII (b).—La série des textes byzantins se termine par 100 (nome arsinoïte, 699), l'ordre de réquisition déjà publié dans *Aegyptus*, 31 (1951), 307 sqq.

Au début même de ce compte rendu, j'ai dit comment ce volume avait retrouvé la qualité et l'intérêt du P. Merton I. Le commentaire des textes, et surtout les introductions éclairent à la fois le document et la catégorie de textes (les listes en sont données ou complétées) à laquelle ils appartiennent. L'ouvrage en devient ainsi un instrument de travail que des indices complètent heureusement. Quant à l'illustration, elle fournit à la fois un riche complément à la paléographie documentaire et des repaires datables pour plusieurs types d'écritures de librairie.

JEAN BINGEN

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